SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

1986

AUGUST

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Political Correspondent

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"The reasons that are offered by these critics for what they perceive as a large number of office-bearers include what they label as the deliberate fragmentation of the country under so-called 'grand apartheid' and the tricameral Parliament."

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STAR 13/8/86

13/8/86 (304A) STAR

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The speech ranged widely over broad South African issues, but contained no new announcements.

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"Therefore, if our negotiations lead to drastic changes to our country's constitution, I will keep my promise to consult the voters beforehand — if I am still here".

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"Such consultation on our part, whether by means of a referendum or by means of a general election, could take place sooner than most people expect."

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- Economic development, aid, and co-operation.
- Agricultural and industrial development and job creation.
- Conservation and utilisation of water and other resources.
- Development of health, nutrition and training.

South Africa held the economic key for unlocking the wealth and resources of the region, he said. Without South Africa there could be no prosperity for the sub-continent.

Mr Botha rejected interference in South Africa's domestic affairs, which was often portrayed as diplomatic attempts to bring about negotiation in the country.

"When entering into negotiations with whatever parties, we must therefore determine whether we are dealing with parties who sincerely wish to see the settlement of problems or whether they are merely intent upon extorting one-way concessions, within totally unrealistic time scales."

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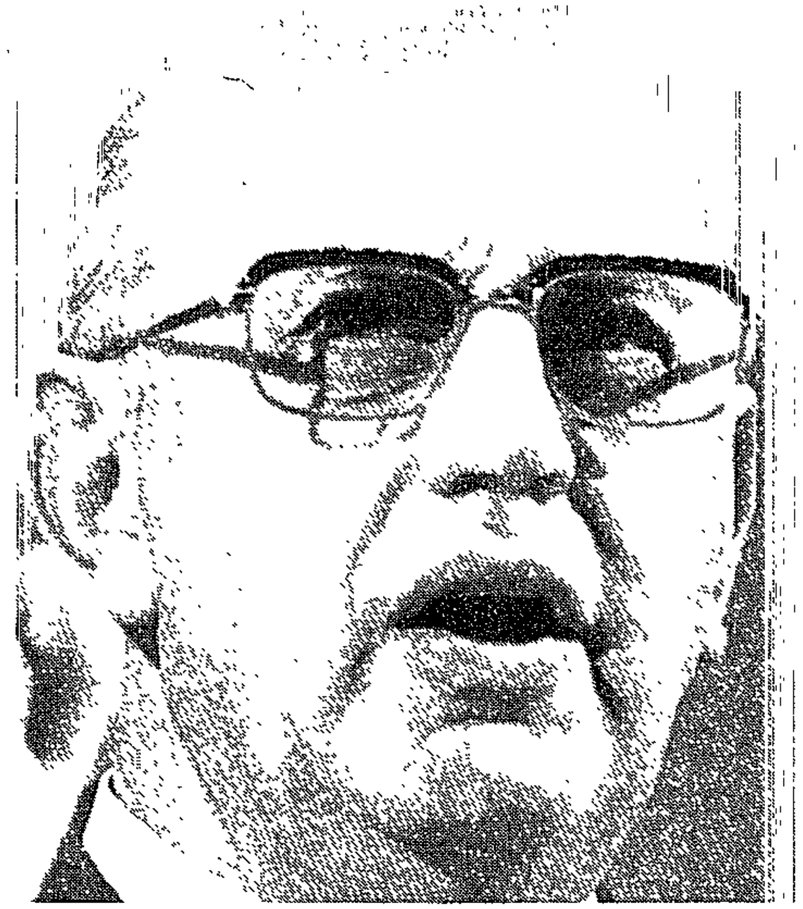

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John Ellison of the *Daily Express*, noting Mr Botha's belief that black political rights can be built around the structure of the homelands with added autonomy for the urban black townships, says: "Neither proposition will meet the minimal demands of South Africa's overseas critics".

Group rights 'basis for security'

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- The protection of minorities by recognizing the multicultural character of South Africa.
- The maintenance of a balance between the rights of individuals and groups, supported by an independent judiciary and equality before the law.

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Mr de Klerk said the National Party was not committed to specific methods on how protection of group rights and recognition of group security could be achieved.

But the party was committed to the principle of group recognition.

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Mr de Klerk quoted the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and major sections of the Political Interference Act, the creation of an umbrella policy-formulating section in the Department of National Education, the encouragement of private schools, investigations into the Group Areas Act and the repeal of pass laws as examples of the party's flexibility.

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SA 'strives for freedom'

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"The principle of freedom, as with any worthy human ideal, is susceptible to the worst corruption.

He believed the South African war had committed "our ancestors firmly and finally committed us to the principles of freedom in our statecraft".

"Today we are still striving towards the expansion of this freedom and the broadening of our democratic structures. This freedom is also embodied and guaranteed in our constitution.

"We uphold freedom of religion. We recognise the independence of the judiciary and equality of all under the law."

South Africa's struggle was not between blacks and whites.

"The struggle is an ideological struggle between the supporters of genuine freedom and stability and those who wish a socialist dictatorship of a small power clique on South Africa.

"Such a clique then becomes a threat to religious freedom, freedom of speech and economic progress."

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"If the campaign against South Africa is really based on moral grounds, then the great majority of other states in the world offer much more fertile ground for concerted international action than South Africa.

"But that is not what it is all about for the international community. They want a quick fix for an enduring problem."

Mr Botha said that in the West, the South African authorities and the evolving South African order were often presented as worse than the Soviet Union.

But in the same Western quarters there was a general tolerance of the Berlin Wall and communist tyranny over Poland, Afghanistan and other countries in Eastern Europe.

Mr Botha asked whether it could be that the Soviet Union was now regarded as the constitutional model for the future world.

"If not, why do we not find among the ranks of the Western countries the same venom and condemnation of the evil communist system? Why have Western voices become so muted over the Berlin Wall?"

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President Botha asked that if it took the nations of Europe so long to form states and democratic systems, why then the intolerance towards South Africa, which was a young country in terms of European history and whose multicultural diversity was much greater than that of Europe.

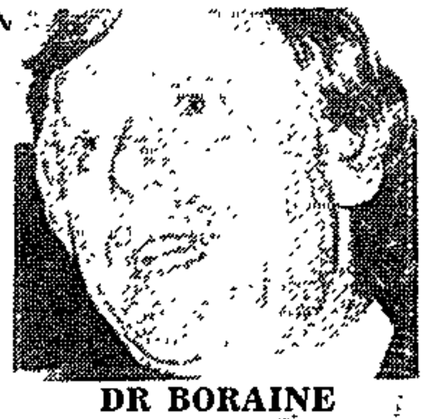
What was taking place in South Africa, and against South Africa, today was mainly the result of an historical hatred on the part of the non-white peoples of the world towards the whites of Europe and North America as a result of centuries of injustice.

"Our unity must be sacrificed for the sake of a discordant world. The blood of a sacrificial lamb is sought as penance for centuries of injustice.".

Parliament is not the only site of power

Moorcroft spells out the role of opposition

MR MOORCROFT



DR BORAINE

Dispatch Reporter

GRAHAMSTOWN — While Parliament remained an important site of political power and action, it was certainly not the only one, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Albany, Mr E. K. Moorcroft, said here last night.

He was responding to a call by concerned Rhodes University students on how they could involve themselves politically.

"The future of South Africa, our security, the value of the rand, our international relationships, the prospects for peace . . . are being determined in the townships as they are in Parliament," he said.

In Western countries no sharp line was drawn between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activities.

Trade unions, business groups, civil rights movements and environmental lobbies were expected to generate creative pressures, without which the parliamentary system would not function effectively.

These pressures were transferred by the ballot box into the parliamentary system for resolution through change of policy, law or government.

In South Africa more than 70 per cent of the population was excluded from voting. There was no direct way to transfer pressures from outside into the parliamentary system, and many South Africans perceived these pressures as hostile to the parliamentary process.

Mr Moorcroft said it was critical that the Opposition tried to counter the negative consequences of the flaws in the constitution.

"Our role is to ensure the pressures of a total South Africa, not just the white electorate, are taken into Parliament, understood and acted on. It is imperative that where laws are made and laws are scrapped, there is an awareness of the reality of a South Africa of 30 million people," he said.

If not, outside pressures could build up until they erupted in a vicious cycle of confrontation, repression, violence and counter-violence.

Mr Moorcroft said one of the main reasons he was in Parliament was to support a party which rejected violence.

"I have a strong abhorrence of violence. Two of my closest and dearest friends have been murdered in brutal acts of senseless terrorism, and their deaths solved nothing.

"I have also stood on the blood-soaked tar of Maduna Road in Uitenhage where the day before scores of defenceless men, women and children were gunned down.

"Their tragic deaths also solved nothing, but simply added to the legacy of bitterness and hate which threatens to rise and destroy us all," he said.

The Government was compelling millions of people to exercise their political power — not through the constitution, but outside it, even against it.

"The greatest threat to constitutional government in South Africa is not to be found in extending the franchise to all South Africans, but by deliberately denying millions the right to take part in the parliamentary process."

History showed more revolutions were caused by denying democratic rights than by extending them.

It would, however, be the height of folly for those who believed in constitutional change to abandon a parliamentary base at this time.

It would leave the National Party government unquestioned and unchallenged in South Africa's legislature.

For the PFP to opt out and allow the Conservative Party to become the official Opposition would be a grave disservice to the cause of non-racialism, and a major setback for constitutional change.

South Africans could assist political change by getting involved with a political party or organisation which could effectively bring about desirable constitutional change.

The impact of all anti-apartheid organisations was important.

"To claim there is only one site of power or one strategy is both arrogant and stupid. It will weaken our fight for a non-racial democracy," he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that at the same meeting at the city hall here, former PFP MP Dr Alex Boraine said Parliament had become thoroughly discredited in the eyes of most South Africans, particularly since the introduction of the new constitution.

Dr Boraine defended his decision to resign his seat in Parliament earlier this year, saying government concessions had not come about through pressure from opposition benches.

The pressure had come from the streets of townships, from the battlefields which included schools, some universities, factory floors and the international arena.

"In other words, the action for opposition is to be found outside the parliamentary structures," he said in remarks prepared for delivery.

It was therefore imperative that those who wished to see fundamental change come about creatively and positively should be closely allied to the areas of conflict and change.

"To withdraw, therefore, at a given moment in history should not be seen as abdication or surrender, but rather as a positive strategy."

His move had sometimes proved uncomfortable, lonely and open to widespread misunderstanding and criticism.

"But if withdrawal can lead to new action, and if the withdrawal itself can become a symbol towards unity rather than separation, then I believe it can be the kind of action which can help to bring us out of the present impasse into new possibilities," Dr Boraine said.

"It is tragically true that Parliament as an institution has become thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the majority of South Africans, particularly since the introduction of the new constitution and the formation of the tricameral Parliament."

It was clear South Africa was no longer governed by Parliament but by the State Security Council.

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Adverts call for change in SA

3541

DD 7/8/86

JOHANNESBURG — Adverts placed by companies and the American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) yesterday called for change in South Africa.

The American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa said instead of a state of emergency, "let's declare a state of urgency to remove all discriminatory legislation without delay".

"Let us all reject violence from any quarter and condemn it for the evil that it is, irrespective of the perpetrator, doctrine or ideology."

Amcham called for the restoration of normality and creation of a climate for acknowledged leaders to explore the basis of a new South Africa.

"In short," Amcham said, "lets get it together."

"Because we haven't the time to take our time."

Mobil said let's build a non-racial democracy from the ground up.

For business confidence to be restored, South Africa needed a brave new vision, Mobil said.

"We want a vision of South Africa without apartheid — a land where people can freely participate in politics regardless of race, where institutions are respected and where elected representatives can meet without fear to deliberate and decide."

Barclays asserted that everyone belonged to the "Family of Africa".

It sketched the story of the effect of provision of water by boreholes to a community deep in the scrublands of KwaZulu.

The boreholes were the work of the Amanzi team who assist people in distress.

"After all," Barclays said, "We are all the Family of Africa. We all belong." — Sapa

Happily for SA the Senate's not a mug

13/08/86 Mercury

304.A

THOMAS JEFFERSON, returning from France where he had been serving as ambassador, was annoyed to discover that the framers of the constitution, not content with a lone House of Representatives, had invented the Senate during his absence.

'Why?' he asked George Washington over breakfast one morning, grumpily slurping coffee from his saucer. 'Even so,' replied Washington, watching his colleague slurp, 'we pour legislation into a senatorial saucer — to cool it.'

Those members of the South African ruling élite who worry about what the U S is going to do to them (a dwindling number, evidently) can be grateful that the American legislature is not a mug. The Senate saved them from getting excessively burnt last year, and will likely do so again this week.

Whatever Senator Edward Kennedy and the other sanctioneers may say, and *pace* the resulting folk wisdom, the Republican-dominated upper chamber is not especially gung-ho about Boer-busting.

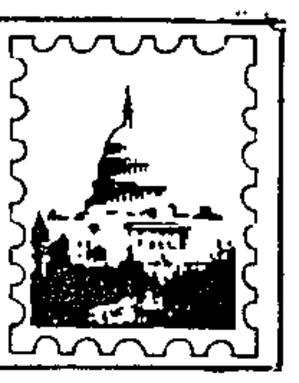
Yes, there is a majority in favour of doing something to South Africa, but it is not a fervent majority. Indeed, unless it were absolutely essential to have a vote in order to free up money for the considerably more important Nicaraguan contras and also be allowed to go home for the holidays the majority would likely find something better to do with its time.

To see the Senate as rushing irresistibly towards sanctions is to miss not only the point but also a fascinating political soap opera which might be titled *The Humiliation of Edward Kennedy and Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd*. In the past few weeks these two gentlemen have learnt the miseries of being out of power. You do not win, and you don't get any credit for trying either.

Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole and Senator Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, have between them seen to it that this year's sanctions vote will not only not become law, but that the unenacted Bill will not have Kennedy's name on it. The Republicans will get the political kudos for having stood up against apartheid; they will also have managed to ensure that their stand will be little more than emblematic.

Washington Letter

Simon Barber



The main advantage

The main advantage in controlling the Senate is that you control its time. You get to say what gets dealt with when, and to a lesser extent how. If there is a measure you don't like you can quietly and unostentatiously delay it while pretending all along that you think it is the finest measure in the world and, because of that, needs especially deep consideration.

To the innocent observer things looked very bad indeed for South Africa when, in June, the House adopted its surreal total disinvestment and trade-embargo Bill and Kennedy, who for some reason is always confused with the *vox populi*, introduced a similar fantasy in the Senate. Lugar, statesmanlike, publicly concurred with the intent and to demonstrate his earnestness of purpose promptly announced that his committee would hold hearings a s a p with a view to constructing its own Bill.

The only trouble was, what with the Fourth of July vacation, the calendar was rather full. The first available date was July 22, three weeks before recess. What Lugar did not say was that this oh-so-unfortunate delay would also give the administration the opportunity (subsequently botched) to get its act together while in all probability running out the clock on legislation being passed before September. Kennedy glumly agreed to wait, knowing full well that without committee deliberation any S A measure was as good as stillborn.

Come July 22, President Reagan did his best to kick-start the Senate into sanctions with a truly absurd speech, and Lugar's carefully planned prevarication suddenly looked like losing its viscosity. Kennedy, forswearing his agreement to wait for the committee to ruminate, rushed to the floor to tempt his colleagues with a new, more moderate Bill. And ran slap into Dole. Sorry, Ted, doesn't seem to be much room on the agenda, better wait for the committee to finish up, unless of course you're willing to promise you won't filibuster my Bill to give the contras $100 million. No? Sorry about that.

The committee was to have thrashed out the details of its Bill on July 31 but a mystery senator, perhaps not a million miles from the majority leader himself, decided to get literal about a routinely waived Senate rule that prohibits committees from meeting while the Senate is in session without unanimous consent to the contrary. Lugar, sounding appropriately chagrined, ordered the panel to reconvene the following morning at 8 o'clock.

It was now Friday, and even though the committee did its job in short order, there was not much that could be done about it until after the weekend when there would be just 10 legislative days left. That evening Dole, Lugar, Kennedy, Byrd and their assorted seconds met to discuss how time could be found for South Africa and the contras.

Dole offered a compromise under which both issues would be dealt with but only on condition that both would be subject to cloture motions that would clearly delineate how many hours could be spent on each before a final vote. This seemed acceptable to all. It was also tentatively agreed that the S A measure to be dealt with would be S 2701, the Bill reported out by the committee, and not Kennedy's alternative.

However, in spite of his apparent acquiescence, Kennedy still wasn't buying a deal in which he'd have to swallow contra aid as the price for his beloved sanctions — to the extent that even his closest allies on South Africa were fast losing patience with him The scene was set for a confrontation of unprecedented vitriol. It came the the following Tuesday.

In a towering rage

Dole had stepped out of the Senate chamber to attend the House-Senate conference on the tax-reform Bill when Byrd unexpectedly introduced the Kennedy legislation as an amendment to the defence measure then under debate. The majority leader re-entered in a towering rage.

'I think it is time we ask ourselves, in all honesty, what kind of game we are playing here,' he snapped. 'I remember raising with the senator from Massachussets (Kennedy) that we didn't want any surprise parties, we had to be heads up as to whether we were going to sneak in and offer some amendment . . We had a gentleman's agreement.'

Byrd didn't like being accused of 'sneaking' and demanded an apology, insinuating with exquisite senatorial periphrasis that Dole might be a racist. When Dole refused to be contrite the Democrat began whining. 'I have had enough of this business of having the majority leader stand here and act as a traffic cop ... He will not let other senators have the floor. He will threaten to call a quorum, or call a recess or go into executive session rather than permit another senator to call up an amendment.'

Yes, Dole had been doing exactly that to Kennedy for the past week. For good measure he immediately did it again to Byrd. That was his prerogative, as the minority leader, having himself been in Dole's shoes until the electorate decided to put the Republicans in charge in 1980, knew perfectly well. He had tried to pull a fast one and had been put straight back in his box. The majority leader would permit a vote on South Africa and the contras when it suited him and there was very little the Democrats could do about it unless they were willing to give Dole his contra money, which Dole knew they were not.

As Dole and Lugar had planned from the outset, Byrd and Kennedy have finally been forced to agree to a South Africa vote at the last possible moment before recess. They have also had to agree to accepting cloture on the contra Bill that would prevent them from filibustering. Dole has laid down that the penalty for their not accepting his terms is no summer holiday until they do.

The result is that tough-sounding and essentially Republican sanctions legislation will almost certainly be passed on Friday night or Saturday. The House will be on its way out of town and not available to go into conference on a compromise version for the President's signature. The administration will then spend the summer choosing a few items from the Senate language to add to last year's executive order which it will renew on September 9.

The resultant order will be just sufficient to ensure that there are enough votes in the Senate (only 34 are needed) to sustain a presidential veto if and when the two chambers settle on a final Bill after they get back on September 8.

In this way, having pushed the administration to amend its policy while stamping on the goofiness of the lower chamber, the Senate will hand the reins back to the White House and the State Department where they belong. George Washington would be proud.

Botha hints at elections

BusDAY 13/8/86 (304A)

● P W BOTHA

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT plans to negotiate for self-governing and autonomous black metropolitan areas as city states.

President P W Botha, in his opening speech at the National Party's Federal Congress in Durban last night, strongly hinted that a white general election or referendum "could take place sooner than most people expect".

His address to about 1 800 top nationalists did not contain any new vision or announcements on reform.

He did, however, indicate that government planned to proceed with the proposed National Council and suggested that this could lead to changes in the present form, task and name of the President's Council.

On the black city states, the only unexpected part of his speech, the Botha said: "Self-government and autonomy for the large concentrations of black communities close to the metropolitan areas will have to be negotiated.

"As in the self-governing states, leaders should emerge in a democratic manner. I sometimes ask myself the question: If a state such as Luxembourg can be independent, why can black urban communities close to our metropolitan areas not receive full autonomy as city states?"

Botha said any agreement reached through negotiations would have to be

● To Page 3

Botha's black city states

13/8/86 BusDAY (304A)

● From Page 1

subject to the decision of white voters.

"I assume that black leaders would also want to consult their followers, or what they refer to as their constituencies. Such consultations on our part, whether by means of a referendum or by means of a general election, could take place sooner than most people expect."

Other main points of his speech were:

☐ An offer to enter into discussions with heads of governments of countries, such as the US, UK, France and West Germany and the leaders of Southern African states, on issues such as military security, stability, economic development and aid.

☐ The time had come for the world to accept the fact of the independence of the TBVC countries. At the same time, the autonomy of the non-independent homelands will be extended.

☐ Botha referred to the sanctions decisions and said that SA did not desire them, "but, if we have to suffer sanctions for the sake of maintaining freedom, justice and order, we will survive them. Not only will we survive, we will emerge stronger on the other side".

He warned that "without SA there can be no prosperity for the sub-continent."

He explained the campaign against SA by saying that the country was in the place "where historical hatred of the Third World and the historical guilt complex of the First World interface".

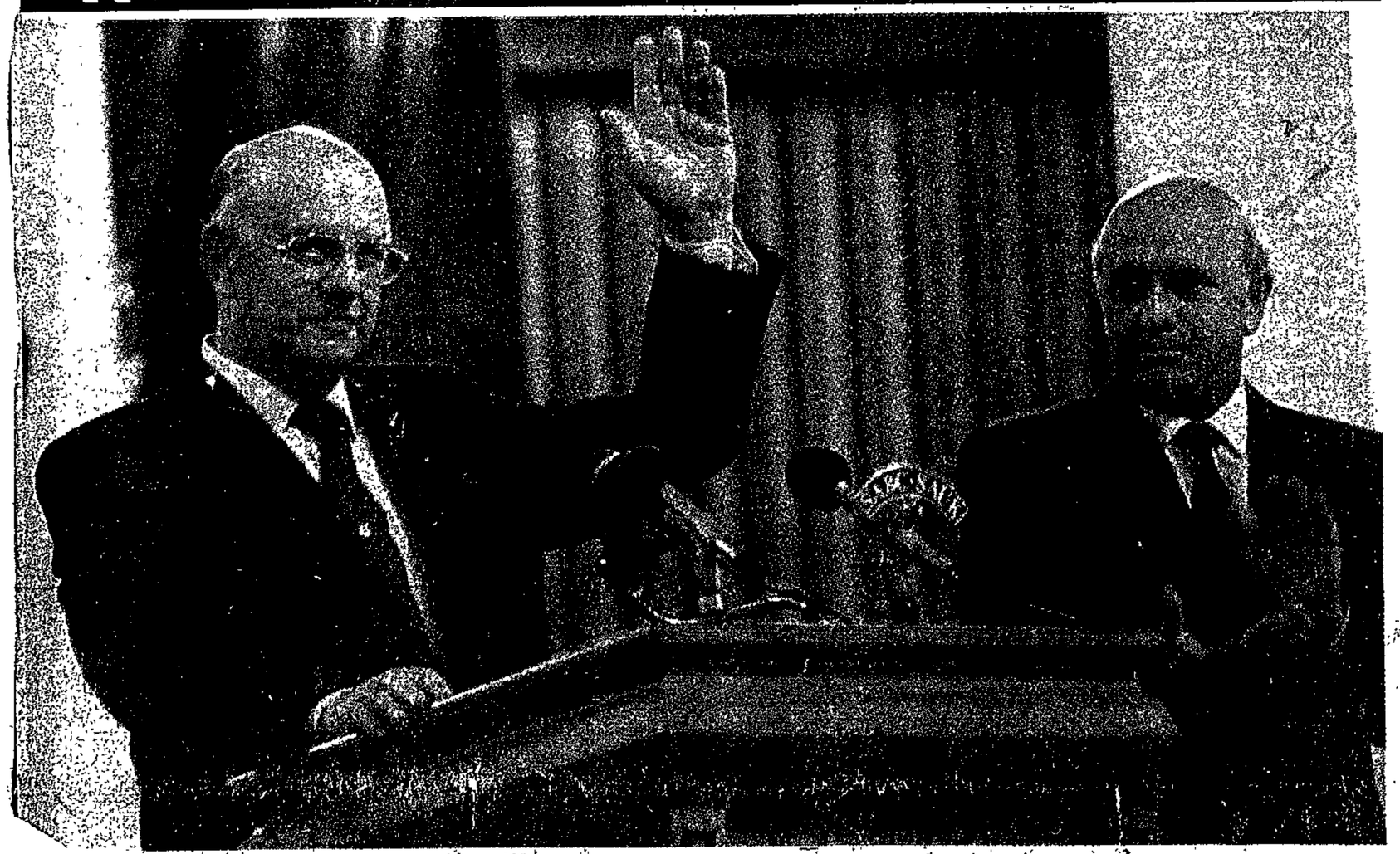
☐ On the release of political prisoners, Botha merely restated his demand that they should first reject violence.

Botha will address the congress again tonight.

Botha OK's black vote

304.A

Applause for PW



President Botha, watched by the leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, Mr F W de Klerk, acknowledges applause from the 3 000-strong audience at the National Party's Federal Congress in Durban last night.
Picture by ALAN COXON

PRESIDENT Botha has opened the way for black elections to test opinion on reform measures and has said a referendum or general election for whites could be held soon.

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

He told a crowd of about 3 000 in Durban at the start of the National Party's Federal Congress last night that a referendum or general election for whites 'could take place sooner than most people expect'.

Observers said this appeared to indicate the Government's reform strategy was far more advanced than generally suspected, as Mr Botha had promised repeatedly to go to the country before introducing radical changes to the constitution.

This seems to be borne out by his implied suggestion that the Government is prepared to organise a black poll.

The Government has constantly questioned who the real black leaders in South Africa are, and it is thought a poll could severely test the credibility of many current 'leaders'.

Mr Botha also announced the Government's willingness to negotiate 'city states' for black communities close to the large metropolitan areas and repeated his recent call for summit meetings with Western and African leaders

His opening speech of last night will be followed by debates today on motions before the congress to include blacks in all political processes and institutions in the country, which, he said, were still to be negotiated.

He [illegible] national unity in the face of growing pressures on the country and virtually told the world to leave South Africa alone while it worked out its own solutions to its problems.

Mr Botha said the Government was committed to dialogue as part of the process of broadening democratic institutions.

'Protection'

'Dialogue should not, however, lead to a situation where the self-determination of the groups and communities in our multicultural country is jeopardised,' he said.

'It should provide for the protection of minority groups in a way other than by mere paper guarantees.

'Dialogue should be an instrument of hope, peace and freedom for all.

'Therefore, if our negotiations lead to drastic changes to our country's constitution, I will keep my promise to consult the voters beforehand.

'Anything on which we reach agreement during such negotiations will have to be subjected to the decision of the white voters.

'I assume that black leaders would also want to consult their followers, or what they refer to as their "constituencies".

'Such consultation on our part, whether by means of a referendum or by means of a general election, could take place sooner than most people expect.'

He said he did not expect the Federal Congress to take detailed decisions on these matters but to indicate guidelines to the various provincial congresses.

Mr Botha also promised the non-independent homelands greater freedom as they would form important components in whatever political structures were negotiated in future.

Various important aspects would have to be negotiated, and in this process, 'self-government and autonomy for the large concentrations of black communities close to the metropolitan areas will

TURN TO PAGE 2

Botha OK's black elections

FROM PAGE 1

have to be negotiated', he said.

'I sometimes ask myself: If a State such as Luxembourg can be independent, why can black urban communities close to our metropolitan areas not receive full autonomy as city states?

'As part of the process of negotiation, and where mutual interests justify it, structures will have to be created and developed at all levels to accommodate negotiation and decision-making on the basis of consensus.'

Mr Botha said the proposed national council held the possibility of development which entailed possible changes to the present form, task and name of the President's Council.

South Africans had to unite against 'prescriptions, interference and threats from abroad'.

'We must each work at the creation of a national will. That will must enable us to achieve breakthroughs against sanctions, in the same way we overcame the arms and oil boycotts with initiatives of which we could all be proud.'

There were frequent references to 'so-called political prisoners with regard to persons who were serving prison sentences or are detained in terms of the law of the country', he said.

People were charged, stood trial and were sentenced if they committed offences and threatened the security of the State and the individual. Some of them were included in the category of 'authentic leaders'.

Mr Botha said he had repeatedly appealed to people to abandon violence and participate in constitutional processes.

PW looks at autonomy

Sowetan (304A) 13/8/86

SELF-GOVERNMENT and autonomy for the large black communities near metropolitan areas would have to be negotiated, the State President, Mr P W Botha, told his party's Federal Congress in Durban last night.

Black leaders would have to emerge from self-governing and autonomous black citistates just as they had done in the self-governing states, Mr Botha said.

He often asked himself the question why, if a State such as Luxembourg could be independent, a black urban community close to a metropolitan area could not receive full autonomy as a citistate.

"As part of the process of negotiation, and where mutual interests justify it, structures will have to be created and developed at all levels to accommodate negotiation and decision on the basis of consensus."

The proposed National Council, the new Provincial Executives and Regional Services Councils were examples of such instruments which could be used for negotiation at different levels of government.

- Any drastic changes to the country's Constitution would not only be subjected to the approval of whites, coloured people and Indians but also to blacks, Mr Botha said.
- South Africa was not in the dock before an international conspiracy because it was guilty of oppression but because it was the prey of greedy world powers hoping to pounce on the riches of the country, Mr Botha said. — Sapa.

However, the union is negotiating for payment for the full period of detention.

Both black polls for whites

From ORMANDE POLLOK

DURBAN — President P. W. Botha yesterday opened the way for black elections to test opinion on reform measures and said a referendum or general election for whites could be held soon.

He told a crowd of about 3 000 at the start of the National Party's federal congress here last night a referendum or general election for whites "could take place sooner than most people expect".

Observers said this appeared to indicate the government's reform strategy was more advanced than generally believed, as Mr Botha had repeatedly promised to go to the country before introducing radical changes to the present constitution.

This seems to be borne out by his implied suggestion the government was prepared to organise a black poll.

The government has constantly questioned who the real black leaders in South Africa are and it is thought a poll could severely test the credibility of current leadership figures.

Mr Botha also announced the government's willingness to negotiate "city states" for black communities close to the large metropolitan areas, and repeated his recent call for summit meetings with Western and African leaders.

His opening speech last night will be followed by debates today on motions before the congress to include blacks in all political processes and institutions in the country which he said had still to be negotiated.

As expected, he called for national unity in the face of growing pressures on the country and virtually told the world to leave South Africa alone while it worked out its own solutions to its problems.

Mr Botha said the government was irrevocably committed to dialogue as part of the process of broadening democratic institutions.

"Dialogue should not, however, lead to a situation where the self-determination of the groups and communities in our multi-cultural country is jeopardised," he said. "It should provide for the protection of minority groups in a way other than by mere paper guarantees.

"Dialogue should be an instrument of hope, peace and freedom for all.

"Therefore, if our negotiations lead to drastic changes to our country's constitution, I will keep my promise to consult the voters beforehand.

"In any event, anything on which we reach agreement during such negotiations will have to be subjected to the decision of the white voters.

"I assume that black leaders would also want to consult their followers, or what they refer to as their 'constituencies'.

"Such consultation on our part, whether by means of a referendum or by means of a general election, could take place sooner than most people expect," Mr Botha said.

He did not expect the federal congress to take detailed decisions on these matters but to indicate guidelines to the various provincial congresses.

Mr Botha also promised the non-independent homelands greater freedom as they would form important components in whatever political structures were negotiated in future.

Various important aspects would have to be negotiated and in this process "self-government and autonomy for the large concentrations of black communities close to the metropolitan areas will have to be negotiated", he said.

"As in the self-governing states, leaders should emerge in a democratic manner.

"I sometimes ask myself the question: if a state such as Luxembourg can be independent, why can black urban communities close to our metropolitan areas not receive full autonomy as city states?

"As part of the process of negotiation, and where mutual interests justify it, structures will have to be created and developed at all levels to accommodate negotiation and decision-making on the basis of consensus."

Mr Botha said the proposed National Council held the possibility of development which entailed possible changes to the present form, task and name of the President's Council.

He called on the country to develop a positive spirit and to shed the spirit of defeatism and doubt about the future of the country.

"We must build and work together in a spirit of South African patriotism to make this country a source of strength which could contribute to the well-being of its peoples, its neighbours and those in the world who share our belief in freedom," Mr Botha said.

South Africans had to unite against "prescriptions, interference and threats from abroad".

"We must each work at the creation of a national will," he said. "That will must enable us to achieve breakthroughs against sanctions, in the same way we overcame the arms and oil boycotts with initiatives of which we could all be proud."

When the country's leftist critics spoke of "genuine reform" they "imply the transfer of power to the South African Communist Party—African National Congress alliance", he said.

Congress motions P13

30447
13/8/85

BUSDAY

Thursday, August 7 1986

Tax burden has soared

Alarm over spread of bureaucracy

THE "plethora of bureaucracies" spawned by the policy of separate development is something that is truly alarming to South African businessmen, Building Industries Federation executive director L E Davis said yesterday.

He told the South African Institute of Public Administration's annual conference in Pretoria that the proliferation of government had resulted in an unacceptable increase in the tax burden, which in turn would have a serious detrimental effect on the long-term growth-potential of the SAeconomy.

Davis said there were "some significant figures" that lent credence to oft-made claims that South Africans were over-governed.

There were in South Africa, including the independent and non-independent homelands, about 156 government departments, each presumably under the control of a minister. There were about 1 190 members of parliament, all of whose salaries were paid by the SA tax-payer, "subject, of course, to adjustments from time to time".

He said the composite picture of the "ministerial elite" in the country read something like this: Eleven presidents/chief ministers/prime ministers; five departments of transport, five departments of foreign affairs, five departments of law and order, five departments of posts and telecommunication, 12 departments of works, five departments of national security, five departments of labour/manpower, three departments of justice, one department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, 14 finance/budget departments, one department of the environment, 11 departments of interior/home affairs, 18 departments of health and welfare, 14 departments of education and culture, 13 departments of urban affairs/local government/housing, 14 departments of agriculture and forestry and nine departments of economic affairs and trade and industry. — Sapa.

Controlled by Nampak,

'Drastic changes' possible, says Botha

Cape Times 18/8/86

3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — A general election or referendum for white South Africans "could take place sooner than most people expect," President P W Botha told the National Party federal congress last night.

He also hinted that he would also allow some form of election or "consultation" among South African blacks to gauge their attitudes towards possible "drastic changes to our country's Constitution."

Delivering his long-awaited "Rubicon Revisited" address to to over 3 000 supporters, Mr Botha:

- Asked why black urban communities close to white metropolitan areas should not have "full autonomy as city states?"
- Noted that the proposed national council could in future function in a manner similar to the European Parliament, entailing possible changes to the form, task and name of the President's Council.
- Proposed that a summit be held between Western superpowers, South Africa and neighbouring African states.
- Predicted that South Africa would not only survive international sanctions but would "emerge stronger on the other side."
- Vowed that his government would not abandon its Bantustan policy and called on the international community to "accept the fact of independence of the TBVC countries."

Mr Botha said the National Party was committed to dialogue which could lead to what he called "the broadening of our participatory democratic institutions."

Mr P W Botha

He made it plain, however, that any dialogue between races should not be allowed to jeopardize the self-determination of whites.

"Therefore, if our negotiations lead to drastic changes to our country's Constitution, I will consult the voters beforehand.

"In any event, anything on which we reach agreement during such negotiations will have to be subjected to the decision of white voters."

He then added: "I assume that black leaders would also want to consult their followers, or what they refer to as their 'constituencies.' "

Mr Botha, however, emphasized that "so-called 'political prisoners' who were regarded by his critics as "authentic leaders" would not be allowed to participate in any constitutional process unless they abandoned violence.

"Freedom," he said, "exists for all South Africans who reject violence."

Mr Botha went to say: "Such consultation on our part, could take place sooner than most people expect."

However, it was not expected that the current federal congress would take a final decision on these matters, he said.

As expected, Mr Botha also used his address to lash out at his government's foreign critics and dismissed charges that the National Party members were "arch-oppressors of our time."

South Africa, Mr Botha asserted, is "certainly no worse that the rest of the world" and the international campaign agains the country "is one of the most extreme forms of political fraud of the 20th century."

'Empty promises'

"We reject interference in our domestic affairs, which is often portrayed as diplomatic attempts to bring about negotiation in South Africa.

"Granting concessions under conditions bordering on blackmail merely encourages a stronger party to raise demands, offering in return empty promises of fictional concessions based on self-interest," he said.

- A small group of Black Sash demonstrators were arrested outside the hall before Mr Botha arrived.

Two Black Sash members got into the hall and stood near the entrance, but were noticed by officials and removed to the back of the hall.

The hall was decorated with banners proclaiming, "Work together, win together" and "Freedom without domination".

Constitutional plans laid out at Nat congress

13/8/86 Mercury

304 A

Ormande Pollok Political Correspondent

MOTIONS before the National Party's Federal Congress pave the way for 'city states', black involvement in all political processes and a Council of State flowing from the proposed National Council.

A lengthy motion on constitutional development, which the Federal Congress can only recommend to the four autonomous provincial congresses, sets out in broad terms the Government's future constitutional plans.

It asks the congress to recommend that all areas which have not accepted independence be regarded as part of South Africa 'with the right to participation by all those political entities in Government processes and institutions agreed upon, and we accept one citizenship for all South Africans'.

It is not clear if the Government will accept a joint legislature for certain regions such as Natal and KwaZulu.

It says, however: 'All political entities constituting the Republic shall have legislative and executive structures of their choice for self-determination at all levels of authority.

'The maximum devolution of authorities' functions must further such self-determination.'

It is thought that by calling for the participation by all 'political entities' in all political institutions and referring to governing structures of choice, the motion could pave the way for joint legislatures.

Another part of the motion also raises the possibility of joint legislatures, saying that 'for the handling of common interests, structures must be created and developed to make it possible for consultation and power-sharing to take place without domination, on the basis of consensus decision-making among all political entities'.

Later, the motion deals with the concept of 'city states', declaring: 'For black communities outside the national states, structures of their choice for self-determination must be created at legislative and executive levels for decision-making over their own affairs.

'Full autonomy and even independence for metropolitan areas will not be refused.'

Though there is not much detail on the National Council, the motion suggests that it could lead to a new body — an all-races Council of State.

It says: 'With the National Council as forerunner, a joint Council of State may be developed in which leaders and other representatives of all the political entities may participate in policy formulation over common interests by means of consensus decision-making.'

Another motion, on Group Security, seems to indicate a crack in the previously hard-line stand on retaining separate schools and residential areas.

It talks of retaining them 'wherever practicably possible'.

The motion reads: 'The congress expresses its conviction that the best interests of all the population groups in the Republic require the following actions:

'The assurance of their own community life for all communities, inter alia, by means of the maintenance of their own schools and residential areas wherever practicably possible;

'The maintenance of full self-determination for all groups and communities on as many levels as possible, inter alia, by means of further establishing and expanding the concept of own affairs or by means of their own administrations on an agency basis; and

'The effective protection of minorities by means of the recognition of the multicultural character of the Republic and of group rights on the basis of equal opportunities and non-domination of any one group by any of the others.'

Mercury, Wednesday, August 13, 1986

304 A

Inquiry hears of city status advantages

Mercury Reporter

A CITY was in a better bargaining position in Parliament than a town, Mr Roger Burrows, MP for Pinetown, said before a commission of inquiry examining Pinetown's application for city status.

The two-man commission, headed by Mr J F Greebe and assisted by Mr J A Adam, heard evidence in the council chamber for the second day yesterday.

Mr Burrows said Pinetown, if it achieved city status, would have political advantages, particularly at the level of the new provincial and executive organisations.

He said the development of industry in the borough was essential.

'Between 50% and 60% of the black labour market in the areas around Pinetown are unemployed and they will all be seeking employment here,' he said.

'Also, since the abolishment of influx control by the Government, it is more likely there will be a shift of black people from rural and sub-rural areas to urban areas.'

Mr Roy Stuart, chairman of the Finance Committee in Pinetown, described the town as 'a leader in municipal matters'.

'The commission of inquiry into Pinetown's affairs two years ago did the town more good than harm.

'Because it came out relatively unscathed, it shows the town's strength and quality.'

Mr Stuart also said the town was strategically in a good position — militarywise and geographicaly.

Earlier in the day, the commissioners were taken for aerial viewing.

The hearing continues today.

Mercury 14/08/86

Sanctions 'will keep S A in debt'

FINANCE Minister Barend du Plessis said sanctions that limited the country's exports would seriously impair its ability to repay foreign debt.

Speaking in an economic debate at the congress, Mr du Plessis said South Africa must continue to seek the co-operation of overseas bankers to roll over as much as possible of their existing loans.

He said sanctions 'that limit our ability to export will seriously impair our ability to repay our foreign debt'.

After overseas banks cut credit lines last year, South Africa was forced to reschedule $14 billion of its $24 billion foreign debt.

General sanctions would surely create problems for the South African economy, Mr du Plessis said.

'But we cannot permit this misplaced threat to undermine our total economy and to create growing unemployment and poverty for the people of South Africa without taking suitable counter-measures.

'We must protect and manage our economy in a way best fitted to so unnatural a set of circumstances'

The Government would continue with its policy of creating the needed climate for economic recovery, even if South Africa was forced temporarily to deviate from the accepted principles of a market-orientated economic policy approach, he said.

Increasing

South Africa could not expect to attract any important new foreign investment in the near future.

The disinvestment campaign and pressure on overseas bankers to refuse any new loans to South Africa was steadily increasing.

'In these circumstances we must continue to seek, through negotiation, the co-operation of overseas bankers to roll over as much as possible of their existing loans to South African banks and other institutions in the private and public sector instead of immediate repayment,' Mr du Plessis said.

The net foreign debt position would, in the next few years, have to be consolidated in one way or another. — (Sapa)

(Report by M van der Velden, Old Mutual Bldg, Harrison Street, Johannesburg)

Peter Miller tells why he's been attending

Mercury 14/10/86

Political Correspondent

MR PETER Miller, former New Republic Party MPC and new Provincial Exco member, has spent several hours at the National Party's Federal Congress over the past two days.

His presence in the company of Natal Nationalist leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, yesterday after attending the State President's opening speech on Tuesday, sparked off speculation that he was on the point of officially joining the NP.

Since being invited to join the new-look Exco, Mr Miller has steered clear of declaring whether he intends resigning from the NRP.

It is understood that he was invited to join Exco without strings or conditions attached to join the NP.

When approached for comment yesterday Mr Botha said he had no knowledge of Mr Miller's plans.

He would be welcome in the National Party but it is a decision he will have to take himself, said Mr Botha.

Our political reporter writes that Mr Miller said he was at the NP Federal Congress as a guest and observer.

'You can read nothing more, or less, into it than that.'

Speaking from his home in Kokstad last night, Mr Miller said there were about 1 400 other observers at the congress including the Mayor of Durban, Mr Stan Lange.

'It is very important in my present position for me to have access to some of the information which was presented at the congress, particularly about constitutional developments.'

Mr Miller said he would not attend the NP's Natal Congress in Durban today.

(Report by O Pollok and S Flitton, both of 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

Reaction to KwaNdebele's decision

PRETORIA—The South African Government is expected to agree to the decision by the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly not to opt for independence on December 11 as it had originally requested.

The acceptance of the self-governing homeland's leaders' decision would be in line with the policy of not forcing any homeland to accept independence from South Africa, Government spokesmen said in Pretoria yesterday.

An official announcement to this effect could be expected in due course from either the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, or President Botha.

Reacting to the news Mr Heunis said the Government had in the past been led by the wishes of KwaNdebele's elected representatives

It would consider the latest decision with respect.

The Chief Minister of KwaNdebele, Chief Simon Skhosana, was not available for comment.

KwaNdebele was racked by unrest in which about 100 people were killed, according to official statistics, since the decision to take independence was announced seven months ago.

The deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Nkosi Molala, said the members of the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly should be saluted for their 'courageous effort' in deciding against independence.

Mr Molala said Mr Skhosana, should 'now dismantle his Legislative Assembly and resign'.

'The black people of KwaNdebele, in actively resisting the so-called independence, have underscored not only the fact that black people are one but also that the life-span of oppression is determined by the length of the acquiesence of the governed,' said Mr Molala.

The United Democratic Front said, in reaction to President Botha's speech to the National Party's federal congress, that the Government was still trapped in the 'legacy of Verwoerdian dogma'

The UDF said Mr Botha had 'clearly revealed the extent to which he and his party are out of touch with the reality of South Africa'.

'This is confirmed by his continued harping on the theme of world recognition of apartheid-created Bantustans — at a time when the people of KwaNdebele have just thrown so-called independence in his face,' said Mr Murphy Morobe, the organisation's acting national publicity secretary. — (Sapa)

Mercury 14/8/86

Violence must be abandoned, say leaders

Political Correspondent

SEVERAL world figures have agreed with South Africa's view that there can be no peaceful progress or constitutional change unless violence is abandoned as a political instrument.

This was revealed at the congress by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

He did not reveal who they were but said that President Botha had actually quoted from a passage from a letter from one of them during his opening speech on Tuesday night.

The Western leader had written that if 'any progress is to be made, violence must be abandoned. No progress can be made unless it is done through peaceful means'.

The abandonment of violence as opposed to its mere 'suspension' during negotiations was the key to the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC, said Mr Pik Botha.

He emphasised this was not simply verbal semantics.

The acceptance of 'suspending' violence was not good enough.

'Their idea of a suspension means that the ANC just has to suspend violence while round the negotiating table and if we don't give them what they want they will start throwing bombs again,' said Mr Botha.

'We want abandonment or we don't talk.'

Mr Botha said this was the key through which to overcome the impasse which had been reached with the West over sanctions.

If people saw that their threats and blackmail could make South Africa do something they would use it again and again till a government would be installed which would destroy the country, Mr Botha said.

(Report by O Pollak, 12 Days ...

Mercury 14/08/86

Sanctions 'will keep S A in debt'

FINANCE Minister Barend du Plessis said sanctions that limited the country's exports would seriously impair its ability to repay foreign debt.

Speaking in an economic debate at the congress, Mr du Plessis said South Africa must continue to seek the co-operation of overseas bankers to roll over as much as possible of their existing loans.

He said sanctions 'that limit our ability to export will seriously impair our ability to repay our foreign debt'.

After overseas banks cut credit lines last year, South Africa was forced to reschedule $14 billion of its $24 billion foreign debt.

General sanctions would surely create problems for the South African economy, Mr du Plessis said.

'But we cannot permit this misplaced threat to undermine our total economy and to create growing unemployment and poverty for the people of South Africa without taking suitable counter-measures.

'We must protect and manage our economy in a way best fitted to so unnatural a set of circumstances.'

The Government would continue with its policy of creating the needed climate for economic recovery, even if South Africa was forced temporarily to deviate from the accepted principles of a market-orientated economic policy approach, he said.

Increasing

South Africa could not expect to attract any important new foreign investment in the near future.

The disinvestment campaign and pressure on overseas bankers to refuse any new loans to South Africa was steadily increasing.

'In these circumstances we must continue to seek, through negotiation, the co-operation of overseas bankers to roll over as much as possible of their existing loans to South African banks and other institutions in the private and public sector instead of immediate repayment,' Mr du Plessis said.

The net foreign debt position would, in the next few years, have to be consolidated in one way or another. — (Sapa)

(Report by M van der Velden, Old Mutual Bldg, Harrison Street, Johannesburg)

Mercury 14/8/86

Let's not be bitter, says Botha

(304)

PRESIDENT Botha ended the National Party's Federal Congress last night with a strong plea for national unity across colour lines.

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

Amid loud applause from the crowded hall, he said: 'With the co-operation of leaders of other groups, let us organise our lives.'

Urging delegates to go out and courageously sell the Government's reform package without apology, he said: 'I reach out and appeal to my fellow South Africans — let us take the bitterness out of politics.

'Let us take out the pettiness and the scandalmongering.

'Politics is not dirty — it is the people who make it dirty.'

Reacting to calls by congress delegates earlier not to give in to the Conservative Party and other Right-wing organisaions, he said he did not attack the leaders of other parties.

Laager

He preferred to deal with their parties' principles and his own party's policies.

'One day we must all get together for the good of South Africa,' he said.

'We must get as many people together as possible so that the children of the future can live.'

Mr Botha also appealed to people not to panic because 'it is dark and you must often operate in the gloom'.

'Panic and fear are twin brothers and when they take over you have given up thinking,' he said.

There were people who were sitting in the laager and some who said the NP did not know where the laager was.

'They must get out of the laager and stand on South Africa's side. South Africa first — that is the message.'

Mr Botha also said that for as long as he was the leader of the country, he would not allow the principle of property rights and land ownership for the various population groups to be tampered with, reports Sapa.

He said he was prepared to look objectively at any recommendations the President's Council made in respect of the Group Areas Act, and he was prepared to increase its flexibility.

Separate residential areas and the Group Areas Act were presently being debated, and he wanted to point out, as a speaker from the floor had done, that the principle contained in the Act was a guarantee of property rights and land ownership to the population groups of South Africa.

'I do not aplogise for the fact that I regard it as a pillar of community life.

'The ownership of land and property rights is a cornerstone in the fight against communism.

'When we plead for this principle for the various communities, then we are pleading that they may own a part of South Africa.'

Before it had been enacted, the coloured community, for instance, had occupied slums where they had been exploited by landlords, Mr Botha said.

The Group Areas Act had been repeatedly amended, and he himself had done so three or four times as Minister of Community Development

It was flexible, and he agreed that it should be made more flexible.

He had granted blacks, coloureds and Indians the property they had obtained over the years. They had a right to have those property interests protected.

He asked only for the same protection of property rights for his own people. — (Sapa)

(Report by O Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

14/8/78 STAR 304A

CP chairman objects to claims that Right is anti-Semitic

Political Reporter

The Johannesburg regional chairman of the Conservative Party, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis has said he took "the strongest exception to attempts by certain Pressmen and PFP MP Mr Harry Schwarz" to claim that the right wing is anti-Semitic.

He issued a statement following reports which said Mr Schwarz planned to take up the issue after alleged anti-Semitic literature was sold at the CP's Natal congress.

"Mr Schwarz knows full well the CP's official policy of tolerance towards all religious groups and we are frankly tired of defending ourselves against this type of hysterical over-reaction," said Mr Derby-Lewis.

The row began when Mr Derby-Lewis was asked whether books distributed at the conference inferred that Jews were "money and power grabbers". He was quoted as replying: "Is that anti-Semitic or fact?"

The implication that Jews were money-grabbers upset Mr Schwarz, who said he would take it up with the CP leadership and raise it in Parliament.

Mr Derby-Lewis said he had been misquoted. "My comment was that there are certain Jewish people who are like that, but I said it applied equally to all other nationalities. It would be absurd to say that all Jews are money-grabbers."

Asked to comment, Mr Schwarz said: "I have not said that the Conservative Party is anti—Semitic. What I said was I would take up the issue of the sale of this literature with the leadership of the CP as I had received assurances from both Dr Treurnicht and Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg that the party was not anti-Semitic."

Lone rule is thing of past

WARMBATHS — The Afrikaner would have to accept that he would not necessarily be popular with other population groups after his dominating role of four decades, the ATKV was told yesterday.

At the organisation's annual congress at Warmbaths, its chairman, Mr H J Conradie, said: "The unique situation in which the Afrikaner has been governing South Africa alone from 1948 to 1984 is irrevocably something of the past."

The Afrikaner could try to put the clock back. Rhodesia had proved this was not worth the cost.

There was another option, Mr Conradie said. That was for the Afrikaner to take part in the new future.

NOT END OF THE WORLD

In order to be able to do this, the Afrikaner would have to accept that:

- He could no longer govern the country alone — and that this was not the end of the world.
- That his image both in and outside South Africa needed attention because it had been deliberately twisted — although a degree of introspection here might be appropriate.

Mr Conradie said the Afrikaner should also realise that South Africa needed him. There could be no new South Africa without input from the Afrikaner.

Professor warns Afrikaners about inferiority complex

STAR 14/8/86. 30417

By Hannes de Wet

WARMBATHS — The Afrikaner should get rid of his inferiority complex and stop being afraid of contacts with others, the rector of Potchefstroom University, Professor Tjaart van der Walt, said at Warmbaths today.

He told the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Vereeniging (ATKV): "There can no longer be something such as a glass cabinet culture or a culture that is being practised behind monastery walls."

Professor van der Walt expressed his concern over "the process of estrangement and de-personalisation between the different population groups".

"Too few South Africans know one another as human beings," he said.

Urbanisation had a lot to do with this phenomenon, but apartheid also played a role and especially the way in which it had often been practised.

Professor van der Walt warned that no government could guarantee the continued existence of the Afrikaner and his culture.

DAMAGED CULTURE

Many political measures deemed to be in the interests of the Afrikaner actually damaged Afrikaner culture. Political considerations led to the artificial removal of the coloureds from the old parliament.

Through that, many of them were estranged from the Afrikaans culture. Now they were back in Parliament, he said.

Cape Times 14/8/86

It's up to us, says Nel

LONDON. — The South African Government yesterday indicated that it was not prepared to negotiate with Western leaders on the country's internal situation, only on the situation in the Southern African region as a whole.

The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, told the BBC on the telephone in a radio interview: "President (P W) Botha gave no indication (in a speech in Durban on Tuesday) that he was prepared to negotiate with Western leaders (on) the internal situation in South Africa. That is for South Africans to do."

In Tuesday's speech, Mr Botha proposed negotiations with the leaders of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and neighbouring Southern African countries on regional security and economic problems.

Prsident Ronald Reagan later endorsed Mr Botha's proposal for leaders of Western nations to convene to offer their advice. — Sapa-AP

SOWETAN, Thur

THUMBS DOWN FOR PW

His conference offer rejected

19/8/86 SOWETAN 304A

LONDON — Britain yesterday rejected Tuesday night's offer by the South African State President, Mr P W Botha, for an international conference on southern Africa.

A Foreign Office spokesman also said the British Government was disappointed that Mr Botha "showed no signs of taking the quantum leap which is so clearly necessary".

Mr Botha suggested a conference with Western powers on the problems in southern Africa but the spokesman dismissed the idea, saying: "New forums are not needed to solve the problems."

The spokesman said there were no plans for the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to resume his European Community (EC) Peace mission to the region.

Rebuffed

Sir Geoffrey was rebuffed by Mr Botha after a recent week-long shuttle round the region but the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, has maintained she cannot take any decision on sanctions until his EC mandate runs out. — Sapa-Reuter.

CAPE TIMES 14/8/86

Govt will aid black elections

Political Staff

THE government is prepared to set up black elections to discover who the real black leaders in the country are.

Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, told the National Party's Federal Congress yesterday the government was prepared to divide the country into regions and draw up a voters roll so that blacks could elect their own representatives to the proposed National Council.

The first hint of a government move in this direction came from the State President, Mr P W Botha, on Tuesday night when he paved the way for blacks to test opinion on reform measures.

Setting out the government's framework of principles for future constitutional development, Mr Heunis said that firstly, everybody had to participate in the "political processes at all levels on an equal footing".

"Secondly, because the factual situation in our country is such that we compete for power as groups, it necessarily follows that the political institutions we develop must eliminate domination by any one group over the others," he said.

"There must be power sharing in relation to affairs of common interest among all groups up to the highest levels of government."

Mr Heunis said groups also had to have the opportunity to choose their own legislative and executive institutions for self-determination at all levels of government.

The government had now asked for comment and proposals on the proposed National Council which in some quarters was being interpreted as a rejection of the council.

"The accusation and perception that the government is not negotiating with the real leaders of black communities relates to the proposed composition of such a council," said Mr Heunis.

The question was who were the real leaders, he said, and then made his offer to divide up the country and draw up a black voters roll.

He said there was often stout resistance to renewal in communities where fundamental adjustments were being made.

This often obliged the state to take countermeasures.

"Such measures are unavoidable in order to provide a shield behind which the process of reform can be peacefully and smoothly pursued," he said.

"Measures to maintain law and order are therefore not necessarily a contradiction of the reform process; as a matter of fact, they are complementary.

"It would, however, be fatal to rely only on security acion to the exclusion of negotiation, as if security action by itself could bring about mutually acceptable constitutional development."

Mercury 14/8/86

Th

Chief underlines conditions for real negotiation

African Affairs Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS could not begin between black and white in South Africa until black politics was 'unfettered by political bannings and jailings', Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He was responding to speeches made to the federal congress of the National Party in Durban by President Botha, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

He said Mr Botha was 'fooling nobody' when he said he was 'sickened' by people who asked him when negotiations were going to begin.

Negotiations had not yet begun between black and white, Chief Buthelezi said.

The National Council would prove to be as big a 'non-event' as the Special Cabinet Committee unless the State President heeded his call to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

The Zulu leader said he would not be party to creating an 'absurd conglomerate of politically independent bits and pieces'.

The country needed an overall binding structure to make South Africa a great democracy.

The Chief Minister said he believed the State President had his eye on an election or referendum in the near future.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party in Natal, Mr Ray Swart, said the statement by Mr Heunis that the Government was prepared to set up black elections to discover the real black leaders in South Africa was encouraging.

However, the legitimacy of these elections would be questioned as long as certain black leaders were in detention and as long as certain black political organisations were banned.

Mr Swart told a PFP meeting at Empangeni last night that the style and content of Mr Botha's speech on Tuesday night emphasised how far ahead the people of Natal were from the rest of the country in seeking inter-racial accord through the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Referring to the remarks about black elections by Mr Heunis, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chief minister in the House of Delegates, said he had always maintained that the main test about 'real leaders' would be conducted through the ballot box.

Mr Pat Poovalingam, Solidarity's spokesman on constitutional affairs, said Mr Heunis was playing into the hands of the dissidents by talking in racial terms when he mentioned 'black elections'.

● See also Pages 4 and 5

(Report by P Leeman, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

Nothing new in Botha's speech, says Britain

14/8/86 Mail

LONDON—The British Government said yesterday it was disappointed by President Botha's speech to the National Party's Federal Congress because he had not suggested any new moves to encourage dialogue with the full range of black opinion in South Africa.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Mr Botha had not been expected to announce any new initiative, but 'the speech restated South African Government policy in familiar terms'.

'President Botha said his Government was irrevocably commited to dialogue, but did not suggest any new moves by his Government that would encourage a start to that process,' said the spokesman.

He said the British Government remained convinced that successful dialogue could begin only when the full range of black opinion was involved.

'We are disappointed that President Botha showed no sign of taking the quantum leap forward which is so necessary.'

He said the steps which Britain, Commonwealth governments and the EEC had called for — Nelson Mandela's release and the unbanning of political parties — remained the key to bringing about dialogue in South Africa.

Asked about reports of South African military activity in Angola, the spokesman said the British Government was 'concerned' and had consistently condemned any violation of Angola's sovereignty.

'We cannot accept that such actions are justified on the grounds of South Africa's occupation of Namibia, which is unlawful. We call on South Africa to withdraw its forces from Angola and Namibia,' he said.

Mr Botha's speech was widely reported here yesterday.

Some newspapers noted that he had not been particularly belligerent, but others said he had delivered a 'storming speech' declaring that apartheid reforms would be carried out his way and in his own time.

Rejected

Britain rejected Mr Botha's offer of an international conference on Southern Africa.

Mr Botha had suggested a conference with Western powers on problems in southern Africa, but the Foreign Office spokesman dismissed the idea, saying: 'New forums are not needed to solve the problems.'

The spokesman said there were no plans for the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to resume his European Community peace mission.

Sir Geoffrey was rebuffed by Mr Botha after a recent week-long shuttle round the region, but Prime Minister Thatcher has maintained she cannot take any decision on sanctions until his EC mandate runs out.

EC Foreign Ministers are due to meet in Brussels in mid-September to review the results of Sir Geoffrey's mission. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Sutton wants another chamber

Merc. 14/08/86

304 A

CAPE TOWN—A fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks would be the best answer to sanctions, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, said last night.

Addressing a public meeting at the Claremont Civic Centre, he said his party favoured a rotating presidency between the leaders of the parties in the four Houses.

'This would ensure that the world outside would see that a black man would be President of South Africa one year out of four, thus proving the determination of the political establishment to include blacks in all levels of political decision-taking.'

Mr Sutton said South Africa needed a management government and not a majority government. Management skills were concentrated in minority groups at present.

'What we need is a balanced power structure that will take care of the needs of all groups.'

A black parliamentary chamber would ensure that all groups had a say in the allocation of tax money, ensuring fair sharing as far as possible. — (Sapa)

(Report by H Henning, 80 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

Star 14/8/86 (304A)

There was not a word of hope in PW's speech, says Suzman

'Mandela can halt violence'

By Don Holliday

Nelson Mandela was the only person who had the will and the authority to persuade the ANC to suspend their policy of violence in South Africa, Mrs Helen Suzman said in Johannesburg last night.

Mrs Suzman, MP for Houghton, and Mrs Irene Menell, MPC for Houghton, were giving their annual constituency report-back at a meeting of the Progressive Federal Party.

Mrs Suzman said she had a two-hour discussion with Mandela at Pollsmoor Prison in May and concluded that he was the only one who could create a climate of negotiation in South Africa.

He had said he was prepared to help start negotiations between the ANC and the Government, and added that he believed the kwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, should be part of those negotiations.

Really dramatic moves towards negotiated power-sharing were demanded, which was why Mandela's release was so important, said Mrs Suzman.

She said the lives of millions of blacks would be materially improved by important reforms introduced during the past session of Parliament.

She was referring to the abolition of influx control and the pass laws, the opening of CBDs to all races, extension of freehold rights, and the restoration of citizenship to those blacks connected ethnically with the TBVC countries who are permanently resident in South Africa.

However, these meaningful changes had hardly been given any recognition by black leaders or by South Africa-watchers abroad.

There were two main reasons for this:

- The timing of the passing of these Acts by Parliament. The debates took place in the midst of strong opposition to the introduction of the two security Bills — the Internal Security Amendment Bill and the Public Safety Bill — and coincided with the re-introduction of the state of emergency.

"What with the massive spate of detentions and the reaction to the state of emergency regulations, no one was inclined to say a kind word to the Government."

- The "fierce tide of resistance surging through the townships" which no longer permitted the sort of positive reaction such as would have occurred five years ago to the repeal of the pass laws.

"Demands today, both here and abroad, go well beyond incremental change," she said.

There was "not a word of hope" in President Botha's three-hour address to the National Party federal congress in Durban on Tuesday night, she added.

The speech contrasted with what he said at the opening of Parliament this year.

"We witnessed the transformation of a man with pretensions to being a statesman into a plain and simple party politician, playing on all the emotions of his supporters — patriotism, fear of a black majority government and communist threats."

The parliamentary speech was full of noble sentiments, promises of reforms and concessions of past mistakes.

Mr Botha's speech was "loaded with admonitions against interference in South Africa's domestic affairs, and full of totally irrelevant comparisons of black homelands with Liechtenstein and Luxembourg, and with hints of converting black townships into city states — a quite ridiculous proposition considering that the inhabitants are economically integrated with the adjacent metropolitan areas.

"For the rest we were given much rhetoric with no real substance.

"There was much talk about freedom — somewhat ironic, considering that South Africa is in a state of emergency and that thousands of people are in detention without trial.

"There was not a word about issues like the release of Mandela, not a word about repealing or even amending the Separate Amenities Act or the Group Areas Act in the forthcoming session.

"There was not a word of hope for blacks who must have been listening intently. The speech was aimed at National Party supporters.

"There was not a word of encouragement to people fighting sanctions in England or America.

"In other words, P W Botha has taken South Africa into the laager and when — no longer if — punitive sanctions are imposed, the blame can be laid fairly and squarely at his feet," she said.

She said she foresaw the future in South Africa as a long, drawn-out confrontation between the Government, with their strong military machine, and popular forces using guerilla tactics.

"Our task is to knuckle down to the hard task of political conversion.

"We have to convince the white electorate that it is not the drought, or locusts, whom we have to blame for our woes — but apartheid," she said.

Picture at the back P.T.O.

→

The Star Thursday August 14 1986 17

Mrs Helen Suzman speaking to her constituents in Houghton last night ... "Mandela is the only one who can create a climate for negotiation".

V.V. Razis

Cape Times 14/8/86 300cm

'PFP founded UDF'

Political Staff

THE PFP had founded the UDF to create a leftist party outside Parliament when the tricameral system was introduced, the NRP candidate in Claremont, Mr Anthony Leisegang, said last night.

He also said the PFP and the National Party were in collusion on the sanctions issue.

Mr Leisegang, who spoke at a public meeting in Claremont attended by about 65 people, about half of whom were opposed to the NRP, said multi-nationals and big business were benefitting from sanctions, but black people and ordinary white people were suffering.

The NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, told the meeting that the best answer to sanctions was to involve black people in the system of government that effected everyone in South Africa.

Mr Sutton said a black chamber of parliament with 60 members should be created.

Mr Barrett said he was very strong on the security of South Africa and there was a time coming "when loyalty to South Africa is going to count".

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town)

'Nats out of touch'

Political Staff

A CROSS-SECTION of political opinion in South Africa yesterday strongly criticized the speech by President P W Botha at the National Party's federal congress in Durban on Tuesday.

The United Democratic Front said the NP was "out of touch with the reality of South Africa".

Its national publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said Mr Botha sought international recognition for Bantustans at a time when the people of KwaNebele had rejected independence.

Mr Botha went on to "ludicrously" suggest the creation of black city-states, further balkanizing South Africa.

The spokesman for the End Conscription Campaign, Ms Paula Hathorn, said Mr Botha's hard-line attitude was "condemning us to years of violence and war".

The publicity convener of the Cape Action League, Ms Shireen Samuel, said Mr Botha had retreated into the Afrikaaner laager.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said Mr Botha had demonstrated that old-fashioned Verwoerdian apartheid remained part and parcel of government thinking.

Mr Botha's concept of city-states linked to the devolution of power should be explored. "But when the concept of city-states is linked to apartheid ... it's just a modernization of Dr Verwoerd's thinking."

The Conservative Party spokesman, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, told Channel 4 viewers in London on Tuesday that Mr Botha was pandering to the right-wing in a bid to repair the damage caused by his reforms.

Mr Aziz Pahad, of the African National Congress, told UK television viewers Mr Botha was bogged down in "irrelevancies".

(News by B Streek and E Moosa, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Botha pleads for unity across racial lines

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — President P. W. Botha ended the National Party's federal congress here last night with a strong plea for national unity across colour lines.

Amid loud applause from the crowded hall he said: "With the co-operation of leaders of other groups let us organise our lives."

Urging delegates to sell the government's reform package without apology, he said: "I reach out and appeal to my fellow South Africans — let us take the bitterness out of politics. Let us take out the pettiness and the scandal-mongering. Politics is not dirty — it is people who make it dirty."

Reacting to earlier calls by delegates not to give in to the Conservative Party and other rightwing organisations, he said he did not attack the leaders of other parties but preferred to deal with their parties' principles and his own party's policies.

Mr Botha also appealed to people not to panic because "it is dark and you must often operate in the gloom. Panic and fear are twin brothers and when they take over you have given up thinking."

● Sapa-AP reports from Washington that the US State Department last night withdrew President Ronald Reagan's endorsement of a call for Western leaders to meet South Africa to try to ease its racial problems.

Mr Reagan's approval at a news conference on Tuesday night was based on early and inaccurate accounts of what President Botha had proposed in his speech to the NP congress on Tuesday.

Mr Reagan said he welcomed the South African President's call for a meeting with the leaders of West Germany, France, Britain and the United States.

Reading yesterday from a prepared statement, a State Department spokesman, Mr Charles Redman, said: "As the President indicated on Tuesday night, we want to be helpful and we would be prepared to consider taking part in a conference with our allies and others, including the South African Government, that could assist in the prompt dismantling of apartheid.

"Early reporting on President Botha's speech suggested that was what he was proposing. It appears that what he was discussing was the need to focus on regional issues rather than apartheid."

In reply to other questions, Mr Reagan said that despite some "solid citizens" the African National Congress was influenced by communist members who had their own agenda for South Africa's future.

In an interview with the BBC yesterday, the South African Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said: "President Botha gave no indication that he was prepared to negotiate with Western leaders on the internal situation in South Africa. That is for South Africans to do.

"The State President made it clear that he is prepared to discuss and negotiate with Western powers about the situation in Southern Africa, in the whole region."

In London, the British Government expressed disappointment yesterday that President Botha did not take a "quantum leap forward" in his speech in moving to end apartheid.

The Foreign Office also reacted cautiously to Mr Botha's proposal for a conference on regional security and economics in Southern Africa. It quoted the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, as saying last month that the South Africa problem didn't require "new forums."

● The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, told the congress last night the government was in no hurry to lift the state of emergency.

He said the emergency would not be lifted before Mr Botha and the government were satisfied that the situation had normalised and people could live normal lives again.

"The State President and the government have no intention of lifting the state of emergency before the revolutionary climate justifies it. Even if the physical characteristics (of unrest) vanish, the emergency will not be lifted before the climate justifies it," he said.

● The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, gave more details of the government's proposal to hold elections to determine who the country's real black leaders were.

The first hint of a move in this direction came from Mr Botha on Tuesday when he said the government was willing to test black opinion on reform measures.

Mr Heunis said the government was prepared to divide the country into regions and draw up a voters' roll so that blacks could elect representatives to the proposed National Council.

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304A

Buthelezi: continuing politics of prescription

304A DD 14/8/86

ULUNDI — Negotiations between blacks and whites could not begin until blacks were unfettered by political bannings and jailings, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

In a strong attack on the State President's policy speech at the National Party's federal congress, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said Mr P. W. Botha had fooled nobody by saying he was "sickened" by people asking when negotiations were going to begin.

Chief Buthelezi warned that the National Council would prove as much of a non-event as the Special Cabinet Committee unless his call to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners was heeded.

In a special statement, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Botha's speech had demonstrated tragically that he was aiming at white solidarity in a situation in which black solidarity was becoming ever-increasingly destroyed.

He described it as a more than usually disappointing re-statement of a position already well known to the world.

Not only had Mr Botha never moved from the impractical suggestion that South Africa was a country of minorities, he had now re-stated his position in the context of calling on the world to recognise Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

He had also called for the constitutional development of blacks in urban areas as though they could be separated from the metropolitan areas.

Mr Botha had once again addressed his white constituency and given evidence that he was continuing with the politics of prescription although the vast majority of South Africans and the entire international community knew that such politics had been outdated in South Africa by reality. — Sapa

CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Crack in Group Act as paves way for 'grey ar

ARGUS 14/8/86 (300A) PW AREAS

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha has prepared the way for adaptations to the Group Areas Act which may allow for some "grey areas".

He expressed his willingness to have adaptations to the Act — with the proviso that groups must still be allowed to exercise their own cultural life — in his closing address at the Nationalist federal congress in Durban.

He emphasised that he would not allow tampering with the principal of land and property ownership.

His remarks are being interpreted by National Party insiders as a significant crack in the doctrine of strictly segregated residential areas.

Option

Instead, while still adhering to "own" areas for groups that want them, the Government appears to be leaning towards the concept of allowing mixed or "grey" areas at the option of local communities.

New townships may also be opened to all races from the outset.

Such a new policy will not affect the principle of prohibiting people from owning or residing on properties in the group areas of other races if these (group areas) remain officially segregated.

President Botha said he was waiting for recommendations from the President's Council, which was due to report soon on its investigation into the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

It has been widely reported that the council will recommend some mixed areas at local option.

● Mr Botha today told the West they would be forced to deal with South Africa because it was the only way Southern Africa could be helped.

Mr Botha's remarks came as a last opportunity to stave off further substantial sanctions evaporated in confusion over a possible summit meeting between him and Western leaders.

Hopes were high yesterday after President Ronald Reagan reacted favourably to a call by Mr Botha for a meeting between himself and leaders of major Western democracies and other Southern African states.

But hopes were dashed today the when the US State Department said it was not interested in a meeting which appeared to be about regional issues in Southern Africa rather than the "dismantling of apartheid".

Offer stands

Speaking at the National Party Natal Congress, Mr Botha said his offer to meet the Western leaders still stood.

He thought Western countries were like a child pulling petals from a flower saying "He loves me, he loves me not".

"One moment they will talk to us and then something else happens and they won't," Mr Botha said.

"They can do what they want. They can't deny our existence and they can't deny our role in Southern Africa."

The West would have to talk to South Africa if they wanted to keep the region out of the hands of Marxism.

Real change must back reform in education

Task force calls for a fair cash distribution

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — If reform in education were to be effective, it had to be accompanied by meaningful political change which brought all South Africans into participation in the decision-making process at all levels of government.

This view was expressed in a report on black education in South Africa by a Signatory Association task force.

The Johannesburg-based association consists of different companies which have combined to influence social conditions in the country.

The task force said education should be the first financial priority of the government.

A single education department under one management should be created in the country.

Racial disparity in the provision of funds for education was cited as one cause of dissatisfaction. And the task force dismissed the government argument that the differences were due to the lower qualifications of the majority of black teachers.

It said the government could transfer savings to other areas in the education department to upgrade the education system.

It also noted the government spent seven times more on white education than it did on black education.

It recommended the government's financing of education should be on an equitable and non-racial basis, and if local communities were to become involved in school and other educational improvements through levies, then this should be on a voluntary basis.

Educational institutions should be free to open their doors to all races, provided this was not in direct opposition to the wishes of the community concerned.

"Without this element it is difficult to see how equality can be achieved," the task force argued.

The report emphasised the upgrading of teachers, suggesting that the private sector should be intimately involved in such programmes.

The private sector should also be involved in the financing of education This included teachers' salaries.

In-service training for teachers and the upgrading of teacher training colleges should also be given priority.

The report noted the key to sound education hinged on competent and well-qualified teachers.

Low salaries for black teachers and the education system they were operating in had a negative effect on their performance in the classroom.

This had resulted in low morale, and teachers had joined parents and students in their "clamour" for better education, the task force said.

It recommended the introduction of pre-school education and supporting facilities in rural South Africa where such services hardly existed.

The task force concluded its report by saying it had set out fundamental issues and had cited events in 1985 which had marred black education.

DD 14/8/86

304N

NRP, PFP clash over a chamber for blacks

304K STAR 14/8/86

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The idea of a fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks has become a bone of contention in the Claremont parliamentary by-election.

A sharp clash of opinion on the issue was reflected at separate meetings of the New Republic Party and the Progressive Federal Party in the constituency last night.

In the Claremont Civic Centre, NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton made a new plea for the inclusion of blacks in the constitutional system by way of a fourth chamber — an idea so far rejected by Government spokesmen.

BEST ANSWER

Mr Sutton said such a chamber would be the best answer to sanctions against South Africa.

In terms of NRP policy, a fourth chamber would also ensure that the Presidency would rotate between the leaders of the majority parties in the four Houses of Parliament.

This would prove the determination of South Africa's political establishment to include blacks in all levels of political decision-taking, Mr Sutton said.

The idea of a separate fourth chamber for blacks was rejected outright by the Cape leader of the PFP, Mr Roger Hulley, at a house meeting in Claremont constituency last night.

Mr Hulley, MP for Constantia, said it perpetuated the apartheid idea of separate racial political institutions.

This idea was the basic cause of unrest in South Africa and of the country's growing isolation in the world.

If a fourth black chamber were to be fairly weighted it would be five times as big as the white chamber.

This would be a formula for the instant black majority rule which the NRP purported to oppose.

"They cannot produce a single respectable black leader who would give support to NRP constitutional policy. How can they expect to be taken seriously as a political factor?" Mr Hulley said.

Conservatives to hold anti-reform rally in Pretoria

ARGUS 15/8/86 304A

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party has won permission from the Commissioner of Police to hold a rally on Church Square here on August 30.

Thousands of people are expected at the square, where party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will speak against the Government's reform plans.

Dr Treurnicht said he intended to call for action to show that whites were not prepared to surrender their independence.

A special train from Soutpansberg has been arranged and buses have been booked buses for supporters.

The Conservative Party offices have also urged demonstrators to make banners.

The rally will start at 10am and end at 1pm.

NP FEDERAL CONGRESS

World leaders are behind SA — Pik

● BOTHA

Own Correspondent

SEVERAL world figures had agreed with South Africa's view that there could be no peaceful progress or constitutional change unless violence was abandoned as a political instrument, Foreign Minister Pik Botha told the congress.

He did not reveal who these world figures were, but said President P W Botha quoted from a letter from one of them during his opening speech on Tuesday night.

The Western leader had written that if "any progress is to be made, violence must be abandoned".

The writer added: "No progress can be made unless it is done through peaceful means."

Pik Botha said the abandoning of violence, as opposed to its mere suspension, during negotiations was the key to the release of Nelson Mandela and unbanning of the ANC and PAC.

He said if more Western countries and other organisations accepted that view "there can be dramatic developments in South Africa, opening the door for government to take even more dramatic decisions".

The "suspending" of violence was not enough.

"Their idea of a suspension means that the ANC just has to suspend violence while round the negotiating table. Then, if we don't give them what they want, they will start throwing bombs again," said Botha.

"We want it abandoned, or we don't talk."

That was the key with which to overcome the impasse reached with the West over sanctions.

If people saw that their threats and blackmail could make South Africa do something, they would use it again and again until a government would be installed that would destroy the country.

"This is why we say: 'If they are going to demand this, then we will sweat it out'."

Call for 'flexibility'

New hint on Group Areas Act

CAPE TIMES 14/8/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON 304A
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — President P W Botha last night gave the strongest hint yet that the government is planning to change the Group Areas Act.

In his closing address to the National Party's federal congress here, Mr Botha said: "The Group Areas Act has flexibility — but let us make it more flexible so that it can be applied with more understanding."

But he immediately added: "But let us retain our (whites') own community life."

Although Mr Botha did not specify what changes to the controversial Act were being contemplated, senior government sources last night hinted that these could include the establishment of "grey" residential areas on a local option basis.

Another possibility mentioned was that certain new residential areas would not be proclaimed in terms of the Act, freeing residential occupation to property owners prepared to live in mixed areas.

It is also reliably understood that a significant amount of new land will soon be freed for black residential occupation.

But it does not appear likely at this stage that a thorough-going redistribution of land among the different races groups is contemplated

Mr Botha last night emphasized the importance of fostering land ownership and property rights among all races "so that they can become part of South Africa"

But he stressed that whatever changes the Group Areas Act might undergo, whites would retain the right to send their children to schools where they could learn about their "own" cultures and religions.

Evaded

He promised to examine the recommendations of the President's Council which was at present investigating the Group Areas Act "objectively".

Earlier yesterday, government ministers evaded persistent calls from NP delegates to disclose whether it planned to amend or phase out the Group Areas Act.

The Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, ended a lively debate on the Act among delegates at the congress by saying it would be inappropriate to reply in detail to questions raised because he did not want to pre-empt the President's Council investigation.

Pattern

Mr De Klerk said free association over a wide spectrum "has now become part of South Africa's pattern of life".

But he added: "When it comes to the fundamental corner-stones of group security, such as an own community life, own residential areas and schools, then the National Party believes that some or other general provision, embodied in binding measures, is imperative in order to ensure proper order and meaningful association between the individual and group"

Assurance

Earlier, a number of delegates asked the government for an iron-clad assurance that it did not intend scrapping or amending the Group Areas Act.

Some speakers expressed alarm that a motion on "group security" which only guaranteed the maintenance of racially exclusive schools and neighbourhoods "wherever practically possible".

But other delegates expressed themselves in favour of local option, the creation of "grey areas" and freedom of association

● *More reports on the*

CAPE TIMES 14/8/86

UK dampens plan for S Africa talks

304A 16 337

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The British Government yesterday dampened the idea of an international conference on Southern Africa — readily endorsed by President Ronald Reagan only hours earlier.

However, a US State Department official later withdrew Mr Reagan's endorsement saying that it was based on inaccurate accounts of what President P W Botha had proposed in his Durban speech.

Sapa-AP reports that the spokesman said that the US would be willing to participate in talks to assist South Africa in a prompt dismantling of apartheid, but "there has been no such proposal"

The offer of a conference including Britain, the United States, West Germany, France and the Southern African frontline states to discuss regional security and economic problems was made by President P W Botha on Tuesday night.

President Reagan responded positively to the proposal within hours and disclosed that the proposal had been discussed by the Western Four.

Whitehall officials appeared embarrassed yesterday by the disclosure that the conference idea had already been discussed among the Western nations and made clear that Britain would insist on the inclusion of the ANC.

The British Government also expressed "concern" at reports of South African military involvement in the Cuito Cuanavale area inside Angola

Bill of rights being probed says Coetsee

(354A) D 14/8/86

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The government had asked the Law Commision to investigate the possibility of a manifesto of human rights, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

At the National Party's federal congress here he praised the draft manifesto drawn up by the KwaNatal Indaba, saying: "This draft really has much merit."

Mr Coetsee made it clear any manifesto would incorporate both group and individual rights.

He said the manifesto would give individuals access to the courts where they could seek redress and direct their energy and efforts away from revolution, uprising and terrorism.

However, access to the courts should not be abused to the point where they became instruments in the hands of anarchists who sought to destroy the state and its legal system.

"There are examples, such as Portugal, where the institution of a bill of rights became an agent of national reconciliation and brought about peace through the establishment of political and civil rights," Mr Coetsee said.

MR COETSEE

Section 27 of the United Nations convention on civil and political rights stipulated: "In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right . . . to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion or to use their own language."

"I am satisfied that we can strive towards the same goals in a manner that we ourselves determine, provided that it is not done with the view to dominate," he said.

Confusion reigns at Nat congress

304A

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspodnent

GOVERNMENT yesterday revealed parts of its complicated plans for SA's constitutional future.

That future could include a multi-racial council of state as a supra- parliament, ethnically-based black structures outside the homelands and automonous black cities.

But the 1 700 delegates to the National Party's federal congress went home last night more confused than ever

The only firm assurance they got was that all new plans would be based on rigidly separate group rights.

In his concluding speech last night, President P W Botha poured more cold water on the heads of the already demoralised verligtes in the party by saying the principle behind the Group Areas Act was non-negotiable. He said he was only prepared to make the Act more flexible.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said that if the need existed in black communities outside the homelands to elect their representatives to a national council, "we will assist with the division of the country on a regional basis for the election of such leaders and the compilation of lists of black South African citizens to participate in such an election of leaders".

Heunis said the proposed national statutory council — government's forum for negotiation — was merely a proposal and could be changed.

● See Page 5

He proposed in a motion that "with the national council as a forerunner, a joint council of state may be developed in which leaders and other representatives of all the political entities may participate in policy formulation over common interests by means of consensus deci-

● To Page 2

Confusion at Nat congress

BUS DAY 14/8/86

304A

● From Page 1

sion-making".

Botha referred to a body growing out of the national council and compared it to the European Parliament. "This also entails possible changes in the present form, task and name of the President's Council."

A motion adopted by the congress proposed "legislative and executive structures of their choice" for all political entities, while full autonomy "and even interdpendence for metropolitan areas will not be refused".

Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen said: "The next step to follow in our reform process, which it should be possible to negotiate successfully at an early stage, is the creation of structures for self-determination over their own affairs at legislative as well as executive level for black communities outside the national states, which do not yet enjoy political rights on central or regional level."

National Education Minister F W de Klerk introduced a motion stating the National Party's rigid bottom line of full self-determination for all groups and communities and the maintenance of separate residential areas and schools.

The congress was deeply divided over the issue of the Group Areas Act. Many pleaded emotionally for no change. A handful of "new Nats" asked for the introduction of grey areas. But all delegates were united on issues such as national security and opposition to outside interference.

The strongest reformist note came from Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee who accepted on behalf of government the idea of a Bill of Rights.

ARGUS 14/8/86

Sutton call on UDF to enter main politics

30 4/V

Political Staff

THE leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, has suggested that members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) should enter the mainstream of politics.

He said even the African National Congress could enter if it abandoned violence, but he did not think it would.

Mr Sutton's plea was for all people interested in democracy to take part in South Africa's political process.

He was the main speaker at a public by-election meeting of the NRP attended by about 60 people in Claremont Civic Centre.

HECKLERS

About half the audience consisted of hecklers and others who indicated that they were not NRP supporters.

Mr Sutton spoke in support of the NRP's candidates in the Claremont and Pinelands parliamentary by-elections.

He said a coalition of moderates was needed in South Africa to hold together the political centre.

Such a coalition should include a black political party of the moderate centre.

The NRP's candidate for Claremont, Mr Anthony Leisegang, said the PFP was the National Party's 'coalition partner'.

Someone was needed in Parliament to "tell the truth about what is going on" and to expose the tactics of those two parties.

Mr Leisegang also said the PFP had started the UDF to create a leftist opposition outside Parliament.

MODERATION

The NRP's candidate for Pinelands, Mr Norman Barrett, said he intended going to Parliament "to participate in the government of South Africa".

He believed in moderation.

Replying to a question, Mr Sutton said he believed the Group Areas Act should be scrapped because it infringed on the rights of people. A local option system was needed.

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

Cape Times 14/8/86

Chief: Botha fooled nobody

SOWA

ULUNDI. — Negotiations between black and white could not begin until blacks were unfettered by political bannings and jailings, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Ulundi yesterday.

In a strong attack on the State President's policy speech at the National Party Federal Congress in Durban on Tuesday night, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said Mr Botha had fooled nobody by saying he was "sickened" by people asking when negotiations were going to begin.

Chief Buthelezi warned that the National Council would prove as much of a non-event as the Special Cabinet Committee unless his call to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners was heeded.

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Botha's speech had demonstrated tragically that he was aiming at white solidarity in a situation in which black solidarity was ever-increasingly destroyed.

He described it as a more than usually disappointing restatement of a well-known position.

Not only had Mr Botha never moved from the impractical suggestion that South Africa was a country of minorities, he had restated his position in the context of calling on the world now to recognize Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

And he had called for the constitutional development of blacks in urban areas as though they could be separated from the metropolitan areas — none of this was new, and the concept of city states had been firmly introduced in the last referendum campaign.

Mr Botha had once again addressed his white constituency and given evidence that he was continuing with the politics of prescription.

Chief Buthelezi cautioned against reviewing the address out of context in the National Party's structure. — Sapa

Mercury 14/8/86

Th

Chief underlines conditions for real negotiation

304-A

African Affairs Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS could not begin between black and white in South Africa until black politics was 'unfettered by political bannings and jailings', Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He was responding to speeches made to the federal congress of the National Party in Durban by President Botha, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

He said Mr Botha was 'fooling nobody' when he said he was 'sickened' by people who asked him when negotiations were going to begin.

Negotiations had not yet begun between black and white, Chief Buthelezi said.

The National Council would prove to be as big a 'non-event' as the Special Cabinet Committee unless the State President heeded his call to release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

The Zulu leader said he would not be party to creating an 'absurd conglomerate of politically independent bits and pieces'.

The country needed an overall binding structure to make South Africa a great democracy.

The Chief Minister said he believed the State President had his eye on an election or referendum in the near future.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party in Natal, Mr Ray Swart, said the statement by Mr Heunis that the Government was prepared to set up black elections to discover the real black leaders in South Africa was encouraging.

However, the legitimacy of these elections would be questioned as long as certain black leaders were in detention and as long as certain black political organisations were banned.

Mr Swart told a PFP meeting at Empangeni last night that the style and content of Mr Botha's speech on Tuesday night emphasised how far ahead the people of Natal were from the rest of the country in seeking inter-racial accord through the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Referring to the remarks about black elections by Mr Heunis, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chief minister in the House of Delegates, said he had always maintained that the main test about 'real leaders' would be conducted through the ballot box.

Mr Pat Poovalingam, Solidarity's spokesman on constitutional affairs, said Mr Heunis was playing into the hands of the dissidents by talking in racial terms when he mentioned 'black elections'.

● See also Pages 4 and 5
(Report by P Leeman, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Govt offer to black voters

304 A

14/8/86 Mercury

Govt praise for Indaba's proposed Bill of Rights

Political Correspondent

THE Government had asked the Law Commission to investigate the possibility of a Manifesto of Human Rights, Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, said yesterday.

Speaking at the National Party's Federal Congress, he praised the draft manifesto drawn up by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and said: 'This draft really has much merit.'

Mr Coetsee made it clear that any manifesto would incorporate group and individual rights.

He said the manifesto could put an instrument in the hands of the individual which would give him access to the courts where he could seek redress and direct his energy and efforts away from revolution, uprising and terrorism.

Peace

But access to the courts should not be abused to the point where it became an instrument in the hands of anarchists, who sought to destroy the State and its legal system.

'There are in fact examples, such as Portugal, where the institution of a Bill of Rights became an agent of national reconciliation and in fact brought about peace through the establishment of political and civil rights,' said Mr Coetsee.

'A total of 134 countries already had a manifesto.

Section 27 of the United Nations Convention on Civil and Political Rights stipulated: 'In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.'

In section one of the convention, the right to self determination of all peoples

cultural wellbeing.

'I am satisfied that we can strive towards the same goals in a manner that we ourselves determine, provided that it is not done with the view to dominate,' he said.

'We do, however, now hear noises from Leftisit and radical sources against such a manifesto — rumour has it that they want to settle accounts.

'Their revolutionary point of view is obviously based on the disappointment that so many peopele, black and white, support our existing legal dispensation which does not tolerate political thuggery and necklace crimes.

'Support for an orderly establishment, now and in the future, comes from no less a source than the draft manifesto of human rights of the Natal/KwaZulu

THE Government is prepared to hold black elections to discover who the real black leaders in the country are.

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, told the National Party's Federal Congress yesterday the Government would offer to divide the country into regions and draw up a voters' roll so that blacks could elect their own representatives to the proposed National Council.

The first hint of a Government move in this direction came from the State President, on Tuesday night, when he paved the way for blacks to test opinion on reform measures.

Yesterday, setting out the Government's framework of principles for future constitutional development, Mr Heunis said that firstly, everybody had to participate in the 'political processes at all levels on an equal footing'.

'Secondly, because the situation in our country is such that we compete for power as groups, it necessarily follows that the political institutions we develop must eliminate domination by any one group over the others,' he said.

'There must be power-sharing in relation to affairs of common interest among all groups up to the highest levels of government.

'This includes the legislative as well as the executive authority of the central Government'.

Mr Heunis said groups also had to have the opportunity to choose their own legislative and executive institutions for self-determination at all levels of government.

The Government did not wish to unilaterally impose a blueprint on anyone and had used various forums over the years to consult and to negotiate as widely as possible.

It had now asked for comment and proposals on the proposed national council which in some quarters was being interpreted as a rejection of the council.

'The accusation that the Government is not negotiating with the real leaders of black communities relates to the proposed composition of such a council,' said Mr Heunis.

'Who are the real leaders? The traditional leaders, or are they only leaders when they sing in the international choir of condemnation? The symbolic leaders? Who determines their status, authority and support? The elected leaders?

'I would like to make an offer on behalf of the Government.

Choice

'If the need exists in black communities outside the national states to elect their representatives to a national council, we will assist with the division of the country on a regional basis for the election of such leaders and the compilation of lists of black South African citizens to participate in such an election of leaders.

'The choice for negotiated reform is a choice for responsibility and not for short-lived popularity.

'The choice for negotiated reform is a choice for civilised values and not the destruction thereof.

'The choice for reform is the choice for responsible government, not a choice for unfettered freedom which destroys freedom.'

Mr Heunis said reform had deep emotional implications but also had important implications for stability.

There was often stout resistance to renewal in communities where fundamental adjustments were being made.

(Report by O Pollok, 12 Devon-

Reaction to KwaNdebele's decision

PRETORIA—The South African Government is expected to agree to the decision by the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly not to opt for independence on December 11 as it had originally requested.

The acceptance of the self-governing homeland's leaders' decision would be in line with the policy of not forcing any homeland to accept independence from South Africa, Government spokesmen said in Pretoria yesterday.

An official announcement to this effect could be expected in due course from either the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, or President Botha.

Reacting to the news Mr Heunis said the Government had in the past been led by the wishes of KwaNdebele's elected representatives.

It would consider the latest decision with respect.

The Chief Minister of KwaNdebele, Chief Simon Skhosana, was not available for comment

KwaNdebele was racked by unrest in which about 100 people were killed, according to official statistics, since the decision to take independence was announced seven months ago.

The deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Nkosi Molala, said the members of the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly should be saluted for their 'courageous effort' in deciding against independence

Mr Molala said Mr Skhosana, should 'now dismantle his Legislative Assembly and resign'.

'The black people of KwaNdebele, in actively resisting the so-called independence, have underscored not only the fact that black people are one but also that the life-span of oppression is determined by the length of the acquiesence of the governed,' said Mr Molala.

The United Democratic Front said, in reaction to President Botha's speech to the National Party's federal congress, that the Government was still trapped in the 'legacy of Verwoerdian dogma'.

The UDF said Mr Botha had 'clearly revealed the extent to which he and his party are out of touch with the reality of South Africa'

'This is confirmed by his continued harping on the theme of world recognition of apartheid-created Bantustans — at a time when the people of KwaNdebele have just thrown so-called independence in his face,' said Mr Murphy Morobe, the organisation's acting national publicity secretary. — (Sapa)

(304A) DD 15/8/86

Party acclaims PW's initiative

DURBAN — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha's leadership and reform initiative were overwhelmingly acclaimed at the National Party's Natal congress in Durban yesterday.

Various branch motions were passed thanking him for his perseverance and endeavours under difficult and challenging conditions.

Mr Botha was thanked for his "enterprise in persisting" with reform in spite of "vehement opposition and criticism and for his faith in a peaceful and just future for all the Republic's peoples."

In a short speech at the opening of the congress Mr Botha said Western leaders would eventually have to speak to South Africa and this would have to be as equals.

He wanted to tell the world that South Africa would not sell out, he said.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said the views of the people of Natal would have to be tested before the government could consider any recommendations by the Natal-KwaZulu indaba on joint administration of the province.

The congress came out strongly against mixed schools and urged the government to resist extra-parliamentary pressures aimed at enforcing integration. — Sapa

Pilgrims exit

MANAMA — More than a million Moslem pilgrims from 119 countries streamed from Mecca to the Plain of Arafat in Saudi Arabia yesterday at the climax of their annual pilgrimage rituals. — Sapa-AP

304A

Artisans slam proposed pay hike for MPs

Increases inconsiderate, says E Cape ASA man

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The planned salary increases for cabinet ministers, members of the House of Assembly and senior civil servants were "noted with disgust" by the Cape Eastern regional council of the Artisan Staff Association (ASA).

"The Cape Eastern region of the ASA has noted with disgust and dismay the increases in salary of these people.

"The salary increases are most inopportune and inconsiderate in view of the fact that the very people who have to battle to make ends meet constitute a large part of the electorate who voted the government into power," the secretary of the ASA here, Mr A. S. Helfrich, said in a statement yesterday.

"It has become virtually impossible to find justification to inquiring members for these untimely increases. In the light hereof, it is felt that the minister now be approached regarding the outstanding 15 per cent and a further salary increase which will still be well below the general price rise since the last hand-out in April this year," the statement added.

Mr Helfrich explained that South African Transport Services (Sats) employees had called for a 25 per cent increase in salary but had been granted only a 10 per cent increase in April.

"It must be borne in mind that the State President himself stated that no member of the cabinet or the House of Assembly would receive an increase in excess of 10 per cent.

"This new salary hike constitutes an increase of between 20 per cent and 30 per cent to the cabinet ministers, members of Parliament and directors-general," the statement said.

"This trade union supports the principle that only the best persons be elected for these positions, but it must be remembered that these persons, of their own free will, elected to become members of Parliament.

"The artisan staff in the Cape Eastern region therefore appeals to the government to increase the salaries of the Sats workers accordingly," the statement added.

riday, August 15, 1986

Natal National Party

Referendum 'could test' Indaba plans

W/Mg 15/8/86

304A

Political Reporter

A REFERENDUM might be held in Natal for whites, coloureds and Indians to test the acceptability of KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, told the congress yesterday that a referendum was one way in which opinions about the Indaba could be tested.

Mr Heunis said he expected the KwaZulu Government would also consult the Zulus in a democratic fashion about possible proposals.

He said he was not committing the Government to accepting possible Indaba proposals, nor to using a referendum to test opinion, but was merely explaining possible procedures which the Government could follow should it find merit in the proposals.

Mr Heunis said although the Government would take note of any proposals from discussions such as the Indaba, it would test these against NP principles.

He said neither the Government, nor the National Party, should be actively involved in the Indaba, because the Government would have to decide on possible proposals from the talks.

He said the proposed joint executive authority (JEA) would be an administrative body to carry out the executive functions of the Natal Executive Committee and the KwaZulu Government.

'The JEA will be headed by a board giving equal representation to both parties. The chairman will have to be acceptable to both and a rotating chairmanship is no doubt a possibility,' Mr Heunis said.

He said NP members should not be ashamed in front of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Conservative Party or Progressive Federal Party that the NP had been an agent for reform in South Africa.

He said Britain should accept that it excluded blacks, coloureds and Indians from political representation in South Africa in the 1910 Act of Union.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

Du Plessis and De Villiers reply to attack

THE Ministers of Trade and Industry and of Finance media secretaries yesterday responded to a blistering attack made earlier this week on the Ministers by former Sanlam chairman Andreas Wassenaar.

The statement issued by the Ministers' press sectretaries read: "Dr Wassenaar's reflections on the Minister of Trade and Industry and the Minister of Finance have been brought to the Ministers' attention, as were his previous statements of the same kind.

As far as the Wassenaar attack was concerned, the media secretaries said: "Inasmuch as this charge is simply a repetition of his previous verbal attacks, and since his views are not shared by the majority of businessmen or by other leading figures in the sphere of economics, with whom both Ministers regularly consult, the Ministers do not deem it necessary to comment on Dr Wassenaar's statement or any consequential report."

Mass CP rally aims to prove white solidarity

STAR 15/8/86 (304A)

Political Reporter

The Conservative Party is to hold a mass right-wing rally at Church Square in Pretoria on Saturday, August 30, "to show the world that whites are not prepared to surrender their sovereignty".

A statement said the CP had been given permission to hold a meeting from 10 am to 1 pm.

"The rally is a call for action in the face of increased threats by forces determined to make the whites of South Africa the milking cows in a future Marxist controlled black dictatorship," said the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He expected "tens of thousands" to attend "as proof of solidarity against the betrayal of whites".

Referendum, not election more likely say analysts

BUSDAY 15/8/86 304A

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

POLITICAL analysts are sceptical that a general election is in the offing, despite some commentators' interpretation of President P W Botha's opening speech at the National Party federal congress in Durban this week.

A referendum is the more likely option, most believe, with the focus still on obtaining a response from the white electorate on bringing blacks into governmental decision-making.

A general election will inevitably have to involve the Indian and coloured communities and, in the current climate, could provide a recipe for more turmoil than government would want to risk.

More pertinently, analysts do not see what benefits there would be for the National Party in holding a general election.

They do not foresee a general election being held until another delimitation — an effective restructuring of the constituencies — is held.

The last delimitation was in 1980 and the next, in terms of the country's constitution, does not have to be held before 1990.

Government sources in Cape Town suggest that the appointment of a Delimitation Commission may well be a possibility, but also tend to the view it will not be the precursor to an early general election.

The mechanics would, in any event, demand a time lag of at least eight to nine months between the appointment of the commission and the completion of its functions.

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Apartheid is dead, but its ghost is in splendid health

WEEKLY MAIL 15/8/86 (304A)

Looking grim on the rostrum ... 'I am what I am by the grace of God' Picture: GIDEON MENDEL

The concept is taboo, but the practice lives on. PATRICK LAURENCE reports from a National Party congress which buried old-style apartheid yet defended its basic principles

THE National Party this week reaffirmed its belief in the primary tenets of apartheid while shying away from the word

President PW Botha, speaking at the special NP federal congress, reiterated that South Africa had "outgrown the outdated concept of apartheid".

But he then went on to defend the establishment of separate ethnically-based states or homelands for blacks by the high priest of apartheid, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, and his two faithful disciples and successors, ex-Ministers Daan de Wet Nel and MC Botha

PW Botha even refurbished the idea of forging city states out of the black townships which lie outside the borders of the "black homelands"

He asked: "If a state such as Luxembourg can be independent, why can black urban communities close to our metropolitan areas not receive full autonomy as city states?"

The city state proposition was once punted by Dr Connie Mulder, the man who narrowly lost to Botha in the succession struggle after the retirement of former Prime Minister BJ Vorster in 1978 and who is today a leading member of the Conservative Party and an apostle of old-style apartheid.

But in propagating separate tribally-based states and city states for blacks, Botha dissociated himself from "grand apartheid".

What he was advocating was neither grand apartheid nor petty apartheid but the "peaceful co-existence of a diversity of cultures" and an "extension of democracy", he told the 1 700 party faithful who came to what transpired to be a morale-building congress.

Botha's closing speech to the congress contained an impassioned defence of another cornerstone of apartheid: compulsory residential and educational segregation.

Noting that the Group Areas Act was being investigated by the President's Council, Botha declared. "I am prepared to look at its recommendations objectively. But as long as I remain leader of this country, I will remain true to the principle of land ownership and property rights as we arrange them for every community."

Botha added: "It is only if I have the ability to organise my own community that I can send my child to a school where he can be brought up in my traditions. It is only in my own community that I can live out my cultural life, not because I am better than anyone but because I am what I am by the grace of God."

Two of the top contenders to succeed Botha, FW de Klerk, Minister of National Education, and Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid, defended yet another fundamental apartheid concept: compulsory grouping of South Africans by race, and political representation according to their assigned race.

De Klerk, said to be a heartbeat away from the presidency, asserted: "Group rights and groups are essential for peaceful co-existence."

He defended racial categorisation of people by law — or by what he called "binding measures" — as "imperative to proper order and meaningful association between the individual and the group."

Racially separate residential areas and schools were not racism, he informed the attentive delegates, but differentiation in the interests of peace and tranquillity.

But Viljoen, a former chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond, was not to be outdone as a defender of the faith.

"For the effective protection of minority rights, the National Party considers it essential that, within the realities of South Africa, participation in the political process should be on a group basis," he insisted.

"It is a serious misconception that political representation based on population groups has anything to do with discrimination or the outdated concept of apartheid."

Viljoen picked up on the city state proposal for black townships far away from the borders of black ethnic states. He spoke of the need to establish structures to give blacks outside their "homelands" legislative and executive powers "over their own affairs".

That, however, was not apartheid but a "further manifestation of the division of power which remains an intrinsic component of our approach".

Viljoen advised blacks to recognise the reality of white power and to temper their demands accordingly. It was a theme which caught the underlying mood of the congress: the NP had made enough concessions for the immediate future and now was the time to hold the line until blacks realised that they, too, would have to compromise.

"The whites are not on the point of capitulating to pressure from abroad," he said to applause from the delegates.

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Significantly, Buthelezi was not impressed with Botha's proposals, labelling them a restatement of his well-known position which was "more disappointing than usual".

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He offered the same advice to hold the line against the assault from within and without as that proffered by Viljoen. "We will control our own destiny," he intoned. "There is nothing that they can do, however serious, which will affect our determination to triumph in the end."

The president enters through an honour guard of flags Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

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The atmosphere was sedate and composed. The NP was not going to gratify the press corps by indulging in in-fighting. Dissent was absent. All the resolutions were accepted unanimously.

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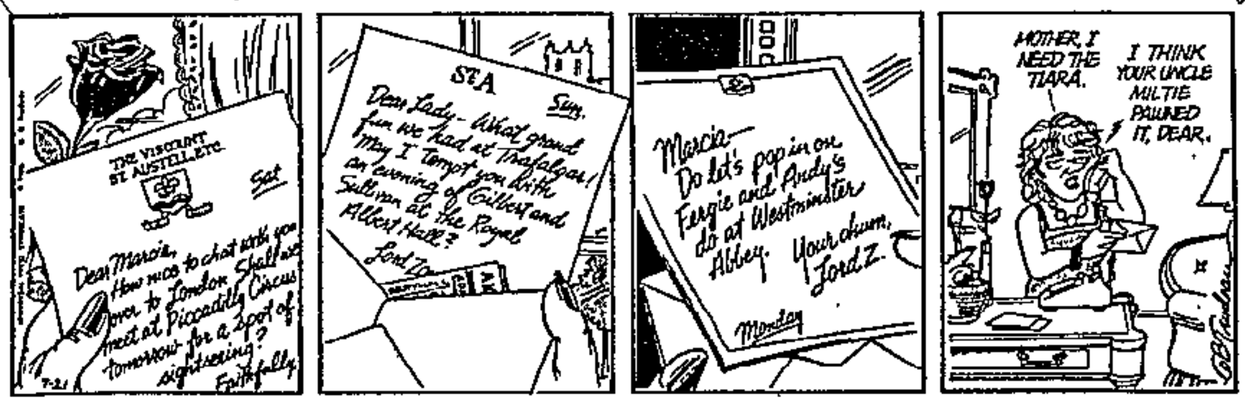
Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU



CP congress to aim at right-wing unity

304A

15/8/86 STAR

Political Reporter

The Conservative Party will discuss ways of achieving unity among South Africa's right-wing groups at its Transvaal congress which begins in Pretoria tonight.

According to the congress agenda, the party's executive will be asked to investigate urgently the possibility of active co-operation on the Right.

This week the CP met the Herstigte Nasionale Party to try to resolve differences. The party has said it also plans to meet the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and to continue its discussions with the HNP.

Hints by the State President, Mr P W Botha, that a referendum or general election may be called, have spurred on the right-wing parties to unite.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht opens the congress in the Pretoria City Hall tonight where he will react to the speeches made by Mr Botha at the National Party's federal congress in Durban this week.

"Dr Treurnicht is expected to slam the weakness of the Government in the face of threats of sanctions," said a CP statement.

The state of emergency is also to be discussed.

304A Fin Mail 15/8/86

POLITICS

The Luxembourg option

State President P W Botha was always attracted to the city-state option. As a junior minister in the portfolio of Coloured Affairs more than 20 years ago, he dreamed idly — mindful of Dr Verwoerd's stern gaze — in conversations with *Die Burger* of a system of neat compartments.

He probably inclines toward the Swiss canton system, with a quaint diversity of multi-cultural, multi-lingual industrious people making money in valleys and mountains and beside the lakes, politely despising each other, but nonetheless united in economic consensus.

He, or, more likely, Chris Heunis, may well have the principality option in mind for SA's "difficult" black cities. His repeated, longing references to the Luxembourg-Andorra option, however inappropriate they may seem, may well presage a new constitutional initiative. Perhaps a constitutional aperitif with, say, a "sovereign" Soweto or even Sandton's Norweto was in his mind when he addressed a vast gathering on the eve of the National Party federal congress in Durban.

He unequivocally reaffirmed Grand Apartheid. He would consult voters through a referendum or an election, he said, before implementing major new constitutional changes: such changes could take place "sooner than most people expect." This may well spark speculation about an imminent election, as foreshadowed by the CP's Andries Treurnicht, who believes Botha may use the Commonwealth sanctions issue to unify the volk to back against the wall and fight the neo-imperialists (see page 28).

He reassured his audience that he would go to the country if negotiations with black leaders implied drastic changes to the constitution.

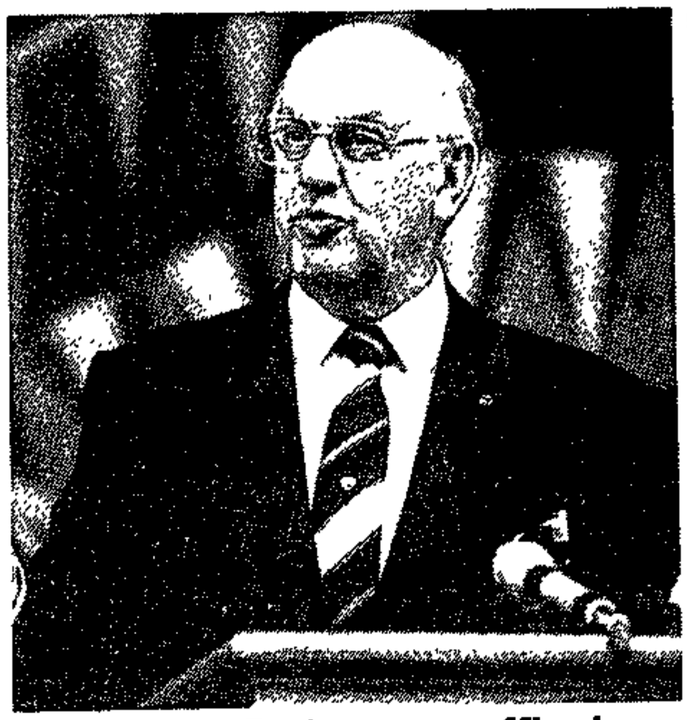
He explained: "Self-government and autonomy for the large concentrations of black communities close to the metropolitan areas will have to be negotiated."

He indicated that elections in some areas may be held soon to enable leaders to "emerge in a democratic manner."

"I sometimes ask myself the question: If a state such as Luxembourg can be independent, why can black urban communities close to our metropolitan areas not receive full autonomy as city states," he said.

It was the first time Botha publicly raised the issue debated by government's constitutional planners for some time.

Botha said "unique solutions" had to be found to facilitate political power sharing in SA. He explained that several steps were in the planning stage and called for international and domestic recognition for the reforms implemented to date.



President Botha . . . reaffirming apartheid's basic tenets

The old-style bellicosity showed through. Sanctions, the "duplicity" of the West in its dealings with SA, and the irrational behaviour of those on the radical Left, were subjects harshly dealt with.

Indeed, it was the night of the odious comparison. Scarcely a trouble spot in the world, whether it involved Ghurkas, Sikhs, Tamils, Aborigines, the Hopi Indians or the Basques was spared quizzical recrimination. But in the end Botha appeared to despair that his policies would ever gain international recognition.

"We do not desire sanctions, but if we have to suffer them for freedom, justice and order, we will survive them. Not only will we survive, we will emerge stronger on the other side," he said.

On the brighter side, he reiterated his offer to the Western powers and neighbouring states to engage in unconditional discussions on a range of issues: the military, security and economic development of the region, social programmes and the development of resources — even as he seemed to turn his back on dialogue and almost invite sanctions.

On constitutional reform, Botha said the proposed National Council held out the best prospect for power sharing and mutual coexistence. He hinted, too, that through it blacks might at some stage be brought into the President's Council: "This also entails possible changes in present form, task and name of the President's Council," he said.

Despite fruitful results from negotiations behind the scenes, said Botha, his difficulty was that certain black leaders had raised unnecessary preconditions to dialogue.

"They will negotiate with government only after all reforms have been implemented up to the point where their negotiating position starts. What then is the sense of negotiation?" he asked. Yet he reaffirmed that government would enter future negotiations from a position of strength and that it would not yield to "blackmail."

"Granting concessions under conditions bordering on blackmail merely encourages a stronger party to raise his demands, offering in return empty promises of fictional concessions based on self-interest," he said.

He added that "true dialogue should provide for the protection of minority groups in a way other than by mere paper guarantees."

He repeated an offer to hold talks with South African and Western leaders on issues like military security and stability in southern Africa; economic development aid and mutual co-operation; agricultural and industrial development and job creation.

☐ On the agenda for the federal congress are motions calling for clear signposts for the country's economic future, particularly on privatisation and deregulation, and the role of SA in the regional context.

One of the more controversial motions bluntly seeks to reaffirm the Group Areas Act as a way of life. Another, dealing with constitutional matters, says that mechanisms must be found to bring blacks outside the "national states" into legislative and executive decision-making — without specifically mentioning a redrafting of the constitution. Lastly, there is the usual law-and-order rider pointing out that no "reform" is possible without stability in society and that, consequently, "terrorism must be rooted out at all costs." ■

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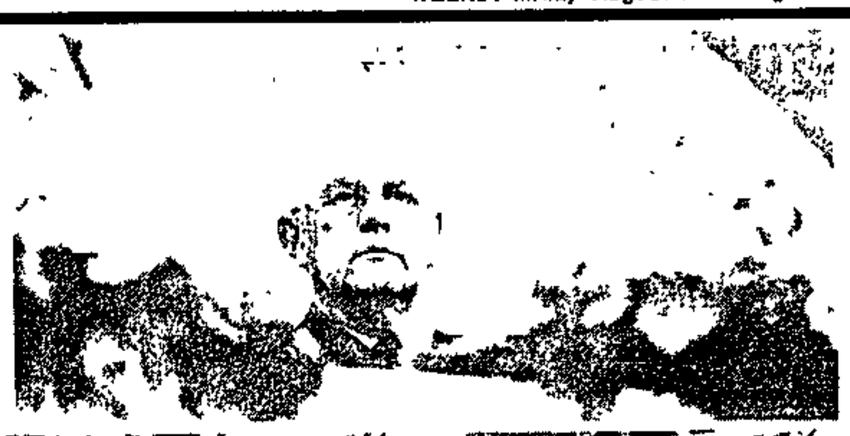
WEEKLY MAIL 15/8/86 (304A)



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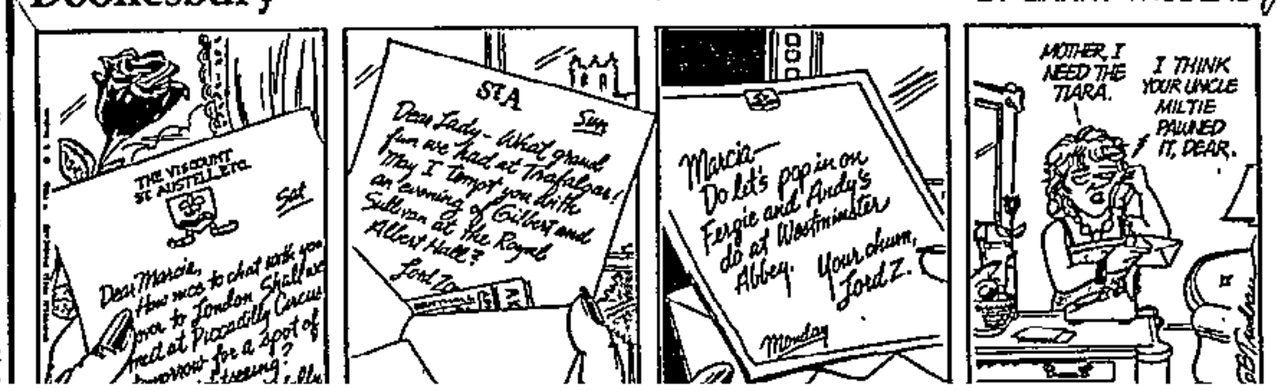

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Afrikaners must play ball 'in mature way'

15/8/86 STAR 304A

By Hannes de Wet

WARMBATHS — Afrikaners still had to learn to play the ball and not the man when they differ politically, Professor Tjaart van der Walt, rector of the Potchefstroom University, told the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurvereniging (ATKV) yesterday.

"Afrikaners will always differ. They are 'korrelkoppe' by nature — but we have not yet learnt to do differ from one another in a mature way."

At the annual congress of the ATKV at Warmbaths, Professor van der Walt said he did not expect that the present political divisions between Afrikaners would last forever.

"That is why we should differ in such a way that it will not be too difficult for us to come together again."

MORALLY WRONG

Professor van der Walt said he believed the Afrikaner was realistic enough to know that he could not keep on governing the country alone — not only because the Afrikaner was in the minority but because it would be morally wrong.

The Government was on the right path, "but I wish they would move a bit faster".

"We have to convince the other population groups that we are sincere and not acting out of fear. We should not be afraid to share power in such a way that it would have also been acceptable to us."

Professor van der Walt said many black youths were militant and they held the unrealistic view that only a little push was needed to topple the Government — so they were not interested in negotiations at all.

The African National Congress wanted to discredit the liberal English establishment because it did not want blacks to be appeased by the liberals, Professor van der Walt said.

rush on Insuze

Fuel prices go

PFP intends making the Govt give answers on emergency

W/E Post 18/8/86 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party intends lifting the veil of secrecy over virtually every aspect of the state of emergency when Parliament resumes on Monday.

A party spokesman said today it would seek clarification of certain important events which had taken place during the emergency and would press the Government to provide information about detentions and detainees.

The PFP argues it is even more important than previously for the public to know what is going on, in view of State President P W Botha's hint this week of a possible early general election.

A PFP law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, a PFP law and order spokesman, said: "It will be a gross assault on democracy if such a totally uninformed electorate is taken into a general election."

PFP MPs would use their parliamentary privilege to extract information from the Government and make statements about recent events which the public had been prevented from hearing about.

They had already placed a variety of questions about the emergency on the parliamentary order paper.

Political Correspondent Dirk van Zyl writes that the second half of this year's session will revolve around the passage of further Bills in the Government's constitutional reform programme and the tabling of the long-awaited Margo Commission tax report.

The report is expected to be released by the end of this month and the Government will probably table its response in a White Paper, either simultaneously or soon afterwards.

Far-reaching new tax measures flowing from this could be implemented as early as next year's main Budget.

Possible changes in the Group Areas Act — but not its scrapping — could flow from a President's Council report around October, but legislation is not expected before next year's session.

On the reform front, there is likely to be a revised National Council Bill.

It is expected that recommended changes to the Group Areas Act could centre on providing for "grey areas" in accordance with the "local option" principle. The Separate Amenities Act may go altogether.

Measures to be dealt with include a second RSC Amendment Bill and other Bills

- providing for a joint executive authority for Natal/Kwazulu
- amalgamating the SA Police and the SA Railways Police.

304A W/E Post 16/8/86

EL chamber welcomes boycott lift and pledges to press for change

Weekend Post Reporter

THE East London Chamber of Commerce is still committed to press for change and will keep up pressure to achieve it, a spokesman told Weekend Post.

Mr Keith Levey, chairman of the retail committee, said the chamber was delighted that the eight-month-old consumer boycott had been lifted.

While the reasons for the boycott being lifted were not clear, it was possible that the organisers had recognised that the chamber was still committed to press for change.

In recent months there had been little negotiation between the chamber and members of the boycott committee or leaders of community-based organisations.

He said the chamber had met the demands put to it some months ago and which mostly concerned local issues.

One of the them sought to stop the removal of people from Duncan Village.

"A lot of them were political demands which we could not meet," he said.

Mr Levey said it was difficult to say what had prompted the lifting of the boycott because contact in recent months had been far less than in the past.

He said some black shoppers were still wary about shopping in town but he could see that people were no longer sneaking into the shops, afraid of being caught.

Mr Levey said he would not say that black shoppers were "flocking" to the shops mainly because of high unemployment and shortage of money.

Mr Tony Gilson, director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, said the East London chamber did not have a magic wand.

"It just happened," said Mr Gilson.

He said talking to any community-based organisation was not easy in PE and it was difficult to make contact.

Mr Gilson said he would be loathe to say that the boycott in PE showed signs of lifting because the last thing he wanted to do was raise false hopes.

"We'll just have to wait and see," he added.

Another Israel in southern Africa?

Now the battle lines are clearly drawn

John Battersby LONDON

CAN South Africa become Africa's Israel?

As the last vestige of hope for a negotiated settlement in Africa's defiant bastion of white power receded over the political horizon this week this was the question being asked in political and diplomatic circles.

Can South Africa survive the potent combination of growing internal black dissent and mounting international sanctions as an unassailable white-led technocracy in which race eventually ceases to be the issue it is today?

President P W Botha made it clear at the federal congress in Durban this week that he not only believes that white power will survive but that it will emerge stronger at the other end of international sanctions.

Defiantly — and predictably — he rededicated his party to the cornerstones of apartheid — separate residential areas and schools and the retention of ethnicity as the major factor for ordering the society — and ruled out black majority rule for all time.

Change — even 'drastic' change — would come but white power would be unaffected.

But, as The Times pointed out in an editorial, there is a huge chasm between Mr Botha's drastic change and even Sir Geoffrey Howe's 'quantum leap'.

Mr Chris Heunis's hints of a black election to elect blacks to the discredited National Council — as a component of an over-arching Council of State on matters of common interest — has no more chance of winning the support of the black majority than its still-born predecessors.

As long as representation for blacks is based on race and the structures dictated by a nationalist government it stands no chance of success.

More significant, perhaps, was Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's hint at a Bill of Rights and Foreign Minister Pik Botha's shift from the requirement that the ANC should 'renounce' violence to the less permanent concept of 'abandoning' violence.

As The Times pointed out, Mr Botha's speech 'could not be dismissed as out of tune with the time'.

'It certainly showed once again the almost unbridgeable divide between Pretoria's perception of the world and the world's perception of South Africa.

'But it was very much a product of what the world has done to white South Africa in the last tumultuous year.'

The Times concluded that President Botha had come to the limit of his reformist potential.

'For all that he has led South Africa into the first stumbling steps of reform, he remains a product of early post-war nationalism, the last survivor of the generation that invented apartheid.

'He cannot now take his country or his constituency much further.'

The federal congress could prove to be the most important Rubicon yet

It has certainly removed much of the confusion surrounding Mr Botha's intentions.The battle lines are more clearly drawn.

The world has reduced its expectations of 'Botha the reformer' and come to terms with the real Botha.

There are few illusions today that Mr Botha will go to any lengths to maintain a monopoly on power.

By breaking with the efforts of even sympathetic Western leaders — such as Mrs Thatcher, President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl — Mr Botha has removed the last vestige of international leverage on the Pretoria government — in the short term at least.

Rallying point

He has made sanctions inevitable and sanctions, in turn, have provided him with a much-needed rallying point for white unity.

All the ingredients for a protracted historical tragedy — possibly unprecedented in contemporary history — are now present.

The world's tentative response of economic sanctions is a last resort — tantamount to a declaration of war.

That is why the West is embarking on sanctions so reluctantly and continuing to resist the principle of sanctions.

Certainly South Africa, with its enourmous resources, can hold out indefinitely against the kind of sanctions that are in the pipeline so far.

It might even take — as the Economist suggested this week — a naval blockade and drastic international action to force down the gold price — to make any meaningful impact on Pretoria. The chances are that South Africa will deal with a coal and steel export embargo in the same devastatingly effective way that the embargoes on arms and oil imports were dealt with.

Now that the threat of sanctions — always more effective than the reality — has been largely removed it is President Botha who holds the trump cards in the short term.

His warning that the front-line states will suffer most is much closer to reality, and even the most subtle brinkmanship can demonstrate just how vulnerable are the neighbours to the north.

He can send the world gold and platinum markets soaring even with the hint of counter-sanctions that would disrupt the world supply of platinum.

Again, however, the threat is more effective than the reality which would soon erode South Africa's foreign earnings and shrink the current-account surplus.

Markets

In the short term sanctions will stimulate the economy and could even increase the economic growth rate.

But it will be difficult to find alternative markets for coal and steel — both in over-supply — and losses in revenue could be substantial.

Some countries — particularly Australia and Canada — which are advocating sanctions stand to gain from substitute markets in commodities such as coal, steel and platinum.

It is also true that many unscrupulous middle-men will get richer as the sanctions-busting effort hots up.

But, as the sanctions net tightens, the South African economy will come under increasing strain an ultimately — after years of hardship, suffering and death — white power will be brought to its knees and forced to strike a deal.

A political observer offered the following explanation this week as to why Pretoria could not contemplate negotiation leading to the transfer of power at this stage

'They must at least try to make the Israeli option work otherwise they will never know if it could have worked,' he said.

But at what cost? How many more people will have to die to show that the experiment has failed?

Alarmingly, the dream still exists in the collective psyche of the ruling élite of an unassailable regional and economic power that will gradually improve the physical circumstances of the black majority at its own pace and orchestrate the region through brinkmanship and brute force.

But the numbers game in South Africa with a 4-1 black majority is almost reversed in Israel with the Arab/Jew ratio.

Not to mention the formidable international support effort by the rich and powerful Jewish communities in the United States, Britain, and South Africa.

But it is only from the position as a regional superpower that South Africa will be prepared to hold talks with leaders of the major Western powers and the southern African front-line states.

It was clearly with this vision at the back of his mind that President Botha repeated his offer for an international conference on southern Africa to discuss regional security and economic problems.

Surprise

The United States, Britain, France and West Germany — as well as the front-line states — would be invited to attend.

There was initial surprise when President Reagan responded positively to the idea and said the U S would be willing to help — but he seemed to envisage an opportunity to resolve the domestic impasse in South Africa as well.

After some red faces in Whitehall and other European capitals the White House withdrew President Reagan's offer, revealing another of his legendary indiscretions at public Press conferences.

The last thing Britain wants is for the already volatile situation in southern Africa to be turned into another goody-versus-baddy shoot-out similar to that in Central America.

But the chances are that southern Africa will become as volatile as the Middle East before Pretoria's expensive experiment to emulate Israel is shown to fail.

Tension among Nats

W/E ARGUS 16/8/86 (300CM) 95

PW backtracks on r

reform

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

NEW tension is developing in the National Party following the line taken by President P W Botha at the party's federal congress in Durban — and the mood of some verligtes borders on despondency.

They are profoundly disappointed and believe that Mr Botha has backtracked on his reform initiatives and that his image as a reformer has taken a bad knock.

He pandered especially to some Transvaal Nationalists who feared a determined onslaught from the Conservative Party.

After the congress some of the verligte delegates complained that Mr Botha had read the present mood in the party wrongly and that there appeared to be a generation gap between him and many younger members.

While stating that the party's policy should not be put to outsiders apologetically, he took a retrogressive line.

This was especially noticeable when he referred to the concept of self-governing "city states" for some metropolitan black communities.

Some Nationalists complained bitterly that this concept was discredited in the early 1970s. Mr Botha, they said, gave no new hope of concrete political rights to blacks and he made the position of moderate black leaders even more untenable.

He gave no indication of linking black political rights to Parliament, but proposed, instead, the concept of more "mini-Bantustans" in urban areas.

His emphasis seemed to shift from his earlier statements about political rights for blacks "at the highest level" to one of more partition and the creation of these "city states".

"Emotion triumphed over reason at this congress" is how one verligte summed up his impressions.

There was also disappointment — and astonishment — among some delegates about the line Mr Botha took on the Group Areas Act.

He emphasised that he would not have the principle of property rights and land-ownership tampered with, but was prepared to have the Act made more flexible.

The main principle of the Act, however, was that of separate areas for race groups.

After the initial impression that Mr Botha might have been willing to move in the direction of some "grey" areas, both verligte and verkrampte Nationalists later believed that this was doubtful.

However, there is no clarity on how the Act can be made more "flexible" without allowing "grey" areas.

The Government is awaiting the results of the President's Council inquiry into the Act, which is expected in October.

Apart from a reference to a possible council of state of leaders of all the groups to discuss matters of common concern, the congress took no concrete new reform initiatives.

It reaffirmed the idea of constitutional reform through negotiation, and the round of provincial congresses which started in Durban this week can be expected to rubber-stamp this decision.

52 killed in Honduras plane crash

TEGUCIGALPA (Honduras). — All 52 people aboard a Honduran Air Force transport aircraft were killed when it crashed during stormy weather in mountainous north-eastern Honduras.

A military spokesman said the C-130 Hercules disentegrated when it crashed on Thursday while on a routine flight from Tegucigalpa to Durzuna.

The plane was carrying 41 military personnel — including the crew of six — and 11 civilians.

"There are no survivors. It is difficult to recover the bodies and impossible to make identification," the spokesman said.

A child — the son of the pilot — was among the dead, according to the passenger list.

The aircraft had left Tegucigalpa's Toncontin airport at 10.35 am on Thursday (6.35 pm on Wednesday SA time) and crashed about an hour after take-off in north-eastern Gracias a Dios province.

The crash site was about 300 km north-east of Teguicaglpa and 40 km north of the border with Nicaragua.

Cape Town had a bit of sunshine to light up a rain. beauty of Miss South Africa, Sandy McCormack, lit up in the city for a fashion shoot in Church Street and HANNES THIART was on the spot to take this pict. what all the fuss is about. Pippin, in Sandy's ar

304A DD 16/8/86

So far and no farther

JOHN BATTERSBY:LONDON

Can South Africa survive the dissent and mounting international sanctions as an unassailable whiteled technocracy until race eventually ceases to be the issue it is today?

President P. W. Botha made it clear at the federal congress in Durban that he not only believes that white power will survive but that it will emerge stronger at the other end of international sanctions.

He rededicated his party to the cornerstones of apartheid — separate residential areas and schools and the retention of ethnicity as the major factor for ordering the society — and ruled out black majority rule. Change, even drastic change, would come but white power would be unaffected.

But, as The Times pointed out in an editorial, there is a huge chasm between Mr Botha's drastic change and even Sir Geoffrey Howe's quantum leap.

Mr Chris Heunis' hints of a black election to elect blacks to the discredited National Council, as a component of a Council of State on matters of common interest, has no more chance of winning the support of the black majority than its still-born prececessors.

More significant, perhaps, was Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's hint at a bill of rights and Foreign Minister Pik Botha's shift from the requirement that the ANC should "renounce" violence to the less permanent concept of "abandoning" violence.

The Times pointed out Mr Botha's speech "could not be dismissed as out of tune with the time. It certainly showed once again the almost unbridgeable divide between Pretoria's perception of the world and the world's perception of South Africa.

"But it was very much a product of what the world has done to white South Africa in the last tumultuous year."

The Times concluded that President Botha had come to the limit of his reformist potential.

"For all that he has led South Africa into the first stumbling steps of reform, he remains a product of early post-war nationalism, the last survivor of the generation that invented apartheid. He cannot now take his country or his constituency much further."

The world has reduced its expectations of Botha the reformer. By breaking with the efforts of even sympathetic Western leaders — such as Mrs Thatcher, President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl — Mr Botha has removed the last vestige of international leverage on the Pretoria Government, in the short-term at least.

He has made sanctions inevitable and sanctions, in turn, have provided him with a rallying point for white unity. All the ingredients for a protracted tragedy are present. The world's tentative response of economic sanctions is a last resort. That is why the West is embarking on sanctions so reluctantly and continuing to resist the principle.

Certainly South Africa, with its enormous resources, can hold out indefinitely against the kind of sanctions that are in the pipeline so far. It might even take — as The Economist suggested this week — a naval blockade and drastic international action to force down the gold price to make any meaningful impact on Pretoria.

The chances are South Africa will deal with a coal and steel export embargo in the same effective way that the embargo's on arms and oil imports were dealt with.

Now that the threat of sanctions — always more effective than the reality — has been largely removed it is President Botha who holds the trump cards in the short-term. His warning that the frontline states will suffer most is much closer to reality and even the most subtle brinkmanship can demonstrate how vulnerable the neighbours to the north are.

A political observer offered the following explanation this week as to why Pretoria could not contemplate negotiation leading to the transfer of power at this stage.

"They must at least try to make the Israeli option work otherwise they will never know if it could have worked," he said.

But at what cost? The dream still exists in the collective psyche of the ruling elite of an unassailable regional and economic power which will gradually improve the physical circumstances of the black majority at its own pace.

It is only from the position of a regional superpower that South Africa will be prepared to hold talks with leaders of the major Western powers and the Southern African frontline states.

There was initial surprise when President Reagan responded positively to the idea and said the US would be willing to help — but he seemed to envisage an opportunity to resolve the domestic impasse in South Africa as well.

After some red faces in Whitehall and other European capitals the White House withdrew President Reagan's offer, revealing another of his legendary indiscretions at press conferences.

President Botha ... end of reformist role?

W/E ARGUS 16/8/86

Wide support for Bill of Rights

30 KA

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Kwazulu-Natal Indaba's widely-acclaimed Bill of Rights published last month, is receiving wide support from the people of the region, a spokesman said.

Fifteeen thousand copies of the Bill of Rights — which enshrines the principle of individual liberties and fundamentally contradicts Government policy — have been distributed to the people of Natal and KwaZulu for comment.

The results were "very encouraging," an Indaba spokesman said.

Ninety percent of respondents were in favour of the bill and another 40 000 copies were ordered.

Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence has asked recipients of the Bill to request more copies to give to others.

He has also encouraged the Natal and KwaZulu people to organise meetings at which members of the Indaba's constitution committee who can explain the Bill of Rights.

"The adoption of the Bill of Rights on Thursday, 10 July 1986, represents the first major step towards the completion of the Indaba's task of drafting a new provincial constitution for the combined territories of Natal and KwaZulu," he said in a letter accompanying the bill.

"The Indaba is working as hard and as fast as possible to reach its goal and it will publish its proposals as as soon as they are ready.

"But I believe the Bill of Rights indicates clearly the direction in which the Indaba is working and the spirit of the proposed new constitution.

"Obviously the success of the Indaba ultimately depends on the support of the people of KwaZulu and Natal."

PFP calls for special debate on South Africa

Eve post 304A 18/8/86

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A special debate will be held in the House of Assembly on Friday on South Africa's situation — and the official Opposition PFP will move that the Cabinet should resign.

This was disclosed today by the chief Opposition Whip, Mr Brian Bamford (PFP, Groote Schuur).

The second half of this year's parliamentary session started today.

Mr Bamford told the Evening Post the PFP had approached the Government for the debate, as the party felt that, because of the parlous state of South Africa economically and politically, and locally and internationally, it would be wrong for Parliament only to debate technical legislation during the short session, after having been in recess since June 25.

The Government had agreed to the debate.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, will introduce the debate, which is to start at 2.15pm and will continue until the House adjourns at 5.30pm.

He is to give notice of motion in the Assembly today.

Leaders of the main parties are expected to speak, but it is not known whether this will include President P W Botha.

The PFP will use the opportunity to try its best to lift what it sees as a veil of secrecy surrounding activities related to the state of emergency.

The sanctions issue the economic situation can also be expected to feature prominently.

All parties will have the opportunity to state their positions on important issues confronting South Africa.

Nat call for 'new structures'

Political Reporter

THE National Party realised that blacks must be given meaningful recognition and 1986 would be regarded as the year when the most was done to give blacks more political rights, Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs said in Umdloti, north of Durban, at the weekend.

Mr Botha, who is also NP Natal leader, was speaking at the NP Natal Youth congress, attended by about 150 delegates.

He said Government negotiations with various black leaders over the past two years would lead to some major changes this year.

Mr Botha said that including blacks in all parts of the constitutional process did not mean one man, one vote, but the Government was looking for structures so blacks could progress politically.

'Our forefathers set up structures which suited those times and we must set up new structures with the changing situation.'

He said the various population groups needed each other, but also needed to have their own residential areas, schools and churches.

Mr Louis Nel, Deputy Minister of Information, said South Africa would continue to have takers for many of the products being boycotted by foreign countries.

Mr Nel said South Africa must try to keep its links with foreign countries but must forget about being able to produce a political solution which would satisfy the outside world.

'If we could get the outside world to see the situation in South Africa as it really is, the whole emotional basis of the case against South Africa would fall away.'

Mr Adriaan Vlok, Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Defence, said security force action, good government and political solutions acceptable to the majority of the people must be applied in equal measure to overcome the revolutionary threat.

'Good government means that I as a black man must be able to believe that the Government cares for me.

'If, as a black man, I have no electricity, or a place to sleep, or have no work or cannot go to school, I will not believe the Government cares for me.'

Mr Vlok said South Africa was not undergoing a revolution, but was victim to a revolutionary threat.

There were enough weapons and soldiers from Cuba and Eastern Europe in Angola for revolutionary forces to start conventional guerilla warfare in South Africa if they thought the climate was right.

Mr Vlok said the state of emergency had been necessary to stop the revolutionaries turning June 16 this year into a show of force.

South Africans had to have the right attitude to build a future secure South Africa.

'Our futures are bound together. If there is not a future for whites, there will not be one for coloureds and blacks, but the reverse is also true,' Mr Vlok said.

CP makes video of city 'illegals'

STAR 18/8/86. 3041A

Political Reporter

The Conservative Party is making a video film of "illegals" living in white suburbs of Johannesburg as part of a campaign to have Indians, coloureds and blacks thrown out.

"These people must go back to where they came from," said Mr Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Jeppe.

He was speaking at the CP's Transvaal Congress at the weekend when delegates expressed anger at the breaking down of the Group Areas Act.

The congress called on the Government to apply the Group Areas Act strictly and to evict "illegals".

Mr van der Merwe said CP members had visited 100 flats in Joubert Park.

"At least 51 percent of the residents are blacks, coloureds and Indians.

"Whites are in the minority.

"We are busy making a video about what is happening and we will distribute it soon."

Delegates debated the issue for more than an hour, with many speakers expressing shock that "non-whites" were moving into white suburbs.

LIVING WITH 'ZOELOE MEID'

The CP members appeared to be particularly concerned about the "Indian encroachment".

CP MP Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg referred to the "shocking" case in Zeerust where three Indian families had moved into a white neighbourhood.

A Meyerton delegate said he was disgusted by the case of a white man living with a "Zoeloe meid" on a plot in his area.

The audience applauded a Potgietersrus delegate who said: "In my area, we don't talk, we act."

He said the Department of Education and Training for black schools had recently moved into an office in Potgietersrus after its administrative building had been burnt down in unrest.

"We confronted the owner of the place and 48 hours later the building was empty," he said.

Speakers also described contraventions of the Group Areas Act in Hillbrow, Mayfair and Alberton, and in Wonderboom, Pretoria.

ARGUS 18/8/86 (304A)

CP vows to fight rather than surrender power to blacks

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party in the Transvaal has reaffirmed its commitment to old-style apartheid and has vowed to fight rather than surrender.

Opening the CP's congress at the weekend, leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said whites were not prepared to commit political suicide.

He said the Government's promise to include blacks in decision-making at central government level would eventually force whites to surrender power.

"NAIVE"

"It is naive and deceptive to talk about white self-determination if you invite blacks to help run the country," said Dr Treurnicht.

A motion of no-confidence in the Government was unanimously approved, with delegates saying the State had no mandate to allow black representation in central government.

The congress also expressed strong opposition to the proposed regional services councils, which they said would encourage multiracialism and remove democratic rights.

The "liberal" media and the SABC came under attack. The congress slated the SABC for devoting itself to carrying Government propaganda and for giving the right wing a poor showing.

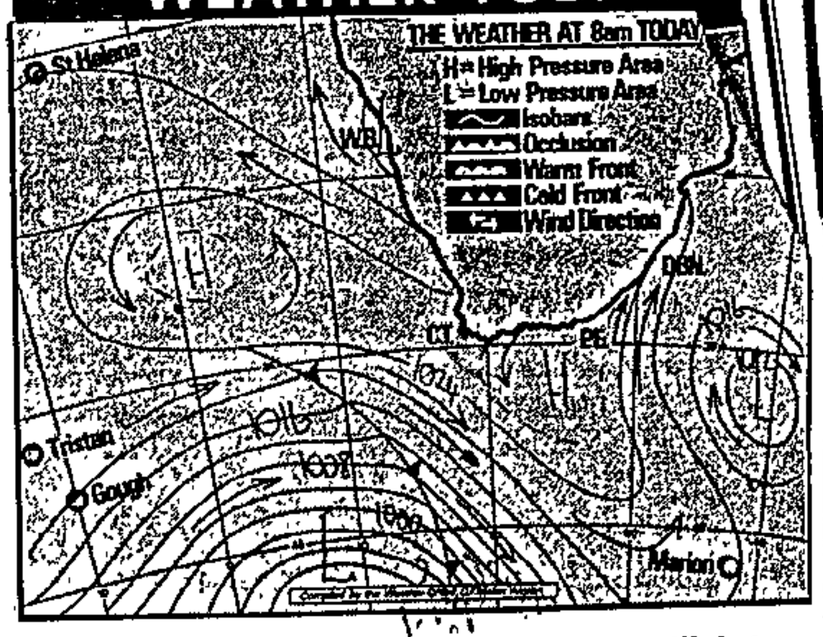
"GO BACK"

● The Conservative Party is making a video film of "illegals" living in white suburbs of Johannesburg as part of a campaign to have Indians, coloured people and black people thrown out of the areas.

"These people must go back to where they came from," Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Jeppe, said at the congress.

The congress called on the Government to strictly apply the Group Areas Act and to evict "illegals".

WEATHER TODAY



A cold front west of Cape Town will bring cloud overnight but it will clear tomorrow. No rain is expected.

Cooler tomorrow

WEATHER forecast for the Peninsula, Boland and Overberg for the period ending 6 pm tomorrow:

☐ **Fine and mild but cooler tomorrow. It will become cloudy this evening with fog patches but clearing tomorrow except in the Overberg.**

☐ **Wind: Moderate south-westerly becoming southerly to south-easterly tomorrow and freshening.**

☐ **The minimum temperature at D F Malan Airport will be between 9 and 11 deg C.**

THE MOON

Full moon	Aug 19
Last quarter	Aug 27
New moon	Sept 4
First quarter	Sept 11

THE SUN

Sets today	1818
Rises tomorrow	0722

THE TIDES

High water:

Today: 0210,1440
Tomorrow: 0257; 1522

Low water

Today: 0829; 2050
Tomorrow: 0909; 2132

WATER TEMPERATURES:

Sea Point:	
Sea	11 deg C
Pool	Closed
Muizenberg:	
Sea	12 deg C
Pool	14 deg C
Newlands	14 deg C

D F MALAN climatological data for yesterday
August 17
(The figure in brackets shows the average for the month)

Maximum temperature	17,3 (17,6) deg C
Minimum temperature	5,5 (7,0) deg C
Mean temperature	11,4 (12,0) deg C
Maximum humidity	96 (97) %
Minimum humidity	52 (54) %
Mean humidity	74 (79) %

'Death threat' for AWB boss

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Police have been asked to investigate an allegation by the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, that he had been threatened in a letter written by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chief Minister in the House of Delegates.

However, Mr Rajbansi repeated yesterday that he had no knowledge of the "death threat" letter.

Shortly before flying to Cape Town, he said he would not rest till the "culprit" behind the letter was found. He said he had already made a statement to the police.

Mr Terre'Blanche expressed fears for his personal safety after receiving a letter allegedly sent by Mr Rajbansi to Mr Boeti Abramjee, House of Delegates MP for Laudium.

The letter said: "We must not forget we occupy positions of some standing in Parliament and are protected and we must not allow this lunatic Terre'Blanche to threaten us in public. I can easily have him taken care of, even if it means sending someone to the Transvaal."

Mr Terre'Blanche said he felt threatened and shocked at receiving the letter, and considered it a death threat.

Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche

Mr Abramjee has dismissed the allegations as a "load of rubbish".

Mr Rajbansi said it would appear that someone acquired a letter he had written, and using the letterhead and his signature, typed the body of the letter attacking Mr Terre'Blanche.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said yesterday that he was still waiting for an official response from Mr Rajbansi on the allegations.

He said that, according to Mr Terre'Blanche, the letter also discredited the CP.

Mr Mamoo Rajab, Solidarity's spokesman on Law and Order, said that both Mr Rajbansi and Mr Abramjee would be asked to resign forthwith if the allegations were proved correct.

● RAJBANSI

Police probe letter threat on Eugene

30044

18/8/86 BUS DAY

BEULAH BROWN

POLICE are taking seriously the threat "to take care of" AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche.

It was made in a letter purportedly carrying the signature of House of Delegates leader Amichand Rajbansi.

Rajbansi denies writing the letter and describes it it as a fake.

He challenges the AWB to produce the original.

Terra'Blanche said yesterday that police visited Terra'Blanche's home at 1am yesterday to say they regard the threat in a serious light.

The AWB leader said he has given police copies of the letter but that he does not have the original. He claims the AWB copy came from a government department.

The letter, dated June 26, was adressed to House of Delegates member Ebrahim Abramjee and allegedly congratulates

● To Page 2

Terre'Blanche letter threat

BUS DAY 18/8/86

30044

● From Page 1

him on remarks he made about the AWB.

"I can easily have him taken care of, even if it means sending someone to the Transvaal," the last paragraph reads.

Sapa reports Rajbansi as saying in Durban yesterday he would not rest until police found the culprit behind the letter.

"This is a mischievous trick to discredit me and I feel very angry.

"The letter, a photostat copy, is dated June 26, but at that time I was resting at a health farm in Stellenbosch.

"It would appear someone got hold of a letter I had written, and using the top of the letterhead and the bottom containing my signature, typed the body of the letter attacking Mr Terre'Blanche.

"I see this also as a trick to discredit government and its reform initiatives," Rajbansi says.

204A DD 18/8/86

Most done for blacks in 1986, says Botha

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Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The National Party realises that blacks must be given meaningful recognition and 1986 will be regarded as the year when the most was done to give blacks more political rights, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said in Umdloti near here at the weekend.

Mr Botha, who is also NP Natal leader, was speaking at the NP Natal Youth Congress, attended by about 150 delegates.

He said government negotiations with various black leaders over the past two years would lead to some major changes this year.

Mr Botha said including blacks in all parts of the constitutional process did not mean one-man-one-vote, but the government was looking for structures so blacks could progress politically.

He said the various population groups needed each other, but also needed to have their own residential areas, schools and churches.

The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louie Nel, said South Africa would continue to have takers for many of the products being boycotted by foreign countries.

Mr Nel said South Africa must try to keep its links with foreign countries but must forget about being able to produce a political solution which would satisfy the "outside world."

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Defence, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said security force action, good government and political solutions acceptable to the majority of the people must be applied in equal measure to overcome the revolutionary threat.

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He said there were enough weapons and soldiers from Cuba and Eastern Europe in Angola for revolutionary forces to start conventional guerilla warefare in South Africa if they thought the climate was right.

19/8/86

EVENING

304A

'Lifestyles will have to be changed'

JOHANNESBURG — South Africans are going to have to adjust their lifestyles because of economic and political changes, but instability could also create new opportunities, Prof Chris van Vejeren, of the School of Business Leadership at the University of South Africa, said yesterday.

Speaking at a liquor seminar organised by the Federated Hotel, Liquor and Catering Association of SA (Fedhasa), he said South Africans had to go through the same process South West Africans had gone through, before confidence returned.

"In South West today, you find a belief in the future. In South West what is needed, and will come about, is a belief that South Africa is going to make it."

For those who did not emigrate from South Africa, he predicted an attractive labour market because of a shortage of skills.

On the industrial scene he predicted "some privatisation" and anticipated the development of a new, economic nationalism.

Consumer resistance was building up to price increases in whisky and liquors and, as price became more vital to the consumer, retailers would start limiting their range.

This trend was identified at the seminar by Mr Gordon Pasley, director of AC Nielsen and Company.

There was also evidence of an increasing move towards beer and wine, which correlated with international trends.

South Africans were unlikely to see their favourite imported tipple boycotted — at least not as far as the giant Guinness group of the UK was concerned, said Mr James Espey, deputy MD of the Guinness Beverage Group.

He is lobbying vigorously to prevent sanctions on the two-way liquor and wine trade between South Africa and the UK. He believes consumers in the UK will "continue to vote with their feet" and buy South African — provided quality is maintained.

But he says South African exporters should show "boycott entrepreneurship" and may have to de-emphasise the South African connection on their products.

The seminar is being staged against a background of an industry beleagured by falling sales, rising costs, alleged monopolies on both the supply side and at retail level, and the free issue of liquor licences which has led to over-trading. — Sapa

PFP bid to lift 'veil of secrecy'

Eve Post 19/8/86

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The probe by the Progressive Federal Party during the resumed parliamentary session into what it has termed a veil of secrecy surrounding events connected with the state of emergency begins in earnest in the House of Assembly this afternoon.

A number of questions will be formally tabled.

Yesterday afternoon the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, tabled the names of 8 551 people detained for a month or longer since the declaration of the emergency on June 12.

In terms of the Public Safety Act he was obliged to do so within 14 days but as Parliament adjourned on June 25 — 13 days after the declaration of the emergency — the obligation shifted to the new session with him having to table them within 14 days after the start of the resumed session.

On Friday the Government's handling of the state of emergency will be spotlighted in a special debate to be introduced by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin.

The PFP leader, who gave notice of his motion in the House of Assembly yesterday, is to launch a wide-ranging attack on the Government and will call on the entire Cabinet to resign. The 3½-hour debate amounts to a mini no-confidence debate.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said last night that his party would "possibly" propose an amendment.

"We will probably agree with some of Mr Eglin's points of criticism and we are at one with him on the call for the Cabinet's resignation," he said.

The MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, director of special projects for the PFP, is to ask the Minister of Communications and Public Works, Dr L A P A Munnik, in the Assembly today whether telephone services were cut off in any areas on June 16 — the anniversary of the 1976 unrest in Soweto.

If so, Mr Soal wants details including which townships, towns or areas were affected.

The chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew (MP for Gardens), wants to know from Mr Le Grange whether any people handing out leaflets advertising a PFP lunch-hour meeting in the Cape Town City Hall on June 16 were held for questioning by police on that morning.

Mr Andrew also wants Mr Le Grange to inform the Assembly about any order given to the PFP that the meeting could not be proceeded with.

NEWS FOCUS

BUSDAY 19/9/86

NP win has message for the right

304A

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

THE solid National Party victory in the Klip River by-election could be an indication that the growth of the rightwing in SA has been stopped — or had been over-estimated in the first place.

The NP's Jacko Maree drew 5 863 votes, 3 033 more than the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) candidate Chris Wolmarans's 2 830. The percentage poll was 58,6.

● BOTHA

The NP did not expect to win by more than 1 000 votes, while the HNP, whose candidate was supported actively by the Conservative Party (CP) and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, expected to lose by only a few hundred.

The last time the rightwing parties ganged up against the NP — in the Sasolburg by-election last year — they sent Louis Stofberg to Parliament as the sole HNP MP. And in Klip River's neighbouring constituency of Bethlehem, the NP had a narrow win over the CP.

In the general election of 1981, the NP beat the HNP with 3 292 votes in Klip River, and had 2 600 votes more than the HNP and Progressive Federal Party (PFP) combined.

The rightwing's poor performance could help make up State President P W Botha's mind to go for a general election at the end of November.

The Klip River result is significant because Maree was an identified verligte and fought a relatively verligte campaign.

It was also the first contest between the NP and the rightwing since the scrapping of the pass laws, the undertakings by government to amend the Group Areas Act and to bring blacks into central government through a National Statutory Council — all matters the HNP used extensively in their campaign.

A CP MP, however, told *Business Day* yesterday a CP candidate would have done better than the HNP candidate, mainly because there are an estimated 60% English-speaking voters in Klip River and HNP policy is that Afrikaans must become the only official language — an issue used well by the NP.

The important question is whether the 1 329 people who voted for the PFP in 1981 voted this time. HNP leader Jaap Marais said at least 1 000 of them voted NP. PFP leader Colin Eglin said the low poll indicated that PFP and NRP voters did not vote.

Election analysts projected the swing to the right in Sasolburg and Bethlehem on a future general election and estimated that 40 or more NP seats could become marginal. That figure must be much lower now, if Klip River is anything to go by.

Botha said yesterday the result was "a sign that SA was uniting". Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha said it was proof that the voters "trusted and believed" the NP government.

Eglin said it meant that the haemorrhaging to the right had stopped and that the CP/HNP was not an electoral threat. Marais said it was proof that the NP was losing massive Afrikaner support.

BUSDAY (304A) 19/9/86

How wealth has gone from whites to blacks

Adapted from the 1986 Hoernle Memorial Lecture given by leading South African liberal thinker Dr CHARLES SIMKINS

IT HAS been said more than once in contemporary SA that there is nothing to negotiate about at the political level; all that is necessary are arrangements to transfer power to the majority.

From a liberal point of view, such an approach ignores the complex problem of construction of institutions, and therefore of understandings and commitments, which do not presently exist.

There are common goals, standards and values in SA society, but the process of their further definition and acceptance has to be considerably advanced if a liberal order is to be supported.

Calls for negotiation come nearer the mark; while negotiation may produce nothing more than a truce between powers (even this may be a considerable achievement), it usually functions as a forum within which demands for justification of position are made — a forum, in other words, where a degree of moral progress is possible.

Negotiations are often seen exclusively as a single national event at which everything is at stake. Indeed, there is a substantial body of opinion which, at present, rules out negotiations at any other level and demands, as preconditions, the unbanning of political parties and the release of political prisoners

For the time being, it is quite clear that government will not initiate discussions on this basis. How this situation will evolve is beyond prediction.

What is clear, however, is that there is also a great deal of work to be done at the regional and local level. One initiative of promise is the Natal/KwaZulu indaba — and what it does and what becomes of its proposals will shed considerable light on the prospects for the reconstruction of at least some of SA's regions in accordance with liberal principles.

But negotiations cannot happen in a vacuum — they need coherent political movements and they need an intellectual context to justify the exercise and to provide a framework for the definition and debate of issues.

Liberals can do little directly about the creation of political movements, though their work might enable others to see advantages in mobilisation of a particular kind. They can do much to provide the intellectual context; here, the question becomes one of the arguments to be developed and deployed.

In the most remarkable liberal text of our time, John Rawls summarises the requirements of justice in two principles:

(1). — Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all; and

(2) — Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both:

(a) To the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, the claims of later generations being taken into account, and

(b) Attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity.

SA liberals ought to start with an assessment of the SA social order against the two principles of justice. The suggestion here is this: when the changes of the last 15 years are considered, it must be concluded that, while significant progress has been made in terms of the second principle, none has been made in terms of the first.

For Rawls, the first principle (that of maximum liberty) precedes the second; in our case the order has been reversed and this accounts for much of our present trouble.

The case that there has been progress in terms of the second principle is attested by several studies.

SA income distribution was extremely unequal in 1970, but the Seventies saw a clear improvement, with a shift in the racial distribution of income far outweighing an opposite movement in the demographic composition of the population.

Few would question that most urban dwellers benefited; one study concludes that the improvements reached the majority of households in the homelands.

Rising unemployment, however, introduced a counter-trend; at the bottom of the distribution, conditions worsened.

There were supporting changes. A rapid expansion of coloured and Indian secondary schooling in the earlier part of the decade was followed by an even faster expansion of African secondary schooling a few years later.

A changing overall occupational structure produced a higher proportion of better jobs; given the slow growth of the white working population, this meant a rapid improvement in the occupational distribution of black people employed in the modern sector.

The proportion of Africans in middle class occupations (professional, clerical and supervisory) nearly tripled between 1971 and 1983.

Progress was made in the removal of discrimination as companies sought to unify racially separate pay scales, and there is clear evidence of the narrowing of skilled/unskilled wage ratios.

For a time in the mid-Seventies an approach to development known as "redistribution with growth" commanded attention. The idea was that the incomes of the rich should be stabilised and that the growth increment should all accrue to the poor Taking white people as rich and everyone else as poor, the SA of the Seventies fulfilled this prescription almost exactly.

South Africa! Who would have predicted it?

The evidence for the more dismal Eighties is much less complete. A poor growth record in the late Seventies and a worse one in the early Eighties means that real per capital incomes in 1986 will not exceed those of 12 years earlier.

Most of the progress of the Seventies had been achieved by the middle of the decade; beyond that there has been no growth to redistribute. Even so, there is evidence of the persistence of desirable trends.

Where do these changes come from and what do they mean?

Government has removed some racial discrimination in public sector wages and salaries, it has expanded black education, though it has quite failed to reform it in accordance with contemporary requirements.

Against these modest and equivocal contributions have to be set activities which can only be reckoned as a dead loss.

In all except possibly a handful of cases, resettlement of millions of people wasted not only state money but the efforts of those who had to rebuild their lives, usually under worse circumstances.

Influx control, likewise, has diverted state expenditure from more productive resources and has failed to provide investment opportunities for African people in urban areas.

Liberals have often argued that apartheid is a wasteful system; they in turn have been criticised by those who argue that capitalism needs apartheid, that apartheid "is functional to" capitalist accumulation.

But how can it be when apartheid requires expensive projects to guard against the consequences of restriciton of strategic imports? How can it be when apartheid policies lead to the loss of export markets, or at least to disadvantaged access to them? How can it be when apartheid policies lead to circumstances in which foreign and domestic investor confidence is destroyed?

A desirable pattern of redistribution has emerged over the past 15 years as a result of a changing economic structure and wage policies in the public and private sectors adopted under pressure from abroad and from domestic trade unions.

But distribution remains highly unequal and progress is now faltering because of stagnating real income per capita and failure to deal with unemployment.

There are policies which would restore the growth rate and improve distribution, but they all require amendment or removal of central portions of state policy.

KwaNatal: CP says destruction of SA is at hand

ARGUS 19/8/86 (304A)

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

LEGISLATION to enable Natal and Kwazulu to form a joint executive to overcome administrative problems has met with a storm of right-wing protest in Parliament.

The Conservative Party threw in speaker after speaker into a 4½-hour debate, warning that the destruction of South Africa was at hand if the Government gave Natal and Kwazulu the go-ahead to share power.

The Bill establishes a Joint Executive Authority (JEA) for Natal and Kwazulu on which both regions will be equally represented.

The main objective of the JEA would be to co-ordinate the administration of the two regions but it would not be able to take binding decisions on either Kwazulu or Natal.

"Destruction"

The Bill follows lengthy negotiations and agreement between the former New Republic Party-controlled provincial administration and the Kwazulu Government.

The Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, which do not have a Natal representative, claimed that the Joint Executive Authority would lead to "power sharing and the destruction of South Africa".

They said the Government, including President P W Botha, had backtracked on past assurances.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, who guided the Bill through its second reading, admitted that the Bill was part of the process of power sharing.

He said it was in the interests of the people of South Africa to have power sharing between black and white.The country could not be governed effectively without it.

"Temporary"

The National Party, Progressive Federal Party and New Republic Party joined forces to reject the onslaught of the right wing.

The NRP and PFP said the measure should be seen as a temporary move until the Kwazulu indaba recommendations could be implemented.

The chairman of the House of Assembly repeatedly called speakers back to the subject. The CP and HNP attempted to turn the debate into an issue for the forthcoming by-election in the Natal constituency of Klip River.

The CP and HNP also wanted to know why no blacks had been appointed to the new nominated Natal Provincial Executive. They asked whether this was on the instructions of the Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

They also dismissed the NRP's role in negotiating the JEA, saying the party was shrinking rapidly and could not claim to be representative.

Mr Pierre Cronje MP (PFP Greytown) said the JEA should be considered only as a caretaker body until the indaba recommendations were implemented. He called for a halt to any further second-tier or third-tier legislation until this happened.

Mr Casper Uys

Mr Pierre Cronje

Mr Cronje said the people of Natal had great faith in the indaba.

"They are excited about having a zone that is liberated from apartheid."

Mr Casper Uys MP (CP Barberton) said the Bill was "another Government experiment, at the cost of Natal, with a view to extending it to the rest of the country".

Dr Willie Snyman MP (CP Pietersburg) said the Government was planning to hand "every square inch" of Natal over to Zulu domination.

"With this legislation the Government is taking a step nearer to the total destruction of separate freedoms."

The Natal NP provincial secretary told the CP and HNP that they did not know the voters of Natal.

Mr Jurie Mentz MP (NP Vryheid) who played a key role in the recent signing of an accord between white farmers in northern Zululand and black residents, said it was important people from the same area cared for each other.

Mr Derrick Watterson MP (NRP Umbilo) did not accept that the Bill introduced power sharing, saying it was a division of power.

Mr Louis Stofberg MP (HNP Sasolburg) said the Government was using Natal as a guinea-pig for its plans to extend full power sharing to blacks throughout South Africa.

SA voters in default

GERALD REILLY

MORE than a million of SA's 3-million white voters have not notified the Home Affairs Department of any changes of address, the department's director-general Gerrie van Zyl said yesterday.

This was why the department had launched an intensive campaign to update addresses.

"Right now, only about 65% of voters are still living at the addresses they are registered at in the register," he said.

Van Zyl stressed that the penalty for failing to notify the department of changes of address was a R100 fine.

Placards, he said, would soon be displayed at government offices throughout the country — in post offices, magistrates' offices and municipal offices — urging people to notify the department of any changes of address.

More than a million pamphlets would also be distributed with water and light accounts.

Van Zyl said because SA was a fast-developing country, its population was extraordinarily mobile.

Van Zyl said that in the Klip River by-election this week and at other recent by-elections, more than a third of voters could not be traced.

The Progressive Federal Party's Reuben Sive said that to call an election with voters addresses in chaos, and with the wide discrepancies in constituency numbers, would be a farce.

In Prieska, for instance, there were 9 400 voters and in the North Rand, there were more than 28 000.

According to the latest figures, the Transvaal was under-represented in the House of Assembly by 11 seats and the Cape over-represented by nine seats.

Cape Times 19/8/86 (304A)

CP does battle with govt, opposition over KwaNatal JEA

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Parliament opened yesterday with a heated debate about the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) for KwaNatal with the right-wing parties strongly opposing it.

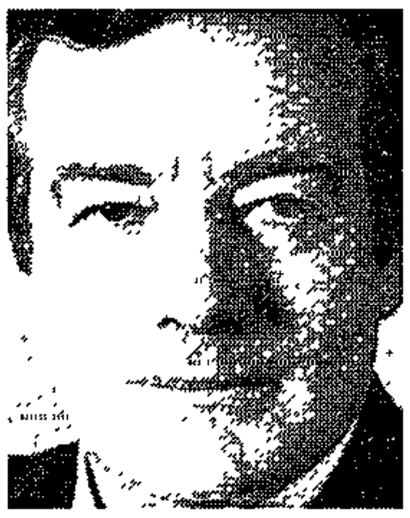
While government and opposition members were supporting the bill, which has already been passed by the other two chambers, the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party made no secret of their hefty opposition to the introduction of racially mixed bodies such as the JEA, which they said was a blueprint for the rest of the country.

CP speakers said the JEA was simply part of the government's "underhand" plan to introduce a multiracial legislature, in reply to which the CP was accused of trying to scare the people of Natal.

Mr Renier Schoeman, nominated Natal MP, said the CP had clearly shown its defeatism, pessimism and unoriginality.

"They over-estimate themselves and underestimate the people of Natal," he said.

Mr Jan Hoon



Mr Pierre Cronje

Mr Vause Raw

Dr Willie Snyman, CP Pietersburg, charged the government with planning to give the whole of Natal to the Zulu people.

Mr Jurie Mentz, Nationalist MP for Vryheid, hit back sharply, calling on CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to stop the intolerance which was growing in his party.

"Race prejudice is something of the past in this country," he said heatedly.

"We must all have mutual respect for each other if we are going to have peace in this country.

"There must be co-operation between the majority of the people."

Both Mr Derrick Watterson, New Republic Party MP for Umbilo, and Mr Vause Raw (NRP Point) thanked the government for the legislation which they said was virtually the same as the proposals which had been agreed upon by the Natal Provincial Executive and the KwaZulu Government.

The important point was, they said, that the legislation had been agreed on by the people involved and not imposed on them by the central government.

"Natalians see this as a beginning but believe that power sharing must come — that is what the Indaba is all about," said Mr Watterson.

Mr Jan Hoon, the CP's chief whip, objected strongly to the possibility of a black administrator for the province and said the only hope for the country was "partition and separation".

Mr Pierre Cronje, Progressive Federal Party MP for Greyton, called for a moratorium on the further introduction of second- and third-tier government until the KwaNatal Indaba had reported.

"While the government has not allowed the previous provincial executive to remain until the outcome of the Indaba was known, the government would be wise to limit the functions of the new Executive Committee to that of a caretaker authority and not force the government's own discredited and ill-defined second- and third-tier proposals on Natal," he said.

Mr Cronje said there was a great feeling of optimism in Natal over the Indaba and the prospects it held for second-tier authority.

"The people of Natal have got great faith in the Indaba in these dark days for South Africa.

"They are excited about having a zone that is liberated from apartheid."

19/8/86 304A

PFP cools split over camps till Suzman reports

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

THERE was an uneasy truce yesterday between rebel Bryanston MP Horace van Rensburg and PFP caucus colleagues.

The coolness followed his support for the Department of Education and Training's "re-absorption" camps for black youths and closure of some Soweto schools.

A senior PFP source said last night: "The whole thing could mushroom over the next few days."

Van Rensburg yesterday again contradicted colleagues by saying the schools closure was inevitable.

PFP leader Colin Eglin said last night: "There is clearly a difference of nuance between what Horace has said and what some of our other colleagues have said about these issues. But to call it a row in the party would be overstating it."

He added: "The state of emergency has brought a new dimension to the camps that have been in existence for some time. There is now a linkage between detentions and these camps that needs to be probed.

"Helen Suzman and Ken Andrew (PFP MPs) went to one of these camps today and we will know tomorrow what the situation is. Then the PFP will state where it stands."

Suzman said yesterday after her visit that it seemed "highly likely" there was some coercion in jails to get youths to go to the camps.

Van Rensburg said earlier this was "definitely not" the case.

Slow growth for money supply

Economics Reporter

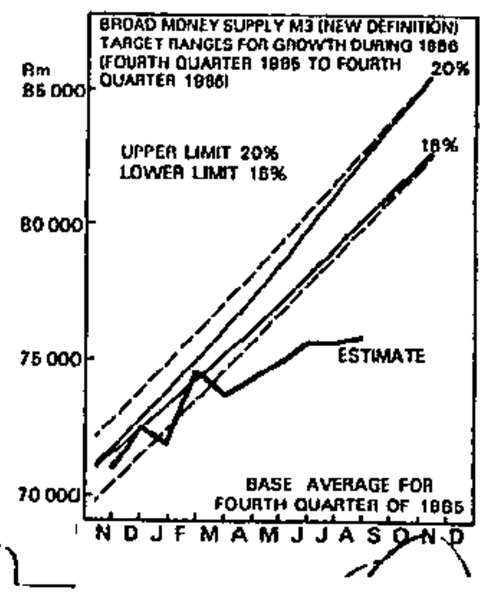
MONEY supply growth continued its disappointing below-target performance in August, rising just 9,15% from August last year.

M3 — the broadest definition of money supply — rose to R76,32bn in August, from R75,67bn in July, according to preliminary figures released yesterday by the Reserve Bank.

The revised July figure, however, was R550m higher than the preliminary estimate issued last month, improving the year-on-year increase for that month to 9,43%.

Even so, M3 growth remains considerably below the target range set by the Reserve Bank at between 16% and 20%, indicating that the economy's recovery continues to be slow.

Reserve Bank governor Gerhard de Kock said August's low growth "came as no surprise" and reflected the "sluggish nature of the economic upswing." The Reserve Bank would not revise its growth targets.



Special debate: 'Lifting the veil'

Cape Times 19/8/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party will call for the resignation of the entire cabinet and plans to begin lifting the veil of secrecy surrounding the state of emergency during a special debate in Parliament on Friday.

The 3½-hour debate, which will in effect be a mini-no confidence debate, will also place a critical spotlight on the economy, sanctions and foreign relations.

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday that his party would be using Parliament in the coming weeks "to highlight what is going on under the cloak of the emergency".

Mr Eglin said it would have been "farcical" for the government to deny the PFP the opportunity to debate the crisis that had been enveloping the country during the parliamentary recess.

"What makes the situation worse is that the government has not merely failed to address the crisis but that its policies have in fact aggravated the problems facing the country," Mr Eglin said.

Mr Eglin noted the "government's inability to set in motion meaningful negotiation on a new constitution or to present any realistic vision for the future".

● More reports, page 4

Economist sees tyranny unless

304 A

19/9/86

LINDA ENSOR

TYRANNY was forecast last night for SA unless it changed course.

Cape Town University economist Charles Simkins said that, if forces setting the political, diplomatic and military agenda remained dominant, "we are lost".

He added liberals must hope for a stalemate in the balance of power. If this did not occur, and determining forces remained unchanged, a tyrannical regime would emerge.

He was delivering a talk, "Liberalism and the Problem of Power", at the annual Hoernle Memorial lecture at the SA Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg.

'The most likely future becomes that of an increasingly tyrannical white rule based on a shrinking (relative to population size) production base followed by chaos, when this can no longer be sustained, followed by the emergence of an equally or more tyrannical regime.'

He said: "A power equilibrium or stalemate of sufficient duration would allow the various parties to reassess the cost involved in their strategies and seek to reduce these by an attempt to reach a settlement based on fair principles."

Simkins called for the mobilisation of all who subscribed to liberal principles of economic and political organisation.

See Page 4

Knee-jerk by Nats to 'Boer bashing' in US

Cape Times 19/8/86

Senator Robert Dole

Senator Strom Thurmond

Mr P W Botha

Washington Letter
by SIMON BARBER

3044

"IN CONTRADICTION to every known principle of the human mind, that singular people seems to have yielded a stronger and more ready assent to the traditions of their remote ancestors than to the evidence of their own senses."

No, Edward Gibbon was not referring to the Afrikaner, nor was he reporting on State President Botha's extraordinary evocation of his tribe's pastoral "freedom fighters" at the National Party congress last week. Yet had these been his topics, he would have composed the same contemptuous sentence.

The question after Mr Botha's speech and Friday's 84-14 sanctions vote by the United States Senate is whether the NP's evident Masadism is a calculated response or an irrational reflex rooted in Afrikanerdom's paranoid past.

Off a cliff

Pretoria's reaction to the decisions Western governments are struggling to avoid rather suggests that the latter is true. It is almost as if Mr Botha and his people want the West to do its damnedest to destroy them because therein lies redemption.

The evidence of the senses indicates that responsible Western leaders — not to be confused with the House of Representatives and parts of the Senate — are not trying to drive the Boer off a cliff.

In a world hypersensitive to racial slurs, the Afrikaner almost alone may be deemed generically repulsive without causing offence to the arbiters of decency The phrase "Boer-bashing" connotes not intolerance, but something admirable in and of itself.

This, for example, is how Senator Christopher Dodd explained his proposal to tighten sanctions against SA parastatals: "The vast majority of those employed by the parastatals are Afrikaners, which, I point out to my colleagues, is the group that forms the political base of support for President Botha's National Party. There is a direct linkage. Thus ... we can make an important segment of the white minority feel the sting .. "

It could be argued that the xenophobia underlying these remarks is merely tactical — a way of achieving a goal that does not express a genuine animus — but unhappily this is not the case.

Even those within the administration whose job it is to care about what happens to South Africa have let their frustrations with Pretoria, not to mention Congress and the sanctions lobby, fester into a loathing for Afrikanerdom as a whole

And yet, far more importantly, the administration and a handful of its more perceptive allies on Capitol Hill are trying hard, against odds and without assistance from Mr Botha and his men, not to let that loathing translate into policy. This is why Pretoria would do well to grasp (assuming it wants to) what, beneath the rhetoric, went on in the Senate last week.

On the surface, the fact that 84 of 100 senators could vote the way they did looks definitive The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 verges on comprehensive.

Abrogation of the US-SA double-taxation agreement by itself threatens to be the last straw that forces US companies out, but then there is a total ban on new investment for good measure

The commodity exports to be embargoed — steel, iron, uranium, textile and (after 12 months) agricultural produce — earned South Africa three quarters of a billion dollars in 1985. Coming on top of that, the termination of air links with the third party loophole closed is a mere grace note

But none of this is yet law, nor, if Senator Richard Lugar, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the man who steered the package through to the final vote, has his way, will it ever become law

Mr Lugar, Senate majority leader Mr Robert Dole and most of their fellow Republicans firmly believe that Congress should not conduct foreign policy. The Democrats, being out of power, think otherwise but so long as they are out of power, that is their problem.

The Republican leadership's purpose was to persuade the administration to get its act together. It was saying to the White House, in effect. Wake up, we have a political problem which you are simply failing to address, and if you continue failing to address it, a lot of extremely dubious decisions are going to be forced on you. You have until mid-September, when the House and Senate should have finished reconciling the differences between their respective sanctions bills, to come up with your own plan

Though Mr Lugar and company will never admit this for fear of destroying the carefully built illusion, it requires little imagination to conclude that they permitted the legislation to be toughened up less to frighten SA — which the framers know full well it will not — than the White House.

So what does the White House have to do?

Strange though it might sound, not a great deal. In political terms, it needs to win 20 votes to go with the 14 it already has in order to put together the 34 required to block a two-thirds majority overriding a presidential veto

Those 20 can almost certainly be bought for a price considerably lower than the administration's agreeing to carry out every last element of the Senate bill as it now stands, much less of the undoubtedly stiffer version that will emerge from the House-Senate conference.

Expediency rules

That version may, by itself, win back a few of those votes by its additional severity. With the House having opted for total disinvestment plus a near total (except in time of war) trade embargo, the Senate is going to have to give ground and some of the 84 with it.

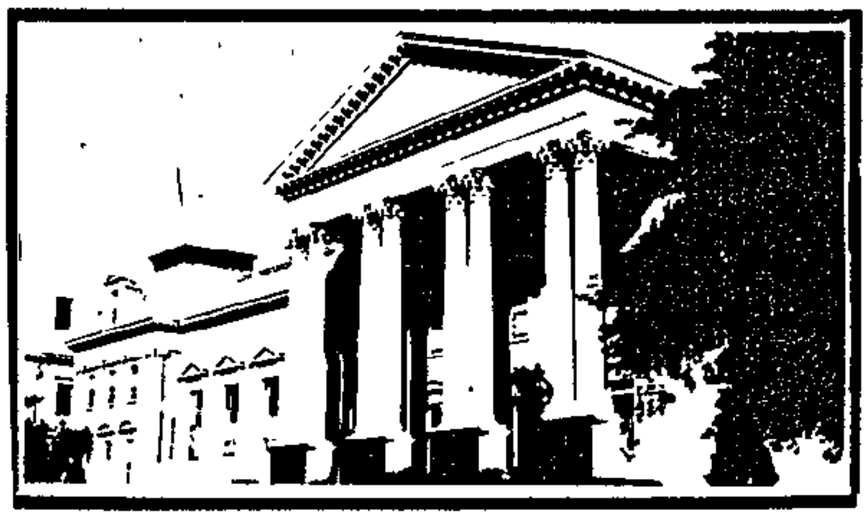
Furthermore, there is reason to doubt 84 is a real number. It is important to bear in mind that in American politics, at least as practised under the Capitol dome, there is no such thing as consistency. Expedience rules.

An obvious example is the way in which Senators Strom Thurmond, James Broyhill and Jeremiah Denton, conservative Southerners all, voted to ban SA textile exports, yet were part of the group that opposed the complete bill.

All come from textile-producing states and wanted to be able to reassure their electorates that were against cheap foreign imports. They knew they couldn't win overall, so indulged themselves in a useful free vote on a matter close to home.

There will be some further sanctions, most likely worked out jointly by the end of September between the Reagan administration and its European allies, and formalized by a new executive order. But the chances are against their being anything like what the Senate has conjured. Unless, of course, that is what Pretoria wants for the sake of its immortal soul.

Parliament and Politics



Heunis seeks deal 'to satisfy all people'

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Anyone who said the government wanted to hand over the whole of Natal to the Zulu people was a liar, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said last night.

Replying to debate on a Joint Executive Authority for Natal and KwaZulu, he said Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and other black leaders had the same right as whites to express their aspirations.

"I am seeking a constitutional dispensation, which does not exist anywhere else in the world, but which will satisfy all the people who live in this country," said Mr Heunis.

He rejected CP claims that the JEA would mean heavy additional costs and staff.

Was there not a need in the Transvaal for co-operation on such things as building roads?

Dr Frans van Staden: "But not in mixed institutions."

Mr Heunis said the JEA had nothing to do with the KwaNatal Indaba but he would not apologize for wanting to share power with blacks.

Cape Times 19/8/86.

30 6/4

CP boss 'caught in trap on fake letter'

Political Staff

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had been "caught in a trap" in attempting to discredit Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, by quoting from a fake document, Mr Rajbansi said last night.

"The Conservative Party simply can't stand the fact that I addressed the House of Assembly," Mr Rajbansi said.

Dr Treurnicht had said in a statement that Mr Rajbansi had to explain how his signature appeared on a letter, carrying his letterhead, which discredited the Conservative Party.

Dr Treurnicht

Dr Treurnicht said: "If the letter was genuine, it is an extremely serious matter.

"If it was fraudulent, then the full truth concerning the matter must be exposed."

Dr Treurnicht issued his statement after a denial by Mr Rajbansi that he had written a letter to the MP for Laudium, Mr Boeti Abramjee, in which it was written that he could take care of "this lunatic Terre'Blanche" (leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging).

Mr Rajbansi told Sapa yesterday the allegations could be a trick to sow discord between him and the State President, Mr P W Botha.

"But I have nothing to fear and I am sure the current police investigations will clear my name."

However, he was worried about how the author of the "fake" had obtained his official Ministers' Council notepaper.

He showed Sapa a photostat copy of the letter, addressed to Mr Abramjee, MP for Laudium, and admitted the signature on it resembled his own.

Mr Rajbansi told political staff last night Dr Treurnicht was "not aware that we are living in the age of advanced technology", which included the use of photocopying machines and camera tricks, "or is he behind the times, as he is in politics".

He said no one had produced the original of the alleged letter.

Dr Treurnicht should have verified the facts before going public, Mr Rajbansi said.

He also said he had been at a health farm near Stellenbosch on the day the letter was allegedly written.

SA political situation to be discussed in Assembly

ARGUS 18/8/86

306A

Special debate

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Assembly is to have a special 3½-hour debate on Friday to discuss the political situation.

The debate has been agreed to by the Government and the Opposition Progressive Federal Party.

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, will lead off the debate.

The second part of the 1986 parliamentary session, which started today, is expected to continue for about six weeks.

Full story

Legislation to be dealt with is mainly technical and the Bill to provide for a consultative national council will not come up.

Mr Eglin said today that the Opposition would carry on trying to get as much as possible of the full story of the state of emergency situation.

He said it was quite clear that the public did not know what was going on.

In international affairs there had been a marked deterioration since the first part of the session.

The state of emergency, while it might produce a facade of peace, was making the real solution to the country's problems more difficult. There was a breakdown of effective management over a wide field.

Resolving

The National Party's federal congress showed that the party had no real plan for resolving the constitutional problems of the country.

Within the rules of Parliament, the PFP would do whatever it could to focus the public's attention on these issues.

The party had insisted on a general debate to focus attention on the failure of the Government's policies.

After meetings of Natal and Transvaal PFP MPs last week a full meeting of the parliamentary caucus was held today to complete the strategy for Friday's debate.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

AWB and Oranjewerkers have 'regular consultations'

STAR 20/8/86 30 CIA

By Hannes de Wet

A number of Northern Free State farmers are now subscribing to the Oranjewerkersvereniging's ideal of becoming independent from "foreign labour" with a self-sufficient all-white republic in view.

Some have already started cutting back on the number of their black workers, the general secretary of the Oranjewerkersvereniging, Mr Hendrik Verwoerd, told *The Star* in an interview.

He also disclosed that the organisation had regular consultations with Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche's Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

The towns or districts in the Free State where farmers had started applying the Oranjewerkers principle were, among others, Bothaville, Viljoenskroon and Heilbron.

According to Mr Verwoerd, farmers in the Waterberg area in Northern Transvaal were also diminishing the number of their black labourers.

The declared aim of the Pretoria-based Oranjewerkersvereniging is to convince as many whites as possible to prepare themselves for an all-white homeland — totally reliant on white initiative and white labour.

Mr Verwoerd, son of the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, said the Oranjewerkers were also making "steady headway" at Morgenzon in the Eastern Transvaal which could be regarded as the embryo of the white homeland idea.

"We have established a profitable factory that produces fibreglass products with all-white labour and about 50 percent of the property in town is now owned by members or supporters of the Oranjewerkersvereniging.

"More and more farmers in the district have also started applying our principle of all-white labour," Mr Verwoerd said.

He explained that the Oranjewerkers's idea of a white homeland was not in conflict with the Boerestaat that the AWB was propagating.

"Our activities are actually complementing each other. The two organisations recognise each as two different fronts working for the same ideal.

"The Oranjewerkers have no objections to the fact that the AWB is demanding a certain part of the country for a Boerevolkstaat. Our duty is to prepare people to survive in such a state by being self-reliant in the labour area.

"In view of that we have regular contact and consultations with the AWB," Mr Verwoerd said.

President 'permitted to delegate powers'

20/8/86

STAR

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — There was nothing in the wide powers conferred on the State President which prevented him from authorising the Commissioner of Police to make orders under the emergency, it was argued in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday.

This was submitted by Mr J Combrink, SC, who appeared on behalf of the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the South African Police in an application brought against them and the State President by major English-language newspaper groups.

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

The Argus Company, South African Associated Newspapers, Natal Newspapers and the Natal Witness are applying for an order declaring emergency regulations 7 to 12 void and without force and effect in law.

They have made the application on the grounds that in making the regulations the State President exceeded the powers conferred on him by the Public Safety Act No 3 of 1953.

Mr Combrink said it was wrong to say that the State President was not authorised to delegate powers to the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police in certain circumstances.

The State President, he said, had an express authority from an ordinary reading of the words which the legislature used.

Mr Combrink said regulation 7 gave wide powers to the Commissioner of Police to enable him to deal with a wide variety of circumstances which might require urgent regulation or have to be dealt with.

He said it was only once the commissioner had made an order that one would know whether he had gone too far, or stepped outside the ambit of the regulation.

Mr Combrink said it was clear that what the State President was trying to do in conferring those powers on the commissioner was to provide for some unforeseen circumstances which we could not see, but which he had to provide for.

The hearing continues.

Set inter-dependence goal with labour — Nel

Business Editor

EAST LONDON — The business community had a fundamental role to play in setting a goal and a vision for the centrist, moderate group of people in the country, the project leader of the recent Project Free Enterprise study, Mr Christo Nel, said here last night.

Mr Nel, the personal assistant to the executive director of the Federated Chamber of Industries, was the guest speaker at the annual dinner of the Border Chamber of Industries.

Outlining research which had shown declining productivity in South Africa and worker perceptions that they had no stake in the current economic situation, Mr Nel said South Africa found itself on a "downward sweep" of old dispensations in which efforts to launch new initiatives had proved counter-productive.

Business had a bridge-building role to play in a situation where current infrastructures were no longer flexible enough to attract the support of moderates. "It is probably only business at this stage that has the ability and dynamics to set a vision and strive for it," he said. There were no longer any safe options — "only dangerous and more dangerous ones" at a time of rapidly changing circumstances in which the "future is not what it used to be."

Mr Nel said the business community had a major task in communicating with and educating a white work force which formed an "uneducated electorate". That work force had not developed an ability to debate issues and form opinions and a layer of middle management was blocking black advancement.

Management in many cases had not yet accepted that workers, like shareholders, were part of the business community's electorate and that it had to "position itself in terms of labour."

Labour represented the "real voice of frustrations and aspirations" and the business community, which had years of experience in dealing with these issues, had to make a "quantum leap" in establishing a relationship of inter-dependence with labour. It had to become involved in the development of local options and in negotiating issues such as observance of May Day and the June 16 anniversary.

Mr Nel said there would have to be a redistribution of benefits, not in the sense of redistributing poverty, but in the sense of becoming involved in issues such as housing and education.

There would have to be greater worker involvement in decision making and business would have to implement systems to monitor the progress of black advancement. Preferential treatment — "call it reverse discrimination or what you will" — would have to be applied to counter the lack of equal opportunities.

Another major issue facing the business community was the need to consolidate opinion and speak with a more unified voice on the various initiatives for change launched by different business organisations.

"We need to communicate. We must have the willingness and the courage to talk with anybody and everybody, including those who are a pain in the neck," Mr Nel said.

"Only action has meaning in times of distress and action is vision put into practice."

Picture page 2
See also page 13.

1/8/86 (304A)

A hard slap for mission hand-shake

Pretoria's hardline attitude to foreigners — even friendly foreigners — has been evident ever since PW Botha's tough State of Emergency speech in early June. PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the Howe mission

SOUTH AFRICA'S white governors have become extremely wary of foreigners who come bearing advice, as British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe discovered this week on his failed peace mission to South Africa.

If the expected United States peace mission gets off the ground, its envoys seem likely to run into the same deep suspicion of aliens, which at times borders on xenophobia.

The manner in which President PW Botha publicly repudiated Howe — and, with him, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and United States President Ronald Reagan — took many observers by surprise.

In a statement after their hour-long second meeting on Tuesday and shortly before Howe left for Britain, Botha accused him of having threatened South Africa and told him bluntly to "leave South Africa to the South Africans".

The ever-polite Howe had come to South Africa as the representative of the 12-nation European Community and in a bid to forestall sanctions. But, more important, he came as Thatcher's envoy and with the support of Reagan, the two Western leaders who have done more than anyone to resist the clamour for full-scale sanctions in South Africa.

But Howe's plea to Botha to initiate dialogue with representative black leaders by unconditionally releasing the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, and unbanning the outlawed ANC — a quest which was endorsed only last week by Reagan — was slapped down in uncompromising terms.

Howe's plea was buttressed by the stipulation that there should be a "matching commitment" from the ANC to call a halt to violence and enter into peaceful dialogue.

Botha implicitly but unmistakeably compared Mandela, who was jailed for life for his role in a campaign of sabotage against economic targets, with Patrick Magee, the Irish Republican Army bomber who tried to murder Thatcher by blowing up the hotel where she and most of her cabinet were staying during the 1984 British Conservative Party conference.

"Nothing could be calculated to annoy Mrs Thatcher more and to make it more difficult for her to resist calls for sanctions," a diplomat remarked.

As Howe was reading through Botha's statement while waiting to leave he had a momentary lapse of memory. "Who is Magee," he is said to have asked his wife. She replied: "Darling, that is the man who tried to murder us."

Botha's hardline attitude toward foreigners seeking to advise him — or as he sees it trying to prescribe to him — has been brewing for some time.

It was manifest starkly on June 12, when he declared a State of Emergency.

In a speech on that day, he quoted with approval a statement by the former American Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger: "When the crying need is for an assertion of authority, (American) advice usually dilutes it. Hard-pressed governments beset by an implacable domestic enemy are often reduced to paralysis by advice which they know is dangerous if not disastrous but which they dare not ignore."

A little more than a month later Botha warned against the supposedly reasonable demands on the international community, saying that they rested on false suppositions and doubtful motives.

International demands were, he implied, part of the total onslaught and their aim was fulfilment of the ultimate strategic objective: "victory over an enemy without a fight."

In retrospect Botha was clearly signalling his intention of not allowing foreign advice to paralyse his government or inhibit its assertion of authority.

Just how determined he was only became apparent in his statement on Howe's mission. Although delivered with less histrionics, it was reminiscent of his "don't push us too far" Rubicon speech a year ago.

Botha further closed the door to chances of negotiations with the ANC by adding a new condition. Apart from renouncing — as distinct from suspending — violence, the ANC would have to shed its communist leaders.

"There can be no talks with them as long as they are under communist control," Botha said flatly.

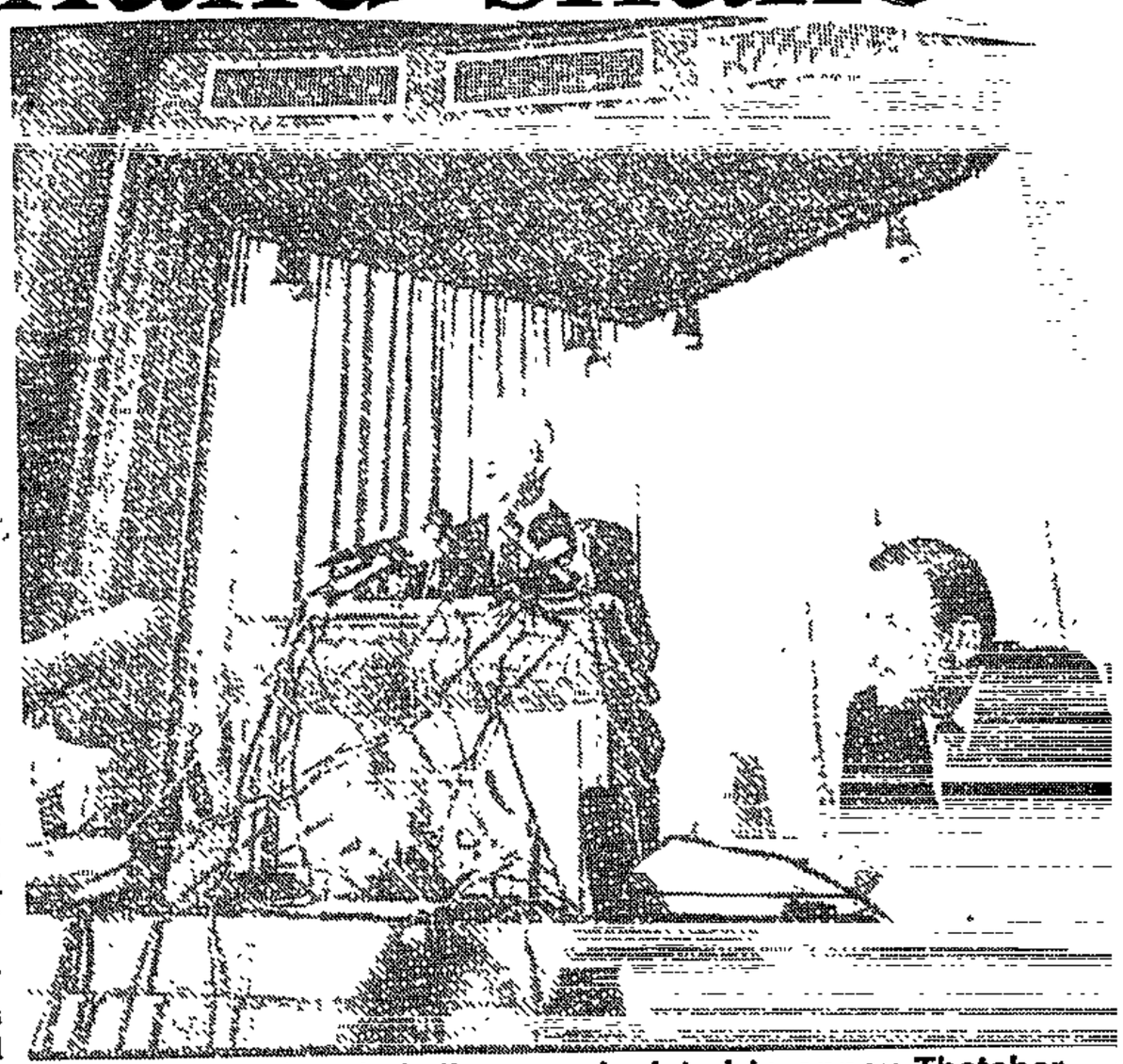
It does not augur well for an anticipated new peace initiative led by the United States, whose Ambassador to Zambia, Paul Hare, had talks on Wednesday with ANC leaders.

A well-positioned observer of the mood in Pretoria's corridors of power spoke of the "incredible hardening of attitude", a determination by South Africa's Afrikaner rulers to pursue their own programme of reform regardless of whether it pleases the Western democracies or not.

Two factors are central to the hardening attitudes and the consequent willingness to risk punitive sanctions and escalating guerrilla war.

First, there is the belief that "appeasing foreign demands" is a journey down a slippery slope, leading to new demands as soon as the present ones are acceded to. Eventually, it ends, as Botha averred in his statement, to a take-over by "communists".

Second, there is a need to be seen by the white electorate to be resisting pressure from outside. A recent authoritive opinion poll showed more than half of politically ascendant Afrikaner people —on whom Botha relies for bedrock support — think the government is too compliant in its dealings with foreign powers.



The Bothas give their line ... calculated to annoy Thatcher
Picture: AFRAPIX

Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, who closely observes political developments, adds a third factor. It is that Botha is increasingly heeding the advice of his police and army officers, who believe they can win the guerrilla war being waged by the outlawed ANC.

Ironically, however, within hours of Botha's speech there was a major surge in violent resistance to Botha's policy of creating — and sustaining — partially or fully self-governing "homelands" for each of South Africa's major black ethnic groups.

This week a senior politician in KwaNdebele, Piet Ntutli, was killed when the car he was travelling in exploded. In a separate episode seven people, including four policemen, were killed in a rifle and grenade attack on a police station in the supposedly independent state of Transkei.

As the South African rand again fell against the US dollar in the wake of Botha's rejection of foreign advice to talk to the ANC, and as the country braced itself for sanctions, attention focused on Botha's boast that black reaction to his proposed National Council had been "overwhelming".

The National Council will, according to its architects, give blacks a say in the formation of a new constitution for all South Africa and until then, an interim say in laws of direct relevance to black people.

In what appeared to signal a drive towards a settlement with "moderate black leaders to the exclusion of the ANC, Botha said: "We shall continue with dialogue and negotiation with peace-loving leaders of all our communities." There were, he added "enough authentic and representative leaders with whom we can iron out our future dispensation".

So far, however, no major black leader or organisation has publicly declared willingness to serve on the proposed council.

The ANC, the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation and even the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce have rejected the National Council. The powerful Zulu-based Inkatha movement has made its participation conditional to the release of Mandela, the chances of which now seem remote.

With sanctions on the horizon and deals with reasonable blacks in the offing, there is a feeling of *déjà vu*. It could be Ian Smith's Rhodesia all over again, but on a larger scale.

Derby-Lewis tries to woo PE's 'Afrikaner Settlers'

By KIN BENTLEY

A NEW term has been coined for right-wing English speakers in South Africa — Afrikaner Settlers.

The term was used by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, of the Conservative Party, when he addressed about 200 people at the Walmer Town Hall

Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, recently called Afrikaans-speakers "boere".

Clearly aiming to woo English support for the CP, Mr Derby-Lewis said one could no longer talk of "fellow South Africans", because President P W Botha had also made blacks, coloureds and Indians South Africans.

"I'm an English-speaking Afrikaner," he proclaimed.

Afrikaans-speakers had never been totally united, nor had the English, but through "joint action" the right-wing could get rid of the present Government.

Mr Derby-Lewis said he expected all the major right-wing forces in South Africa to be united by the end of the year. They all had the same fundamental policy — partition. Already, at consituency level, the CP and HNP were working together.

He said the "Battle of Pietersburg" earlier this year, when about 8 000 right-wingers took over a meeting to be addressed by Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was a "turning point in politics in South Africa; the first massive resistance to the sellout of whites in the country".

The beach referendum in PE was also a victory for the right, he said.

Mr Derby-Lewis dismissed sanctions as "the bogey-man with which the media is trying to frighten us into capitulation".

However, he said, South Africa, with 80% of the world's platinum-based minerals — essential in the refining of oil — did not fear this threat any longer.

He slated the Government for allowing the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and the Eminent Persons' Group into the country.

August 1986.

CP stand on privatisation

(304A)

MICK COLLINS

THE public must not allow itself to be hoodwinked by the propaganda campaign for privatisation, the Conservative Party (CP) finance spokesman said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Jan van Zyl said the call by business for privatisation was a ploy to get control of more sources of income.

He said: "What guarantees do we have that privatisation does not mean control by big business? Privatisation does not spread economic ownership but concentrates it in the hands of a few."

Government had a responsibility to provide certain services for its citizens, he said.

FIN MAIL 1/8/86

NP FEDERAL CONGRESS 304A

Small expectations

The National Party (NP) is going to extraordinary lengths to ensure a low-key build-up to the Federal Congress in Durban on August 12 and 13.

Memories of the disastrous performance by President P W Botha at the party's last congress in Durban — when he wet his feet in the Rubicon almost a year before to the day — are still fresh. This time around, no behind-the-scenes promises are being made by Cabinet Ministers, and party officials repeatedly emphasise the need not to raise expectations too high.

NP federal congresses are usually called to gauge party support for extraordinary issues, such as becoming a Republic, or to debate the tricameral constitution. But it seems unlikely that any new, concrete proposals for radical change will emerge in Durban in two weeks' time.

The next major step Botha must take is to bring blacks into a central decision-making role. To facilitate this, he proposed a National Council (NC), which is the closest the party has ever come to embracing the Progressive Federal Party's National Convention strategy.

There seems little chance that Botha will pre-empt the NC in Durban by proposing black inclusion in government at this stage. It is more likely that he will consolidate all he has done over the past four years, and use the opportunity to re-establish links with the NP's grassroots.

He will go over the steps taken since the 1982 federal congress in Bloemfontein and try to show how successful they have been "broadening democracy."

The State President will then explain how necessary it is to take the exercise further, and bring blacks into the system in an equally ordered and evolutionary way through the NC (coloureds and Indians were brought in through the President's Council's recommendations).

Botha is also likely to rally support for his stand against sanctions and "outside interference," and detail the success achieved through the State of Emergency in curbing unrest and violence.

Major new announcements of any sort seem unlikely, although there is speculation that Botha will want to give something new to the delegates to make them feel included in government's plans. There is also speculation that the president may announce plans — and possibly even a date — for a general election or referendum within the next few months, but most observers appear to regard this as unlikely.

On the other hand, after burning their fingers so badly by allowing unrealistic expectations to rise in the build-up to last year's Durban congress, Nationalist ministers and organisers may be underplaying this year's gathering. It could, in the end, produce far more than is being predicted. ■

SA IN THE WORLD

A window of time

1/8/86 304A FINANCIAL

The tenuous links with the West are fraying. The Reagan and Thatcher administrations have put clear demands to Pretoria — which are unlikely to be met. Thereafter come certain sanctions.

South Africa is about to be cast adrift from the global community — and certain elements in government and the private sector appear to relish the idea. That is sad. As Ronald Reagan pointed out last week, SA has already effectively imposed sanctions upon itself through its policies and behaviour: the market, he said, has sent its signals. And just look at the savage toll of bankruptcies and unemployment

The significance of further impending sanctions, whatever their severity, is that they will not be the direct outcome of actions by the African National Congress (ANC) or the professional anti-apartheiders.

It is, unhappily, our traditional friends in the liberal and conservative West who seem set to impose possibly punitive economic sanctions against us. Of all the world's pariah nations, we appear to be deemed the lowest. That isn't fair, but that's our place in the world's perception.

There have been two major initiatives, namely the Commonwealth's and the one just ended by EEC President Sir Geoffrey Howe They aimed at getting government to sit down and negotiate power-sharing with *real* black leaders (chiefly, let it be said, the outlawed ANC). With their failure, the drift into sanctions appears unstoppable.

This is despite last-ditch personal appeals by President Reagan to get State President P W Botha to make some concession to the beleaguered Howe mission It was also reported that Reagan would dispatch his personal friend, Nevada Senator Paul Laxalt, to see Botha to explain in detail what could be in store for SA. Laxalt, whose visit was mooted last month (*Current affairs* June 27) was sent to the Philippines last year in an attempt to talk sense into Ferdinand Marcos. When that failed, Reagan turned his back on his former ally, who soon fell.

High-profile diplomacy involving personal appeals (which Britain's premier Margaret Thatcher has attempted) once again raised the prospect of Nelson Mandela's release — a minimum concession sought by the West.

At this stage it is unlikely to make any difference to Afrikaner recalcitrance. Botha cannot be seen to be kowtowing to outside pressure, especially since he made a denunciation of violence by Mandela and the ANC a firm precondition. And there is always the problem of a rightwing backlash.

Why all the rage and fury surrounding SA? It is probably a culmination of all the passion and anger of post-War anti-racialism and decolonisation Just as the abolition of slavery was the moral *cause celebre* of the last century, so apartheid is the number one concern in the world today, eclipsing any other issue of concern, such as nuclear arms limitation, the Berlin Wall or international terrorism

The international legitimacy of the Pretoria government is totally under siege; lines kept open by Reagan and Thatcher look less and less durable. This is compounded by the Botha administration's unfailing ability to exacerbate our problems

Even while Sir Geoffrey was here, as many as 300 000 black schoolchildren who failed to re-register faced the prospect of never being allowed back into school; what are they to do? How will the West view such a development? It seems a recipe for further violence and the extension of the State of Emergency.

It must be said that Pretoria is correct in describing the debate over sanctions as totally irrational In the emotional heat that has been generated, it is expected to behave in a way that no other country, however reprehensible, would be expected to do.

The clamour to "punish" SA, especially the whites, has become hysterical. Government, meanwhile, said Pik Botha "is not prepared to hand over this country to a bunch of Marxists" The West can do its worst

Some believe that SA has become entrapped in the familiar phenomenon of a small state getting in the way of superpower concerns. It is pointless decrying international double standards, or the fact that any number of countries preaching democracy are at least as repressive as SA is perceived to be towards its black population and white dissidents

The State President has again and again reiterated that SA's problems will be solved by South Africans and not by foreigners, any negotiations, with whatever parties to the conflict, will be convened by the government, which would be present not merely as another party to the talks but as the government in charge.

Internally, whether or not the State of Emergency is succeeding in dampening the violence, the question is: what happens afterwards? From the point of view of a home-grown settlement, things appear to be going in a direction opposite to what government wants, as the middle ground of the moderates is eroded.

Who of substance is going to serve on the National Council, upon which government sets such great store? And, after sanctions are imposed, what of the rest of government's agenda of reform? The Regional Services Councils are by no means guaranteed to succeed In short, government's vision of a new society does not show signs of meeting reasonable black — never mind international — demands and expectations.

So the slide into a society under siege seems inexorable, isolation seems inevitable Yet increased sanctions will be accompanied by increased violence and repression, from which the ANC is likely to benefit more than anyone else Our international friends know that quite well

Perhaps the change in the American position following Reagan's major policy speech last week illustrates most clearly the quandary they find themselves in. According to our Washington correspondent, South Africans who broke out the champagne over Reagan's speech should put the cork back in the bottle.

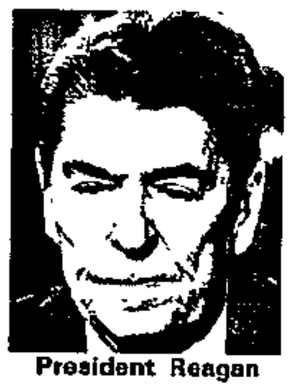
What was intended as a low-key plea for reason was treated both at home and abroad as a Reagan endorsement of the Pretoria government's recent crackdown. The result was nationwide public uproar, a rebellion among the president's Republican leadership in the Senate and ill-concealed glee among House Democrats, who felt they suddenly had an issue to beat the president with in the November elections. Most abrasive of all was the elation that was reported out of SA itself among Botha government officials

Sir Geoffrey, P W Botha, Pik Botha

Testifying later before the Senate Foreign Relations committee, Secretary of State George Shultz beat a retreat. The message was loud and clear As a result, the controversial American policy of "constructive engagement" with SA has effectively been abandoned.

So SA has moved, in the world view, from being just another one of a list of "bad boy" nations to the verge of being an international outlaw — an excommunicant, if you will — whose internal depredations now threaten the international fabric.

Not only is that old and odd confection, the Commonwealth, riven by Pretoria's domestic policies, but the global antagonism stirred by the almost daily reports of violence are intruding on other political dynamics thousands of miles away.



President Reagan

The White House shift last week will see a move to a "gradual escalation" of political pressures against Pretoria which senior officials say could lead to presidential sanctions being imposed as early as September, and to a last hope Rhodesian-style economic embargo if it comes to that by the end of the year.

Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, was due to arrive in London on Tuesday (as the *FM* went to press) to be briefed by Sir Geoffrey Howe on his recent African talks and to outline the new American strategy

White House officials say that Crocker was the leading force in convincing Reagan that the Botha government must quickly abandon its recently adopted tough stance lest broader US policy objectives in Angola, Namibia and elsewhere in the region be ruined.

A crucial item in the new Reagan stance is the president's determination to work in tandem with the Thatcher government and other European powers in squeezing Pretoria. Among the minimum signals the Americans consider essential from SA are the release of Mandela and other key black opposition leaders; an ending of the pressures by police against internal critics and the press; and a commitment to black parliamentary representation within a specific time-frame.

"Whatever steps that we might decide to take unilaterally would be much more effective if they could be done in relation with what other allies do. Unilateral steps would pale in relation to what we could do in concert with our allies and that's what we intend to do," said Larry Speakes, the presidential press spokesman. White House aides also said Reagan will make a more public expression of his opposition to apartheid in future.

It is true that Reagan, in his televised address, argued that "if Congress imposes sanctions, it would destroy America's flexibility, discard our diplomatic leverage and deepen the crisis . . we must stay and work, not cut and run." But what the president *meant*, the official line now has it, is that he still believes that while economic sanctions will not be effective, he may still deploy them — if all else fails.

Crocker will tell the Thatcher government that the Americans want to precede any last-resort move to an economic embargo with a "turning of the screw, a gradual escalation" of *political* sanctions which seek to reverse white SA's apparent public acceptance of the government crackdown.

Among the steps the White House is considering are a cut in the number of South African diplomats allowed in *any* country, a freeze on visas or emigration permits issued to white South Africans; and a limitation or outright banning of direct air flights to and from the country.

"Those who read the President's speech as a declaration of support for the South African government's present policies should go back and read it again. It is our view that unless the government there changes its attitudes there pretty quickly, it is looking at a protracted catastrophe," said a senior State Department official, who spoke off the record to the *FM*

He went on: "By that I do not mean a total collapse of government right away But I do mean an economic catastrophe . . a rupturing of economic links with the rest of the Western world. Indeed, already we see SA imposing economic sanctions on itself, with negative growth and white workers lining up for jobs at one rand an hour.

PM Thatcher

"So it is the Botha government which has brought the country to this. The sanctions are in fact the sanctions of the marketplace and part of our scenario is a downward tailing of the economic picture for everybody there, as more and more of the resources of the country have to be diverted to the government to maintain its control," the official said unemotionally.

He was careful to stress that the newly constructed American analysis does not foresee an imminent collapse or loss of control by the Botha government. But he added that the cross-border raids, the State of Emergency, and increasingly truculent government rhetoric has put Washington under a time pressure that did not exist earlier this year.

It is clear that Crocker and other advisers to the president misjudged how quickly the anti-SA fervour would spread across the US in recent months.

And even though Reagan himself is barred from further office-seeking, there is a congressional election in November and a 1988 presidential election, throughout which he will remain head of the Republican Party.

But it is more than political pressure that caused the administration's change of heart on SA. There is an openly expressed anger and sense of betrayal among American officials. They feel that the crackdown put paid to ambitions for withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and, most important of all, the tandem evacuation of Cuban troops from Angola.

Reagan never made a secret of his own deeply-held desire to reduce the world revolutionary status of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro The expulsion of his troops from Angola would have had an immediate impact on that reputation throughout the Western hemisphere.

Indeed, Crocker reportedly had a tacit agreement from Angola's Dos Santos government that the first contingents of Cubans would be sent home in time for this November's US elections. The cross-border raids by South African military units, as well as outrage among the black frontline states, has put an incalculable number of US diplomatic projects on indefinite hold.

The September deadline for an about-face by Pretoria is, the Americans say, about all the time they have left to remain in control of their own political choices in the matter.

A White House political strategist explained privately: "Between now and September the other Western governments will reach their decisions. In SA the parties and parliament will be meeting during that time. In the absence of any clear signals of a change from that direction, by that time we will have to move

"Our Congress goes home in August for a summer recess and it is unlikely that they will have the kind of draconian sanctions Bill we worry about ready to send for the president's signature But they will be back in September and the odds are good that they can get such a Bill up for a vote before they go home in October for their re-election campaigns," he added

"Now we must be able to show that the president is in control of the situation, that we are working with our allies and that our pressure is taking effect in Pretoria Otherwise we will get a tough, mandatory sanctions Bill down here of the kind which Reagan said last year he would have to veto. This year, you will notice, he has not said he would veto such a sanctions Bill. He remains opposed to economic sanctions in principle, but that does not mean he would veto such a Bill this year," the aide said

Indeed, White House press aides nudged journalists specifically to ask the president to clarify his economic sanctions stance two days after he had said an embargo would be "a historic act of folly"

While on a campaign trip on behalf of

P.T.O.

political allies in South Carolina, Reagan responded to a question which mooted an allied imposition of sanctions with: "We haven't closed any doors. We never close any doors." Press aides then moved quickly to expand that as a signal that the new policy shift was in the wind.

The political aide expanded on that for the *FM*: "Rather than a door, think of a window, a window of time. The president is saying that he can keep the window open to SA just so long and then it is going to close because of forces beyond our control.

"Look, we have only so much influence in SA. At a distance of 8 000 miles we operate on the margin in that region and always have ... What it comes down to is that we still want to be an honest broker in SA. But if the people there are determined to go down the tubes, we can't stop them. And we have other things to do in the world ..."

In the chat-show debates which the networks run to preserve their semblance of objectivity, SA Ambassador Herbert Beukes is given ample opportunity to state the Botha government's case.

But his dry legalisms and explanations are greeted with ill-concealed sneers both by the presenters and South African critics, who merely retort: "White people are killing black people out there, that's all I know. Children are being killed."

As a result, the American popular view of SA is almost identical to the sour indifferent antagonism with which Americans viewed the collapse of other white power structures across Africa since World War Two.

What will it take to reverse that view? What will it take to make America view SA as a friend again? That is most difficult to say, so long as a there is no real change of heart in Pretoria.

And the tighter Pretoria squeezes, the weaker becomes its grip on its own destiny. The more powerful the Botha government tries to appear, the more estranged it becomes from its former Western allies and the less able they are to help SA in its testing hour. For Reagan and Thatcher, at least, the window to SA is still open. But for how long? ■

'Media in SA must decide'

JOHANNESBURG. — South African media had to decide now where they were going to throw their weight, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said at a function here to mark the 50th anniversary of the SABC.

"Are they going to throw it on the side of a developing South Africa where peace, freedom and progress must be brought about, or will they — as some of those to the north of us have done — throw their weight on the side of those who have eventually brought about the destruction of civilization as well the media?" he asked.

Mr Botha said everyone in South Africa was the target these days of what was often a demonic insanity which was being directed at the country with increasing viciousness.

There was no indication that this campaign of venom would soon come to an end.

"Our head, like that of John the Baptist is being demanded to be carried in on a tray at a festival of fanatical despots," Mr Botha said.

There were unpleasant times in the history of nations when the choice betweeen unpopular alternatives was forced upon them.

"We are now standing at such a point in our history ... if we are going to be forced to choose, then we have only one choice: South Africa first."

Mr Botha said: "In these stormy times where South Africa faces the intense crossfire of international criticism and venom the SABC has an even greater responsibility."

The SABC was founded half-a-centuary ago on the initiative of General J B M Hertzog, and 50 years later the SABC could do no better than to give full expression to his call then of "South Africa first".

'Voice'

Mr Botha said the SABC was a voice for South Africa. "In everything that you do you must reflect and strengthen the voice and the spirit of South Africa ... You cannot let us submit to other voices from America or Europe.

"Together with every other section of our society — the government, the security forces, the private sector, the ordinary citizen — you must pull together to carry the load up the hill before us.

"The SABC and evey other member of the South African media must make a decision in these days and show where they stand," Mr Botha said. — Sapa

Is Botha the man to handle the crisis in SA?

W/E ARGUS 2/8/86 (304A)

By LEON MARSHALL, Political Editor

WITH the country in a state of emergency, the economy in a parlous state, foreign relations in a mess and no sign of constitutional negotiations getting under way with any black people of standing, the question it leaves is whether Mr P W Botha is still the man to handle the situation or whether his leadership might not have run its course.

PEOPLE in this country have become used to changes of government not coming from the polling booth. They have to wait for changes in the Nationalist leadership to produce new political initiatives.

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, with the support of the vast majority of Afrikaners and growing number of English-speaking South Africans, was busy putting the finishing touches to the mad apartheid ideology when he was stabbed to death in Parliament, allowing Mr John Vorster to take over.

Mr Vorster, at the expense of a minor split from his party, not only smoothed some of the rough edges of apartheid but also tampered with some of its pillars in a way that would cause increasing doubt among his supporters about the policy's ultimate workability.

But not prepared to call it a day for apartheid and not able to get his tongue around power-sharing as the only alternative, he allowed the situation to drift while relying on patriotic outrage at the "meddling" of Mr Jimmy Carter and Mr Andrew Young to return his party with its biggest majority ever at the polling booth.

After 13 years as Prime Minister he retired to become President, allowing Mr P W Botha to take over.

The frustration the new Nationalist leader must have shared with many in and outside his party at the lack of political direction over the later years of Mr Vorster's rule became apparent from his first speeches as Prime Minister.

But as a result of the Information scandal he also found himself caught in the most invidious position that could befall a new leader.

Not only did he have to preside over the demise of his predecessor Mr Vorster as President, but he also had to hack from his government powerful colleagues who had set up a costly and bizarre secret scheme to con sceptical South Africans and an increasingly belligerent outside world into accepting the apartheid cause. And behind the scheme, too, it turned out, a power clique had taken shape with the purpose of taking over when Mr Vorster left.

In spite of these party-political travails he was the first Prime Minister to visit the homelands and see for himself the poverty and hopelessness of these territories on which the apartheid dream had been built.

He is also the first Nationalist Prime Minister to have visited Soweto, where he showed himself to the world shaking hands with a black child in this bleak city on the fringes of opulent Johannesburg whose name has become synonymous with the black struggle against apartheid.

He risked a split of Afrikaner Nationalism, nurtured over many years and brought to power against great odds, by publicly rebuking Dr Andries Treurnicht as an increasingly powerful colleague and apartheid's new high priest for racist remarks he made. It was time people stopped treating people of colour like lepers, he said.

Ultimately he forced the split of his party which was inevitable if Nationalism was to come to terms with apartheid's failure, by declaring himself in favour of power-sharing.

Bizarre as the new constitutional scheme might seem, its inclusion of Indians and coloured people in Parliament and the Cabinet would have been unthinkable in Dr Verwoerd and even Mr Vorster's time. The latter toyed with the crazy idea of having three separate Parliaments.

Mr Botha has since presided over the demolition of the Mixed Marriages Act and the racial clause of the Immorality Act, which were among Nationalism's first crude enactments to impose apartheid on the country.

He has allowed the scrapping of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, as the most anomolous enactment in a country where no single race group could ignore, far less avoid, taking cognisance of one another's politics.

He declared apartheid outdated, abandoned influx control as apartheid's cruellest mechanism for pursuing its impossible purpose and undertook to restore South African citizenship to many blacks who lost it through homeland independence, thereby reversing the distorted view of a white-minority country in which one day there would be no black South Africans.

Although basic aspects of apartheid like the Group Areas Act, separate education and the Population Registration Act still remain, the country has, largely through Mr Botha's doing, been rid of the foolish belief that racial segregation offers peace and white security.

What now remains is a white-dominated power elite, which stands stripped of its former ideological justification for ruling over all the rest in the country.

Mr Botha has declared his government willing to negotiate a new constitution with black people, which, after more than three decades of apartheid rule, is a challenge of enormous dimensions and implications.

It is probably also what British foreign secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe had in mind when after his meeting with Mr Botha he spoke of the "giant leap of imagination" which is now needed.

Yet, for all the significant work Mr Botha has done over the past seven years in destroying his own party's misplaced belief in apartheid as the solution and in relieving black South Africans of some of its cruel machinations, evidence of the imagination still needed to reconstruct the new South Africa has been patently lacking.

When even a moderate leader of the stature of Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, in spite of his own growing anxiety about the prospects for peace, refuses to come to the negotiating table unless Mr Nelson Mandela is released and the African National Congress unbanned, it should be clear to the Government that these preconditions are not the ultimate dilemma but simply the first hurdle.

Yet, from Mr Howe's discussions with Mr Botha this week arose the extraordinary spectacle of the former talking about exactly that and the latter about the Tamils and Russian dissident Sakhorov and Brighton bomber Magee.

With the country in a state of emergency, the economy in a parlous state, foreign relations in a mess and no sign of constitutional negotiations getting under way with any black people of standing, the question it leaves is whether Mr Botha is still the man to handle the situation or whether his leadership might not have run its course.

He is now in his eighth year at the helm, which is a fair time by normal democratic standards. He has shown great courage in reversing apartheid and bringing the country to terms with its failure. The leap of imagination now required might have to come from another man.

Who that might be is another question.

(Written by L H Marshall, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Trouble brewing over Kwandebele

Crisis looms in latest homeland

W/C ARGUS 2/8/86 (3044)

By PETER FABRICIUS, Weekend Argus Reporter

THE looming independence of the strife-torn homeland of Kwandebele seems likely to precipitate another constitutional crisis — if the Government presses ahead to meet the December 11 deadline as it appears determined to do.

The majority parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates have resolved to block enabling legislation, while Government sources indicated this week that "all systems are go" for independence.

This week there was a "total breakdown" in the Eastern Transvaal homeland, after the car-bomb assassination of Home Affairs Minister Mr Piet Ntuli, head of the Mbokhoto vigilante force and one of the prime movers for independence.

He was widely regarded as the power behind Chief Minister Mr Simon Skosana.

Mr Desmond Lockey, nominated MP and constitutional spokesman for the majority Labour Party in the House of Representatives, vowed this week that his party would not pass the enabling legislation which must come before Parliament in the session starting on August 18, if the deadline is to be met.

And Mr Somaroo Pachai, Natal Midlands MP and black affairs spokesman in the majority National People's Party in the House of Delegates, said: "We will do everything in our power to stop this outdated concept of homelands being imposed."

Controversy

If the Government presses ahead with legislation and the two other Houses oppose it, the same sort of controversy which blew up in June over two tough security laws, could ensue.

The Government bulldozed the two other Houses by referring the Bills to the National Party-controlled President's Council for arbitration.

Mr Lockey said he did not think the Government would risk this again.

Even National Party MPs were opposed to independence and events in the homeland made it unlikely that the Government would pursue the December 11 deadline, Mr Lockey said.

Courts circumvented in emergency

Powers to police

By Kym Hamilton
and Own Correspondents

President Botha yesterday delegated powers to Divisional Commissioners of Police to enforce emergency restrictions — thereby circumventing decisions by Supreme Courts which invalidated them.

More than 100 orders, issued by Divisional Commissioners round the country since June 12 in terms of the Public Safety Act are again in force.

These include restrictions on funerals, curfews, controls on the movement of people, and bans on various organisations.

Reaction to Mr Botha's move, made by publishing an Extraordinary *Government Gazette* late yesterday, has been swift and sharp.

"Incompetent, stupid, disgraceful ..." This verbal thrashing for the Government came from the Official Opposition.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the Progresive Federal Party's spokesman on law and order, was furious.

She said the new measure not only amounted to a total admission of incompetence by the Government, but also represented disrespect for South Africa's courts of law.

"This is the sort of disgraceful behaviour we have become used to from the Nationalist government — they change the rules to suit themselves," she said. "How more intelligent it would have been to have called off the emergency entirely.

"All these regulations, which are not only ridiculous, but actually invite civil disobedience, should be scrapped.

"Particularly now, when we are hovering on the brink of punitive sanctions, this is the type of action which will clinch it."

Mrs Suzman said the Government's move could only "rouse the disgust of the civilised world".

A Full Bench of the Rand Supreme Court ruled on Monday that the State President, in terms of the Public Safety Act, could delegate legislative powers to the Commissioner of Police, but the commissioner could not redelegate that power.

Mr Botha has now amended the wording of the regulation on which the court decision was based — and has circumvented the court decision by making the new regulations retrospective to June 12.

The power to issue orders — which have severely curtailed the activities of more than 100 anti-apartheid organisations — was contained in Regulation 7 of the emergency regulations published on June 12.

A fifth sub-regulation has been added to Regulation 7 and been made retrospective to June 12.

Where the regulations provided for a power to be redelegated by either the Minister of Law and Order or the Commissioner of Police, they have been brought in line with the court decision.

The words "or any person authorised thereto by him" have been excised from the regulations.

Changes to other aspects of the regulations which delegate power were also made, and these words have either been deleted or altered to read "a member of a force who serves as a commissioned officer in that force".

More than 17 *Government Gazettes* containing orders issued in terms of the Public Safety Act by various local commissioners of police around the country have been printed since June 12.

■ To Page 2

STAR 2/8/86 (304A)

Police POWERS back

Indaba is a sellout, says Treurnicht

Mercury Reporter

THE Kwazulu-Natal proposals put forward by the Indaba were 'the selling out of the white man in Natal', Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said last night.

Speaking at the opening of the Natal Conservative Party congress in Uvongo, he urged white Natalians to stand up and fight the 'creeping, sick, political stand of power sharing'.

If implemented, the suggested Indaba proposals would eventually see the Provincial Administration forced into action by Inkatha who would be represented by the majority of Zulus.

This would be the natural result of a recent incident, similar to many others, in which the Durban City Council was pressurised by Inkatha to open the city's beaches to all races.

'The proposals are a serious blow to orderly government in the province,' he said.

(News by J Moore, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Gallery chief

Proposals are a sell-out, says Treurnicht

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The new KwaNatal proposals put forward by the Indaba was "the selling out of the white man in Natal," says leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

At the opening of the Natal Conservative Party congress in Uvongo last night, he urged white Natalians to stand up and fight the "creeping, sick, political stand of powersharing".

If implemented, the suggested proposals would eventually see the Provincial administration forced into action by Inkatha, who would be represented by the majority of Zulus on the organisation.

Next, he said, this would be the natural result of a recent incident, similar to many others, in which the Durban City Council was pressurised by Inkatha to open up the city's beaches to all races.

"The proposals are a serious blow to orderly government in the province," he said.

Dr Treurnicht went on to tell his audience of about 250 that "it was a big lie" to say that apartheid was unChristian, racist, suppressive and the cause of friction.

It was a "protective policy which underlines the beauty of God's creation" he said.

President P. W. Botha's "parroting" of overseas anti-apartheid criticism and the resultant changes in the constitution had led to an eruption of "volksgevoel" (people's feeling) against the present fatal course of South African politics.

"The present constitution must and will be changed," he said.

Poulus hai

to meet

4/8/86

STAR

3044A

Treurnicht says apartheid 'lies' being unmasked

Political Staff

UVONGO — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has staunchly defended the concept of apartheid.

Opening the Conservative Party's Natal congress on Friday night, Dr Treurnicht launched a stinging attack on President Botha, accusing him of betrayal of the policy that had won election after election for the National Party.

UNREST CONTROL

He also hammered the Government for its reform programme and for not taking sufficiently firm action in controlling unrest.

"We must tell President Botha: You have denied the right of sovereign power for your nation and the white people."

Dr Treurnicht told about 250 people that apartheid underlined "the beauty of God's creation".

"The big lie about apartheid is being unmasked. It is a big lie it is unchristian. It is a lie that it is racist. It is a lie that it causes friction, and it is a lie that it means oppression."

Apartheid meant separate freedoms, protection of national ideals, protection against domination, and ensured soveriegn states for peoples and nations.

He said the CP did not claim that God was on its side, but there was enough justification in the Bible for separate nations.

Dealing with the kwaZulu-Natal indaba, Dr Treurnicht strongly criticised Chief Mangosutho Buthlezi, accusing him of sympathising with communism by saying ANC members were comrades in the struggle and that he would be prepared to work with ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi "is the man who considers the whole of Natal Shaka's country".

Dr Treurnicht said it was time the whites of Natal stood up "against the creeping sickness of power-sharing and the betrayal of white rights in South Africa".

Business joins Mandela call

'Dramatic gesture' will be needed

THE South Africa Foundation — foreign diplomatic arm of South Africa's business community — has called for the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

In evidence before the All Party Foreign Affairs Select Committee of the British Parliament, the Foundation argues that, to prevent a long-term foundering of democracy and to restore credibility, political leaders should be released.

And, says the Foundation, it believes most businessmen in South Africa would support the move.

By CAS ST LEGER

Although Mandela is not mentioned by name, the implications are clear.

This is by far the weightiest call from within South Africa for the release of political prisoners, though eight prominent South African businessmen recently individually made the same call.

The Foundation said a dramatic gesture would be needed to enable foreign governments to support South Africa — and its Western democracy — to buy time for the process of peaceful transformation.

The gesture the SA Foundation considers would be of a sufficient magnitude to satisfy world opinion would be the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations.

"Given the mood of the electorate, the Government has little further room for manoeuvre except in the area of negotiations with black political leaders about structures to accommodate black political expression," a foundation spokesman said in a statement released in London on Wednesday.

Blacks were logically adamant that white leaders should negotiate only with those recognised by blacks as leaders.

"Since many of these are in prison, banned or in exile, the next step seems to be the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of their political organisations," the spokesman said.

"Large sections of the South African business community support this course of action."

Such action would signify a clear break with the past, buying time for peaceful change, and all parties would have a vested interest in safeguarding the negotiating process.

"More than any other single action, we believe this step would make it easier for Western governments to provide their own form of impetus towards the emergence of an open society in South Africa. . . ."

Genuine

The Foundation said it believed there were important elements within the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front who would be prepared to join others such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a genuine process of negotiation aimed at power-sharing.

"We believe that important members of the legitimate black leadership are as concerned as we are about the danger of permanent damage to the social fabric if conditions in black areas continue as they are for much longer."

Fears spark drop in UK trade

Sunday Times Reporter
London

BRITAIN'S trade with South Africa is falling sharply as exporters brace themselves for the introduction of some form of sanctions.

Exports in the first five months compared to the same period last year were down by £137-million (R520,6-million) to £330-million (R1 254-million), while imports were £73-million (R277,4-million) lower at £359-million (R1 364,2-million).

Britain's main exports are machinery and chemical products.

The most important imports from SA are raw materials and foodstuffs, notably fruit and vegetables.

The weakness of the South African economy has been affecting two-way trade, but British companies have been running down their investments as well as trying to reduce their trade exposure.

The Department of Trade and Industry has also tried to examine the effects of a variety of measures on raw material supplies and prices, and has already taken contingency action by halting the rundown in the strategic stockpile of key minerals.

The most important are the platinum group of metals.

South Africa controls 89 percent of the Western world's reserves of platinum, 84 percent of chrome ore and 93 percent of manganese ore.

Platinum prices have been rising sharply in anticipation of export restrictions from South Africa.

The DTI and Treasury analyses of the economic impact on Britain have also taken into account the risk that South Africa might seize control of British and other foreign assets.

Britain is the biggest foreign investor in South Africa, and the fourth biggest on the trade front after the United States, Japan and West Germany.

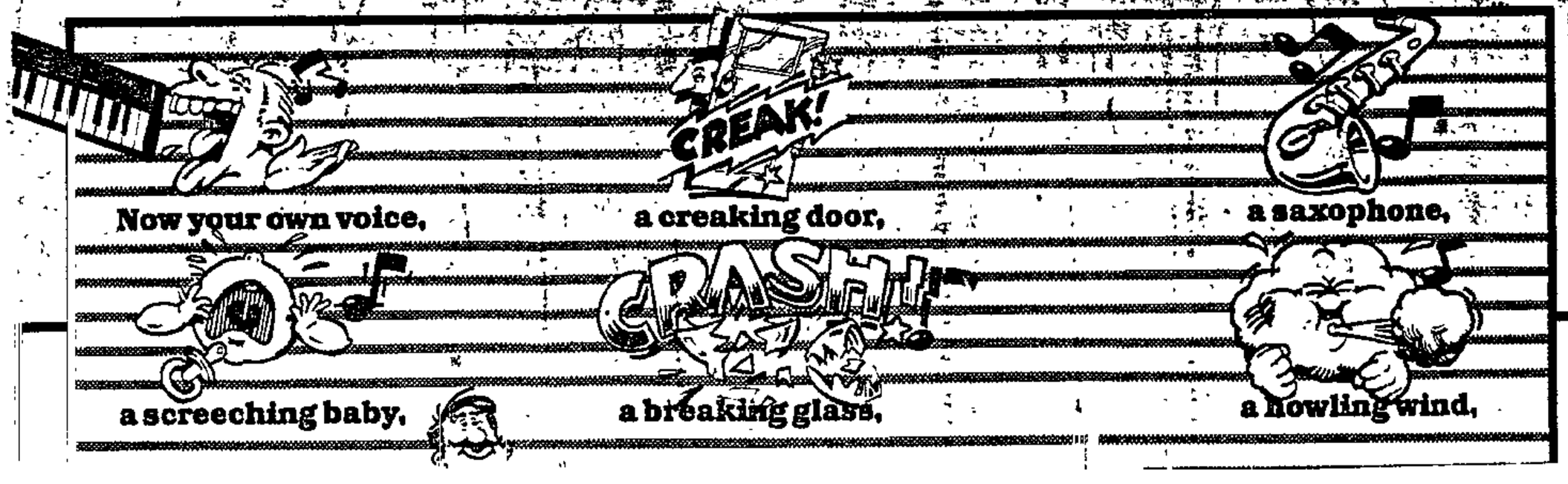
The British Industry Committee on South Africa, which represents 32 of the 100 firms with direct investment, puts total gross trade income at about £300 860-million (R1 143 268-million).

Earning from investment income, insurance, shipping, profits and dividends are estimated at £2 300-million (R8 742-million) a year.

South Africa is Britain's 16th most important export market, accounting for two percent of total exports.

Britain accounts for 40 to 45 percent of all foreign investment in South Africa. This represents seven percent of all British overseas investment.

South African investment in Britain is running at around £700-million, (R2 660-million) just under two percent of the country's investment.



PW changes the rules

STATE President P W Botha amended the emergency regulations on Friday to circumvent Supreme Court rulings invalidating orders issued by Divisional Police Commissioners.

The amendments apply retroactively to June 12.

The courts ruled that Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange could authorise the Commissioner of Police, but not the Divisional Commissioners, to act in terms of the regulations.

The amendment to Regulation 7 empowers divisional police commissioners — including officers in charge in self-governing territories — to isssue orders.

A further amendment empowers the Minister to seize or declare publications "subversive", "without notice to any person and without affording any person an opportunity to be heard".

CP plans mass demo

9/8/81 STAR

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Conservative Party is planning a mass demonstration in Pretoria on August 30 to protest at the Government's reform plans.

The party is hoping "to show the Government that whites are not prepared to accept integration."

Blacks 'opposed to sanctions'

LONDON. — A poll published by the London Sunday Times yesterday claims that 32 percent of blacks in South Africa are opposed to sanctions while 29 percent favour them.

The survey, carried out from July 18-27 among a representative sample of 500 whites and 615 blacks, was the first to include the opinions of blacks in rural areas, the paper said.

The poll, commissioned by the Sunday Times and conducted by Market and Opinion Research International and a South African company, Markinor, contradicts what many politicians here are claiming.

No opinion

Coming at a time when the South African sanctions issue is one of the most widely-debated topics here, this poll's findings have been widely publicized. They have been broadcast by the BBC and local radio, as well as being featured on television.

The survey showed that 39 percent of blacks polled had no opinion, or had never heard of sanctions.

This last figure is attributed to the fact that the more remote and less politicized black townships and rural areas were polled.

The newspaper said that, a year ago, they commissioned a poll of blacks in South African urban areas and found that a clear majority favoured sanctions.

But, the newspaper claims, nobody from the United Kingdom had polled the relatively conservative rural blacks, who account for 56 percent of the black population.

In the urban areas, 47 percent favoured sanctions and only 29 percent were against them. It was in the rural areas that these statistics were reversed.

The poll found that 56 percent of South African whites favour the release of Mr Nelson Mandela "either unconditionally or if he renounces violence".

In the August 1985 poll, the paper said only 39 percent of whites favoured the release of Mr Mandela.

The Sunday Times said the nationwide survey also indicated that 45 percent of whites were "unhappy" with apartheid, compared with 33 percent a year ago.

It said 88 percent of blacks were "fairly or very unhappy" with apartheid, but gave no previous figures.

While 92 percent of South African whites opposed the imposition of sanctions, 63 percent acknowledged they would be personally harmed by them, the poll said.

On the seven-week-old nationwide state of emergency, 81 percent of whites endorsed it as "a good thing" and only 15 percent said they disliked it, while 59 percent of blacks were against it, including 90 percent of urban blacks.

Forty-one percent of rural blacks had not heard of the emergency, the survey showed.

The survey did not indicate a margin of error. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter-AP

CP rejects 'Indaba' union for farm workers

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Conservative Party has rejected recent moves here to establish a trade union for black farm labourers and domestics, saying it would be used "purely for political ends" which would eventually lead to chaos.

An Indaba-type pact between black workers and white farmers is due to be signed in Northern Natal this week.

According to Mr Casper Uys, a sheep farmer and member of the CP executive, farmers are already hard pressed by the ailing economy.

"A union would only worsen matters," he said.

Another farmer who is a CP member warned the CP congress that he would halve his workers and replace them with readily available machinery if a union was formed.

"Unions become monsters," warned Mr Uys, using Australia as an example.

In South Africa the unions would be black, and used for political means which would use any small incident as an excuse for action over so-called unfair labour practices.

The rejection of the union by the party was wholeheartedly supported by the members and it was voted that the CP congress look, in detail, at the party's labour policy and current legislation affecting labour practices.

From the floor, Natal farmer, Mr Adriaan Kriel asked that CP leaders "look into" the recently formulated peace pact between the farmers of Louwsberg, near Vryheid, and black workers.

A representative of the Natal Agricultural Union had approached other farmers with the same proposal which he claimed had been put forward by Inkatha.

In a bid to beat moves by Inkatha — believed to be aimed at beating the union plans of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) — Mr Kriel says farm owners were asked to sign up their farm workers as Inkatha members.

A similar offer was taken up with enthusiasm by the Louwsberg farmers, he said, and a meeting was now scheduled for Friday to formalize the agreement.

The pact would include negotiation on security matters, and an increase in black housing in the area.

Mr Kriel said: "This is the beginning of a union in disguise without President P W Botha lifting a finger to prevent it."

He suggested that "workers' committees" be formed to achieve the same purposes and urged farmers to make conditions favourable for their workers so that there would be no need for either Cosatu or Inkatha plans.

"Our CP leaders must approach the Natal Provincial Administration for us, about these moves.

"Inkatha poses a very serious problem," Mr Kriel said.

Sore throat renders AWB leader silent

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — Almost 1 000 people packed the Ladysmith Town Hall for an Afrikaanse Weerstandbeweging meeting last night — only to be told that the movement's leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, was indisposed with a sore throat.

Audible murmurs of disappointment were heard when the meeting's chairman, Mr Jan Groenewald, announced that Mr Terre'Blanche had been forbidden by his doctor from addressing the meeting.

Local residents said many of the people in the hall were from neighbouring towns and many of the Ladysmith residents were there more out of curiosity than support for the AWB.

The crowd, which thinned slightly when told Mr Terre'Blanche would not be present, had to settle for various other speakers representing the AWB, the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the umbrella group, Action White Natal.

In an apparent effort to counter attempts by the National Party to take advantage of disagreements between the HNP and AWB, Mr Groenewald expressed support for the HNP candidate in the Klipriver by-election, Mr Chris Wolmarans.

Mr Kosie Steil, branch chairman of the CP, which is officially supporting Mr Wolmarans, said the CP, HNP and other right-wing groups would seek to merge during various meetings planned for early December this year.

Mr Steil called on members of the audience to attend a planned mass demonstration by right-wingers in Pretoria's Church Square on August 30.

Before the meeting started an Indian press photographer was asked, by an AWB official, to leave the meeting "for his own safety".

"We are not forcing you to leave but it is better that you do," the photographer was told before leaving the meeting.

Afrikaans actor denies being AWB supporter

304A

By Hannes de Wet

Claims that the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) have "invaded" some Afrikaans theatre circles, have been vehemently denied.

"It is absurd. My wife and I are absolutely not supporting the AWB," Afrikaans actor Schalk Jacobsz said yesterday.

He and actress Elma Potgieter also rejected allegations that they wanted "to get rid of the Engelse".

It all started with an advertisement in the AWB's newspaper *Die Stem*. Add to that the fact that Mr Jacobsz is in possession of three tapes of speeches by AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

Mr Jacobsz and his wife advertised their play "Die Wildsboudjie" in the AWB newspaper.

SUPPORTERS

This prompted a Sunday newspaper to wonder whether they were closet AWB supporters. The newspaper also mentioned that Mr Jacobsz had three TerreBlanche tapes and quoted him as saying that he wanted to get rid of English-speaking South Africans.

Mr Jacobsz told *The Star* the advertisement in the AWB newspaper was simply an attempt to reach all Afrikaners.

"We have also placed advertisements in other Afrikaans as well as English papers.

"If what I said about English-speaking people were true, I would have to be rid of my family. My mother was English."

The TerreBlanche tapes in his possession were acquired to help an actor who was playing a TerreBlanche type role in another play, Mr Jacobsz said.

● See Page 4.

Sore throat silences AWB leader

304A 5/8/86

Political Reporter

ALMOST 1 000 people packed Ladysmith Town Hall for an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging meeting last night only to be told that the movement's charasmatic leader Eugene Terre'-Blanche was indisposed with a sore throat.

Murmurs of disappointment were heard when the meeting's chairman, Mr Jan Groenewald, announced that Mr Terre'Blanche had been forbidden by his doctor from addressing the meeting.

Local residents said that many people were from neighbouring towns and that many Ladysmith residents were there more out of curiosity than support for the AWB.

The crowd, several of whom left the hall when they heard that Mr Terre'-Blanche would not be present, had to settle for various other speakers representing the AWB, the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the umbrella group, Action White Natal.

In an apparent effort to counter attempts by the National Party to take advantage of disagreements between the HNP and AWB, Mr Groenewald expressed support for the HNP candidate in the Klipriver by-election, Mr Chris Wolmarans.

Merge

Mr Wolmarans was not at the meeting but was at an election meeting in Winterton.

Mr Kosie Steil, branch chairman of the CP which is officially supporting Mr Wolmarans, said that the CP, HNP and other Right-wing groups would seek to merge during various meetings planned for early December this year.

Mr Steil called on members of the audience to attend a planned mass demonstration by Right-wingers in Pretoria's Church Square on August 30.

Before the meeting started an Indian Press photographer was asked by an AWB official to leave the meeting 'for his own safety'.

'We are not forcing you to leave but it is better that you do,' said the official to the photographer who then left the meeting.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban).

'Merger move' for CP, HNP

304A

5/8/86

Cape Times

DURBAN. — The Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party are moving towards a merger in a bid to offer disgruntled white South Africans with a united right-wing front and "a viable alternative", said Mr Frank le Roux, MP and member of the CP executive.

He told the CP congress the public acknowledgment of a likely CP and HNP alignment had given credence to the widespread belief that the two parties will agree to field a single right-wing candidate in the crucial September 17 Klipriver parliamentary by-election.

Mr Pat Mohr, vice-chairman of the CP, Port Natal, asked CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and the party's MPs to tell President Botha the party rejected out of hand the use of possible international sanctions as a "terror tactic".

He proposed that the Natal congress put forward to the national congress of the party that the Natal branch "noted" the threat of sanctions was no more than a red herring used by the government to frighten and intimidate people.

A proposal from the floor, which was also accepted and noted, was that CP leaders "get more aggressive" to let it be known how unhappy a large portion of the white electorate was with present government leadership.

(News by J Moore, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban).

The Star Tuesday August 5 1986

AWB rally fizzles like damp squib

304A

Mr Eugene TerreBlanche ... sore throat stopped him addressing AWB rally.

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The much-publicised Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB) rally in Ladysmith last night turned out to be an embarrassing damp squib for the extreme right wing, with leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche failing to arrive and much of the audience angrily leaving early.

As soon as it was announced that Mr TerreBlanche would not be addressing the meeting because of a sore throat, scores of the estimated 1 000-strong crowd left on the spot.

The AWB regional hierachy attempted to salvage the situation with four other speakers, but poor audience response and continuous dribbling away of attendance throughout the speeches, gave the expected fireworks in the town hall as much spark as a wet kruithoring (powder horn).

No chest-thumping

Gone were the fiery, chest-thumping tirades. No shouting, no fist-shaking and not even Nazi-style open-handed salutes were in evidence.

Even old chestnuts such as haranguing the "papbroek" Government, the "pienk" Press, and "looney Left" failed to draw more than a smattering of applause.

The biggest laugh was elicited from main speaker Professor A Swart, an executive member of the AWB, when he had to be prompted by the audience after forgetting the name of Zimbabwe Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe.

There was also no confrontation between National Party supporters and AWB members. The only mild incident was when Conservative Party speaker Mr Kosie Steyl pointed out the former MP for the area Mr Tino Volker and his "pienk" friends in the crowd.

The passive audience did not rise to the bait.

Racialism, however, was certainly in evidence when *Sunday Tribune* photographer Mr Morris Reddy, an Indian, was told to leave as his safety could not be guaranteed.

The speakers — Mr Steyl, Professor M Boshoff, leader of the AWB women's movement Professor Swart and Mr Riaan Kriel, chairman of Aksie Blanke Natal — all harped on the same theme, betrayal of the whites by the "left-wing" Nationalist Government.

White civilisation could only survive in a Boer republic where whites would be able to live without carrying the "black burden".

All speakers agreed that top priority was to "knock out" the Nats in the September 17 Klip River by-election by voting for the Herstigte Nasionale Party candidate, Mr Chris Wolmarans.

It was obvious that the majority of townsfolk who packed the town hall had come for one thing only — to see firebrand Afrikaner militancy in action. They were disappointed.

Ladysmith, the heart of the Klip River constituency being contested by the Nats and HNP, is not included in the AWB's proposed "Boerestaat" comprising the Transvaal, Free State and sections of Northern Natal. And judging by audience response last night, it's unlikely that it will be.

GREY-PHILLIPS, BUNTON, MUNDEL & BLAKE 71

MP to probe 'anti-semitism' in CP

ARGUS 6/8/86 (306A)

Political Staff

POSSIBLE anti-semitism in the Conservative Party is to be taken up with the party leadership by Mr Harry Schwarz MP (PFP Yeoville).

Mr Schwarz is also to ask questions in Parliament about the distribution of anti-semitic literature in South Africa.

Meanwhile, a prominent CP member, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, has objected to reports that anti-semitic literature was sold at a Conservative Party congress at Unvongo at the weekend.

Asked whether the books inferred Jewish people were "money and power-grabbers" he replied: "Is that anti-semitic or fact?"

Mr Derby-Lewis said the books were not being sold by the Conservative Party, although he conceded that they were being sold by CP members on behalf of another organisation.

Mr Schwarz said he found the remarks of Mr Derby-Lewis distasteful.

PW to shed some powers

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

PRESIDENT P W Botha has decided to shed some of his official powers, duties and functions and vest them in certain cabinet members.

Details of these proposed changes are contained in draft legislation published in Cape Town yesterday by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

Rightists walk out while black youth talks

N/M 6/8/82

304A

Municipal Reporter

MEMBERS of the Herstigte Nasionale Party and Conservative Party walked out of yesterday's Durban bus desegregation hearing during the first speech by a black applicant, Mbongeleni Joshua Mazibuko of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

'The obduracy and insensitivity of this board in turning down many similar applications in the past is really pulling the rug out from under South Africans who still believe in peaceful change,' said Mr Mazibuko.

'Diatribe'

'It is ridiculous that people who are thought not civilised enough to mix with whites in buses are in fact the ones who nurture whites from childhood.'

Mr Martin Louw, an HNP executive member, and Mr Pat Mohr, CP vice-chairman in Port Natal, left the hearing.

Mr Mohr said Mr Mazibuko's comments were 'a political diatribe'.

Just after returning, Mr Mohr objected on similar grounds to comments by Civic Action League member Athol Bowles, who said: 'They have a habit of touching and rubbing up against people and we have not got a touch culture.'

Mr Bowles said desegregation would create an ugly racial scene.

Civic Action League chairman Arthur Morris argued against opening the buses 'in the interests of racial harmony'.

'We do not want an integrationist utopia,' he said.

Ms June Hallen, of Women For Peaceful Change Now, told the Local Road Transportation Board: 'The racial prejudices of a small vociferous minority cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the best interests of our city and our country.'

Black nursing assistants in Tafta's home help service for frail white senior citizens were unable to move speedily to other clients because of segregated busing, said Mr Derrek Moe, DTMB transport consultant

Three representatives from the University of Natal staff and student organisations said segregation hampered the effectiveness of the institution, which had about 3 000 black students.

'Staff are unable to schedule classes, tests and tutorials after 5 p m because black students cannot then use the allocated service and have to break the law to comply with study requirements,' said Dr Jeff McCarthy of the University of Natal Joint Academic Association.

An announcement of a decision on the application is expected later this week.

(Sapa-AP)

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The pattern of politics by Hermann Giliomee

The ANC P W's profound mistake

STATE PRESIDENT BOTHA is beginning to remind one of the British general whose men, it is said, followed him only out of curiosity. This is the outstanding impression of his performance at the televised news conference called after Sir Geoffrey Howe's departure.

One thought one had heard it all but here was a new list of suppressed ethnic minorities and political prisoners whom the world must attend to before it could bring legitimate pressure to bear upon South Africa. It was a performance Mr Eric Louw would have been proud of.

At one level one can understand the exasperation of President Botha that he had to listen to yet another threat of sanctions No self-respecting government can listen for 10 years to threats of sanctions without at some stage blowing its fuse. The costs will be severe but to President Botha that is preferable to living on his knees.

At the same time, however, the Press conference was yet another confirmation of the impression that both President Botha and his government are falling ever further behind the demands of the situation.

The most fundamental mistake of the Botha government is its assumption that progress will be made with the political incorporation of blacks once it removes the ANC as a threat to those blacks willing to co-operate with government.

The main threat to government and big business in South Africa is in fact not an ANC take-over of the townships but a collapse of the general socialisation process of blacks.

Dr Ken Hartshorne, one of South Africa's most respected educationists, fears that our country is already faced with an irreversible break-down of the educational environment. The 300 000 Department of Education and Training pupils who have been barred from school for the rest of the year for failing to re-register are only the tip of the iceberg. Behind this lies a much more serious process of de-schooling.

Those in close contact with black education have little doubt that the level of formal education in the main metropolitan centres is steadily deteriorating. Children may attend school but little formal learning takes place. It is showing in the results of the past few years. In 1985 only 7% of the Soweto matric pupils passed with matric exemption against 16% in Bophuthatswana and 23% in Venda.

Under serious attack by young blacks is the entire educational philosophy of testing merit and standards on which the social and economic order of South Africa has been built. 'Pass one, pass all' has become a new potent slogan in the schools. In many schools the black youths' rejection of ruling class co-optation is so profound that they are willing to block any upward educational mobility that would promote the emergence of a privileged élite.

At the same time there has been in black schools throughout the country a deepening of anti-capitalist sentiment. Children are linking the struggles over education with the broader struggles in society. As a student pamphlet stated. 'We realise now that education can either be an instrument of capitalist domination or of liberation. We must turn our schools into centres of liberation.'

Increasingly this struggle is seen as one that needs to be linked to the black workers' struggle against the conditions in which they work and live.

The political rhetoric and claims of student-based movements, which by their nature are discontinuous, must be treated with greater scepticism than those of other kinds of movements.

Alliance

Yet as UCT's Colin Bundy remarked in an important and sensitive study of the 1985 schools crisis: 'The most important advance made in 1985 was at the level of consciousness — the maturing recognition within youth/student organisations of an objective necessity for an alliance with an organised working class ... When such an alliance is forthcoming — when it is politically feasible — then the vitality and fervour of black youth politics will be massively augmented by the experience, continuity and weight of the workers' movement.'

It is this potential alliance, rather than an ANC in exile, that government and big business will have to contend with.

The Government's response has been the big stick: the state of emergency, the closure of some schools and the withdrawal of recognition of student representative councils or parent-teacher bodies.

The message is clear: the Government provides education — take it on our terms or leave it.

This is a strategy that will produce mixed results. The closure of schools means a serious loss to students of their organisational base. Even the ANC is thought to be opposed to school boycotts since it feels that it deflects blacks from the goal of a people's education controlled by the people themselves.

What the State's actions cannot achieve is a restoration of the learning environment in black schools, something that will steadily erode the capacity of society to impose its norms or of the economy to improve its dismal rate of labour productivity.

Attractive

It is for this reason that the ANC option is attractive to some sectors of the business community. Heribert Adam, perhaps the most astute analyst of our society, writes in his provocative new book *South Africa without Apartheid* (Maskew Miller-Longman): Only a widely legitimate mass organisation can resocialise youth who have increasingly been thriving on anarchy. Without such disciplining influence a capitalist work ethic would be unlikely to prevail.'

President Botha's refusal to talk to the ANC only makes sense if some other credible mass-based organisation is available to help the State to re-stablise society and provide the conditions for renewed capitalist growth. With the exception of Natal none of the other areas in the country seems to have one. Perhaps President Botha knows more than the critics. We must keep watching him — even if only out of curiosity.

DD6/R/86
304/R/86

Report: change inevitable

Durban — Change within South Africa is inevitable, neccessary and desirable and has to be achieved by combining a number of "plans" to form an initiative.

This is according to the annual report of the Urban Foundation released yesterday afternoon.

The Influx Control Act was one area in which the results of such a "plan" could be seen demonstrated, the foundation said.

A government bill abolishing influx control acted upon, and included, several recommendations made by the Urban Foundation during negotiations.

This was only achieved, the report says, by intensive negotiation with government.

To have a successful urbanisation strategy a major rural development programme that would attract people to rural areas was needed.

To effectively implement this strategy the quality of life of those already living in the urban areas needed to be improved, a better rural development and regional industrial development programme introduced and influx control removed.

In the field of education, the foundation established that every possible educational disadvantage was experienced by the seven black schools and communities investigated in Natal and the Transvaal.

● See report P11

304A

NM

Change needs plans, says report

Mercury Reporter

CHANGE within South Africa is inevitable, neccessary and desirable and has to be achieved by combining a number of 'plans' to form an initiative.

So says the Urban Foundation's annual report, which was released yesterday.

The Influx Control Act was one area in which the results of such a 'plan' could be seen demonstrated, the foundation said.

In April, the Government released a White Paper on urbanisation, and in June a Bill that effectively abolished influx control was passed. The legislation acted upon, and included, several recommendations made by the Urban Foundation during negotiations.

Benefits

That was achieved only by intensive negotiation with the Government for the abolition of influx control, says the report.

Research into the question of urbanisation also led the foundation to commit itself to a programme of managed urbanisation which, it believes, can bring about enormous benefits and advantages to society.

To have a successful urbanisation strategy, a major rural development programme that would attract people, and cause them to voluntarily choose a future in rural towns, villages and farms is needed.

To effectively implement this strategy the quality of life of those already living in the urban areas needs to be improved, says the report. Better rural development and regional industrial development programmes need to be introduced and influx control needs to be removed.

Seeking

Housing also played a major role in the foundation's projects this year and in Natal more than 1 000 houses had been built in the Inanda Newtown and Woodview Village in Phoenix North housing development programmes.

The report says unrest in Inanda delayed production targets while the speed and urgency in allocating land 'left much to be desired'.

But the foundation is still intent on 'building in the area and is now seeking two large tracts of land in Greater Inanda.

One of their major aims is to continue to provide housing which many first-time buyers can afford.

In the field of education, the foundation established that every possible educational disadvantage was experienced by the seven black schools and communities investigated in Natal and the Transvaal.

Disarray

The formal primary and secondary school system is in disarray, prescribed textbooks are in short supply and teaching materials are rudimentary or simply not available, says the report.

'Pre-school facilities are non-existent, and although parents have improvised, they still cannot overcome the problems of lack of facilities, poor staffing and unqualified teachers.'

A further problem, which aggravates the poor educational facilities, is lack of accommodation for teachers. Many live up to 60 km away from the school they teach in.

The foundation mentions the building of 62 classrooms throughout the region as a development it has accomplished during the year.

These were included in two new projects — the first phase of a comprehensive high school at Botha's Hill and the first phase in building the Zeph Dhlomo Higher Primary School in Kwa Mashu.

One-man, one-vote only way — Chief

MICK COLLINS

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi says SA faces total failure in its efforts to reform unless the principle of one-man, one-vote is accepted.

The first essential was the recognition that in every Western democracy, the principle of one-man, one-vote was the cornerstone of constitutional politics, he said yesterday.

He told the Executives Women's Club of Southern Africa in Johannesburg the normalisation of township life depended on blacks accepting options to apartheid structures.

"The failure of National Party governments to recognise that blacks cannot be governed against their will has led to a situation in which a semblance of stability can be maintained only under a state of emergency.

"There is now every prospect that the state of emergency is likely to become a way of life for some time in our country."

Buthelezi called for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Zeph Mothopeng of the PAC and other political prisoners. Any breakthrough would be meaningless unless every black leader were free to sit on the National Council.

"They simply must be released, and once they are free then we can start talking about the unbanning of black political organisations.

"Unless they are released, the State President's National Council will remain fatally flawed.

"I do not demand the release of Mandela because I am trying to use him. I demand his release for the sake of SA.

"If a free Dr Mandela and I worked shoulder to shoulder . . . this country would make significant strides forward."

He cautioned the West that the harder sanctions bit, the greater would be the privilege of being white in SA.

He painted a grim picture of what sanctions would do to blacks, saying they would be the first to suffer.

"And they are going to suffer bitterly and terribly.

"It is not the West which can bring about a change in the State President's attitude to reform. That is the job white South Africans must do here in this country."

He said foreign governments knew that if Rhodesia had lasted 14 years under sanctions, SA could last 140 years in the same conditions.

Cape Times 7/8/86 (304A)

Reform is 'only way' — Steyn

JOHANNESBURG. — The executive chairman of the Urban Foundation yesterday denouned violence as a means to bring change to South Africa and called for reforms to bring peace to the Republic.

At its ninth annual meeting, Mr Jan Steyn said external economic pressure had mounted while the government had failed to convince critics of its commitment to reform.

'Brunt of violence'

He said: "The black community has, without any doubt, taken the brunt of the violence and turmoil of the past year and, increasingly, of the economic recession.

"While institutionalized discrimination has exacted a heavy toll and has impacted negatively on race relations, a race war of the magnitude revolutionary action requires, will destroy any prospect of racial harmony for generations to come."

He said the foundation believed that "rapid, purposeful reform is the only way that this society will achieve the kind of transformation necessary to restore real and lasting peace in our country".

Mr Steyn said the government, in the past six months, had made significant strides to overcome racial discrimination, including the repeal of the pass laws, allowing blacks to own property and the restoration of citizenship to many blacks.

"Regrettably, all of these events have been overshadowed by mounting economic recession, intensified political violence culminating in the resumption of a state of emergency on June 12, growing international pressure and resurgent extreme right-wing reaction.

"Changing our society through rapid, but organized reform is a process which is infinitely preferable to change through revolutionary violence."

Mr Steyn said: "Not only is reform as a process preferable, but it is also more likely to succeed. Reform as a process can successfully transform our society and establish a more just and lasting peace."

Analysis of the current situation compelled the conclusion that "continued curtailment of civil rights and liberties is not the answer to the endemic violence", he said.

"In fact, greater legitimizing of political activity and the fostering of the development of black political leadership is necessary for a negotiated resolution of our problems.

'Detention'

"It follows that the continued detention of black leadership without access to the courts is counter-productive and must be condemned," Mr Steyn said.

In his presidential message, Mr Harry Oppenheimer said the foundation's achievements for South Africans and friends abroad remained a beacon of hope in a year of unrest. — UPI

NSC not likely to get off the ground

4/8/86 BUSDAY 304A

MAX DU PREEZ and CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

GOVERNMENT'S only existing plan for negotiation and drawing blacks into central government, the National Statutory Council (NSC), is in serious trouble and will probably not get off the ground this year.

With most of the black reaction to the NSC Bill now with the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, it has become clear that it is unacceptable in its present form to all but a few minor local black figures.

There is a strong school of thought in the National Party that there must be a rethink on the NSC concept and that at least some of the preconditions set by prominent black leaders be met.

President PW Botha is likely to refer to this in his speech before the NP Federal Congress in Durban on Tuesday.

The two most important preconditions set by prominent black leaders, notably KwaZulu's chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a key figure in any negotiating concept, were that the NSC must be more than an advisory body and have real teeth, and that ANC leader Nelson Mandela be released and the ANC unbanned.

The parliamentary standing committee on constitutional affairs was scheduled to start drafting the final version of the Bill on July 23, but the matter is still not even on their agenda — just 11 days before the opening of the second session of Parliament.

The Bill was one of the major reasons for the second session, but it now seems possible that it will not be ready before the end of the session.

There is wide agreement in political circles that if the most prominent non-independent homeland leaders — KwaZulu's Buthelezi, Kangwane's Enos Mabusa and QwaQwa's Kenneth Mopeli — are not going to take part, the NSC would be a farce. Nafcoc, has also rejected it.

The NSC Bill proposes that the council consists of the chief ministers of the non-independent homelands or their nominees, at least 10 urban black leaders, the chairmen of the three Ministers' Councils, some Cabinet ministers and ten others appointed by the State President.

A spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning told *Business Day* yesterday that compilation of a report on the written reactions and discussions is taking place.

Cleric berates tricameral system

SIPHO NGCOBO

THE Anglican Bishop-elect of Johannesburg, Canon Duncan Buchanan, has a message for President P W Botha: "Dissolve the tricameral parliament. It is a waste of money and human resources."

A self-confessed radical Christian, he is an arch-opponent of apartheid, its structures and the heavy finances required to sustain it.

"The whole structure of the tricameral Parliament must be dissolved. It is draining the country of human resources and a lot of money.

"The money government is wasting should be used on sensible projects like upgrading education for blacks," he says.

"Apartheid is just too expensive, especially when one considers hundreds of government officials, including those of the homelands, whose main tasks are to keep the fires of apartheid burning.

"Take into account their plush homes, luxury official cars and lump sums of financial allowances."

Unlike Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu, whom he will succeed, Buchanan adopts a neutral stance on the issue of economic sanctions.

"Apartheid is the major problem, not sanctions."

For Tutu, he has nothing but praise.

"Working under him as the Dean of Johannesburg was a wonderful experience.

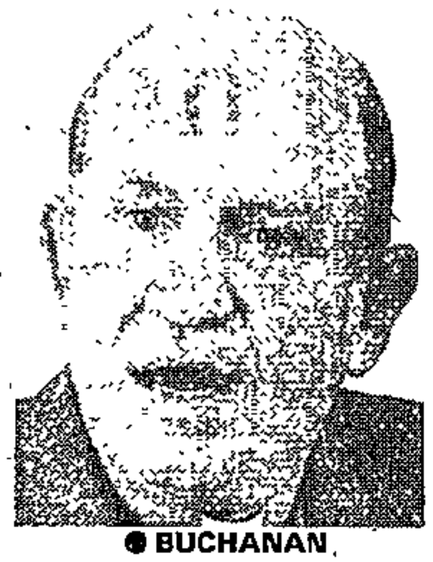
"I really loved him and respected all that he stood for. I enjoyed every bit of my work under him."

Asked about the pressure of taking over from a man of Tutu's standing, he says: "I am not Archbishop Desmond and I hope people will give me the space to be myself."

Buchanan, 51, who came from Grahamstown after serving for 20 years, first as sub-warden and later warden of St Paul's Theological College, was Dean of the city's St Mary's Cathedral for only 10 weeks before an electoral group of clerics and lay officials chose him to follow the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize-winner as bishop.

Officials of the 2-million-member church say that, despite Buchanan's lack of public recognition, he is widely known and respected within the Anglican community.

NEWS



● BUCHANAN

(304A) DD 8/8/86

Prof describes cause of SA's unpopularity

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The vice-chancellor of the University of Leicester said here last night that the year 1976 had been the turning point in the West's relations with South Africa.

Professor Jack Spence was delivering a lecture on the subject, Why is South Africa so unpopular abroad, organised by the South African Institute of International affairs at the East London Club.

Prof Spence said that prior to 1976 and the Soweto uprisings, the West had still believed South Africa had the capacity to deter opposition black violence, but after this period this confidence had waned.

From then on the West no longer had confidence in the long-term stability of the country.

He said this change of attitude had led the Western powers away from their policy of non-interference in South Africa's internal affairs to policies such as constructive engagement.

PROFESSOR SPENCE

Prof Spence said he did not foresee a cataclysmic event leading towards a change of government in South Africa but a slow continuation of instability.

He also said that the double standards which seemed to be applied to South Africa at the moment were built into the nature of international society.

States normally looked towards their own interests with regard to foreign policy he said.

The big-noise Nat congress begins with a whimper

It was billed as the watershed congress at which the National Party would boldly set out on the road to reform. But the agenda has changed a little since then. Next week's Nat congress is likely to produce no more than standard party rhetoric. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

NEXT week's special federal congress of the National Party — only the third in its more than 70 years of existence — has been downgraded by NP luminaries to a mere "stock-taking" exercise.

It was originally billed as a watershed congress, where about 1 600 delegates would be consulted on major race policy changes designed to give blacks a say in central government.

But the final draft bill to establish a National Council on which blacks will serve is not even on the congress agenda. Nor will it be completed in time to table for debate and approval when Parliament re-convenes on August 18 for a special second session.

What was originally expected to be a decisive few weeks in the NP's reform timetable will be used instead for debate about relative political trivia rather than the vital core issue of accommodating blacks in central government.

The proposed National Council is the centrepiece of the NP's reform programme.

The first draft bill makes provision for leaders of South Africa's six black "self-governing states" and notables from the urban black community to serve in the council. Their role will be to help formulate a new constitution open to all South Africans and, in the interim, to advise President PW Botha on laws affecting blacks.

When Botha rejected the bid by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe to persuade him to release jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela unconditionally and to unban the ANC, he boasted that there were enough "authentic and representative" black leaders with whom to negotiate.

"Reaction to our proposal about the National Council is so overwhelming that I am optimistic that we will make the necessary progress," Botha said.

But it seems the government needs more time, not because it has been inundated by positive enthusiasm for the council from the black community but because the response so far from credible black leaders has been embarrassingly small.

Given the hostility of a wide spectrum of black opinion to the council — it stretches from dedicated communists in the ANC to archetypical capitalists in the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce — Botha and his constitutional guru, Chris Heunis, desperately need at least to get Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on board.

But the Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister has made his participation conditional on the release of Mandela and on unequivocal evidence that the council will have political teeth and not merely advisory powers.

To fulfil those conditions — or to negotiate a compromise — Botha requires a breathing space.

Hence when he opens the NP federal congess on Tuesday night — almost exactly a year after his now celebrated "Rubicon" speech — Botha will reiterate old NP shibboleths rather than deliver a path-finding speech.

On Wednesday the party faithful will debate five resolutions on the economy, foreign relations, group — as distinct from individual — rights, constitutional development and national security.

Although the congress will not have the importance of the NP's last federal congress in 1982, when the new tri-cameral Parliament was discussed and adopted, it will be a key pointer to the mood and morale of the NP at a critical junction in its history.

A senior MP and congress organiser spoke openly of confusion about NP policy in party ranks and the need to present delegates with a clear vision of where the party is going.

Whether the leaders themselves know where they are heading as they seemingly stumble from one crisis to the next, and whether they can revive the sense of purpose which once permeated the NP, will, at the least, make next week's congress interesting.

NEWS FOCUS

No vision of the Promised Land is on the cards

304A

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

ONLY one thing is certain about the National Party's (NP) federal congress which starts next week: the man who is going to open the congress on Tuesday night is NOT going to be the Moses to lead his people out of the desert.

The congress, initially hailed as the occasion where the new SA would be outlined, is destined to be the first public evidence to the world that the sanctions decisions are having exactly the opposite effect — at least in the short term.

Laager mentality

Because the laager mentality which has overcome Afrikanerdom — and indeed most of white SA — will be displayed to its full extent. And with the fierce emotion of "to hell with the outside world, we'll do it our way", could, more dangerously, be displayed the extension of that view towards internal reform.

Leading NP figures are quite obviously trying to underplay the significance of the congress deliberately, with Rubicon 1 in mind, but perhaps they have every reason to. The sanctions issue is items Nos 1-10 on the agenda.

No wonder Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' speech is being billed almost as prominently as President P W Botha's opening speech.

New constitution

The party has more or less out-defined any major statement by PW: he cannot make any major announcement on the National Statutory Council, because the NSC Bill is still open for representations and only then will it be amended and sent to Parliament, possibly not until next year. This is the body that is supposed to hammer out a new constitution for SA with full black participation, so it does not seem likely that Botha will be able to announce the NP's blueprint for a federal constitution.

The Group Areas Act, now one of the burning issues, is being studied by the President's Council, and government has indicated that it will not pre-empt that report. The same goes for the Separate Amenities Act, while the recent official explanation of the citizenship issue and the argument that extending citizenship to citizens of independent homelands will depend on negotiation with those

● P W BOTHA

● DU PLESSIS

states presumably precludes any major announcement on that.

What other issues remain? Releasing Mandela and unbanning the ANC? There is certainly little possibility of any change in government policy on that after the emphatic statements of past weeks. Namibia? A comfortable deadlock and no foreign pressure.

Perhaps the fact that the five motions to be tabled at the congress, say NP sources, will deal with the economy, the security situation, constitutional development, foreign affairs and "group security" gives some indication of what the congress is all about. The full agenda will be disclosed only on Tuesday.

Inside knowledge

Various NP sources, most of them claiming no inside knowledge, said they thought there might be an announcement on a general election early next year. The argument is that the NP will, in the light of white attitudes, wipe the floor with the until recently growing rightwing and turn the sanctions issue into an electoral victory, as they did with the anti-Carter election in the late 1970s. Once the whites feel the pinch of sanctions — and blacks have been drawn into government — the rightwing might prove to be too strong, the argument continues.

But it is in no way an unimportant congress — federal congresses of the party are not held often, and in the past have been held to decide on issues such as becoming a republic and the tricameral constitution. About 1 700 delegates and observers are expected.

Instead of important announcements, more than one source said, one will have to look at the general mood of the congress and the way in which the president and his Cabinet colleagues refer to the important issues.

But don't hold your breath for a new vision of a Promised Land — there is bound to be more finger-wagging than anything else.

WEEKLY MAIL 204A

Reform without change: a special Nat Party skill

By JEAN LE MAY
Cape Town

THE President's Council Constitutional Committee is likely to recommend that more "petty apartheid" laws and some of the Group Areas Act should go by the board, but separate residential areas will remain.

Separation of residential group areas could, in future, be enforced by local authorities through title conditions of land instead of through the Group Areas Act.

This was recommended by the Strydom Committee of Inquiry into the Group Areas Act, which presented its report in January 1984.

Shortly afterwards the President's Council was instructed to start its investigation.

The Strydom Committee's terms of reference were extremely limited and did not include provision for blacks, as the ownership and occupation of land by blacks was controlled by other legislation.

Graham McIntosh (PFP, Pietermaritzburg North) said at the time that the committee regarded the principle of legally enforced residential segregation as non-negotiable — a principle to which the government has clung in the 30 months since the committee reported.

So acceptance by the President's Council committee of some, but not all, of the Strydom Committee's recommendations is implicit in recent leaks that sections of the Group Areas Act dealing with residentital areas will be amended but not scrapped, and that local option will be the key principle of the amendments.

The revision of Proclamation 17, which will finally make permits for mixed restaurants, hotels and theatres unnecessary, is another indication that the Separate Amenities Act and all petty apartheid aspects of the Group Areas Act will probably be formally scrapped.

The Strydom Committee recommended that the Group Areas Act, the Community Development Act, the Separate Amenities Act, the Slums Act and some of the General Laws Amendment Act of 1969 should be scrapped and replaced by a Land Affairs Act.

The wild card, as far as residential areas are concerned, is the possible introduction of racially mixed, or "grey" residential areas.

Much depends on how areas are carved up for control as "own" or "general" affairs.

Specifically, the Strydom Committee recommended that "the dwelling and living patterns of separate residential areas should not be disturbed. Legal coercion is indispensable but the committee is of the opinion that the form and method of such coercion as embodied in the Group Areas Act is not indispensable and can suitably be substituted by provisions whereby the ownership and occupation of land be regulated by way of conditions of title."

In the proposed Land Affairs Act, provision was made for the registration of conditions of title whereby possession and occupation was reserved for different groups.

Throwing the onus for preserving residential apartheid on local authorities will be yet another manifestation of the Nationalist genius for scrapping a discriminatory measure, yet preserving its essentials in a different guise — and making somebody else responsible for it.

Weekly Mail understands there is considerable division within the Nationalist caucus on the subject of separate residential areas.

Many of the more "leftwing" members of the caucus said they could accept open residential areas, but the subject is apparently too hot to handle publicy and nothing about it appears on the agenda of next week's federal congress.

These Nationalists welcomed the Group Areas Act exemption of Proclamation 112 of June 27, which apparently allowed open hostels at universities.

Within a matter of weeks it was amended to make the exemption applicable to day students only.

There are good grounds for believing strenuous objections from Transvaal Nationalists, under pressure by right-wingers, were responsible for the hasty amendment of Proclamation 112.

None of the changes proposed by the President's Council committee will take place overnight. The laborious process of getting comment from government departments and interested parties could take months, after which a white paper must be prepared and the matter must be debated in Parliament.

CP congress to focus on racial partition

8/8/86 STAR 30 9/A

Political Reporter

The Conservative Party's Free State congress which opens today is expected to focus on the CP's proposals for a complete racial partition in South Africa.

CP leader Dr Andries Treunicht will officially open the congress tonight in Bloemfontein. In addition to the race issue, he is also likely to discuss the imposition of sanctions on South Africa.

A spokesman for the party said delegates would focus attention on the "alarming" constitutional developments taken by the Government in the last few years.

DISCUSS DETAILS

CP members would also discuss the details of a partition plan, which includes calls for a coloured homeland, he said.

The CP's Natal congress held last weekend in Uvongo was marked by calls for a return to "Verwoerdian" apartheid. Numerous speakers, including Dr Treunicht, said that only partition would preserve the whites in South Africa as a separate, unthreatened nation.

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NM 8/8/86

PFP plans Natal strategy

Political Reporter

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leaders gathered in Durban last night for the first of a series of top-level planning meetings through which the PFP hopes to gain greater influence in Parliament.

The meeting was attended by the PFP's strategy committee, all its Natal MPs, the regional chairmen and regional directors.

The PFP plans to hold similar meetings in the other three provinces to devise ways of increasing its support in individual parliamentary constituencies.

No public statement was made after the meeting, but Mr Mike Tarr, PFP Natal Inland chairman, said earlier that the increase of power in white politics was one of several strategies being followed by the PFP.

Important

'We have a two-stage process with half of it in the current era and the other half in the post-apartheid era.

'We are operating in the black extra-parliamentary framework but also within the white parliamentary framework and this is the only constitutional way we can increase our power,' Mr Tarr said.

Mr Colin Eglin, PFP leader, said Natal was an interesting and important area of politics in South Africa and one which could play an important role on a regional basis.

'Against this background we are going to assess our position and strategies in Natal. We will devise strategies to ensure our role as a major factor in politics in Natal'

Mr Eglin will attend the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba as an observer today. The PFP has a delegation at the Indaba headed by its Natal leader, Mr Ray Swart.

Business reaches agreement on priority measures

Bus Day 8/8/86

SIOBHAN LOFTUS

WHERE does the socially responsible company begin?

Business seems to have achieved some consensus as regards priorities. The allocation of funds and their beneficiaries may differ, but the basic principles seem universal.

First priority is the profitable management of the organisation itself; second are the organisation's employees; thirdly the organisation's shareholders; and finally the community in which the organisation operates.

Those companies subscribing to a code of conduct that demands a certain expenditure on corporate social responsibility (CSR) are more easily able to determine their expenditure and manpower allocation.

Other companies, such as Barclays, allocate a percentage of their pre-tax profits. The Urban Foundation estimates SA companies will spend about R1,5bn on CSR this year.

Most organisations place education first in their external community activities.

Burroughs director of external affairs Ian Burton summarises his company's approach: "Priority is given to education over community.

"We also prioritise teacher upgrading, as investment in the development of one teacher has a recurring result through the number of pupils receiving the benefit of that teacher."

Barclays also places education high on its list of priorities.

Social responsibility manager Rod Cusens maintains "equal opportunity begins with equal educational facilities and standards. These needs must be satisfied to achieve a peaceful future".

However, a simple allocation of funds is not where it ends.

Companies practising social responsibility have learnt they cannot be prescriptive in their activities. It is important to "sell" the project to the community first to ensure its success. To ensure it is not paternalistic in its approach, Burroughs involves its own black, coloured and Asian management in the selection of priority programmes. The community is required to participate in the projects — preferably at a board, executive or management level.

"One way of measuring support for the activities undertaken is to assess the degree to which the activities con-

☐ KING

☐ ROSHOLT

tinue in spite of unrest or disturbances," says Burton.

IBM strives for a balanced portfolio covering the spectrum of what it perceives the society's needs to be. Education and economic development are taken into consideration.

In an attempt to provide an umbrella body for co-ordinating and researching CSR in SA, the Social Responsibility Management Association (SRMA) was formed in 1985. However the SRMA seems to have come to a grinding halt.

The SMRA is being wound down, and is unlikely to be replaced by another similar body.

SA business is in the unique position of having to act outside of generally accepted business roles to protect its future operating environment.

Recent advocation by business of a redistribution of income from one population group to another is a step that could be considered the ultimate in CSR.

Kirsh Trading CE and Operation Hunger chairman Mervyn King believes only socially responsible companies will survive the current socio-political changes.

"For the past 40 years, we have had a nationalist-socialist economic system controlled by bureaucrats. Thousands of millions of rands have been spent on wasteful policies such as forced removals, separate development and apartheid in general.

"To pre-empt a socialist system of wealth distribution, the private sector must take up the cudgels and start a pro-active course of conduct," he maintains.

This necessitates a voluntary distribution process by companies, as has been successfully demonstrated in Kirsh Trading subsidiary Cashbuild.

King believes profit sharing and participation in management decisions by the labour force is the only way to bring the majority of the population into the economic system — so changing its negative perceptions of free enterprise.

Barlow Rand executive chairman Mike Rosholt maintains the end objective in any redistribution of income process must be to make people equally wealthy as opposed to equally poor.

This can be achieved, he believes, through a national economic strategy of increasing exports and import substitution.

Redistribution of capital will have a negative effect on the economy and will jeopardise the ongoing possibility of income redistribution.

While SA-owned companies may find these solutions viable and perhaps inevitable, the multi-nationals are in a different position. Companies such as IBM are unable to follow this course.

IBM's Neville Davies says: "Management decisions are determined largely by the US. Our company is founded on a principle of equal opportunity and reward. This applies worldwide.

"We operate extensively within the community on a large number of social responsibility projects and have a very real concern for the future of SA, but we would be unable to operate as a partly nationalised or worker-owned organisation."

Barclays believes as a responsible financial institution, it has an obligation to its staff, customers and business partners to be pro-active in its attempts to create a more stable operating environment.

Criticism

The activities of the bank have led to Barclays MD Chris Ball being criticised by certain sectors for his outspoken views on the need for reform.

The Allied Building Society does not have the redistribution of wealth as a goal.

"Under usual circumstances, the tax system should adequately provide for the redistribution of wealth, as this is not in the hands of private enterprise," says marketing GM David Waugh.

Food for thought comes from the ultimate free market protagonist Milton Friedman, who maintains CSR is fundamentally subversive because "few trends could so thoroughly undermine the foundation of our free society as the acceptance by corporate officials of a social responsibility other than to make money for their stockholders".

WEEKEND FOCUS

BOERESTAAT!

Does the right wing really matter?

By JOHN MacLENNAN, political staff

The Nats — and the credibility gap . . .

THE mighty Nat machine has broken down . . .

Voters are either disillusioned or have left the party. But the right wing still only has a chance — assuming it can paper over its differences — of becoming the next official opposition.

This is the view of Professor Willem Kleynhans, head of the Department of Politics at the University of South Africa and one of the few commentators who can base his opinions on personal research.

"In the past the Nats have been able to depend on many thousands of enthusiastic volunteers to tramp the streets, convince the waverers, arrange transport, trace missing voters and arrange postal votes," he says. "Today that machine has disappeared.

"Nat voters have reached a stage where many don't even attend public meetings, in spite of appeals, and are prepared to allow their leaders to be humiliated."

THIS loss of support recently induced the National Party to fight a municipal election in one of Pretoria's most verligte areas — which could be expected to back reform — under its colours. The Nats were promised 2 500 votes, but polled only 1 100, and the CP 700.

He believes the right wing does not pose a problem while it is splintered, but that it will wipe the floor with the PFP in the next elections. The HNP, believing President PW Botha will call a snap election at the Nat Federal Congress in Durban next week, is working for a poll in November.

According to Professor Kleynhans's figures, the CP can win 45 seats while the PFP will get about 30. The danger for the Government is: "This creates a bandwagon effect. The Government will have a loser's image. Then it is just a question of time."

This all places the Government in a near-impossible situation, for it cannot capture the right wing's platform. At the same time, the right wing is hijacking the Afrikaner cultural heritage — once the sole preserve of the NP — for political ends.

The Volkswag is already planning celebrations for the 150th anniversary of Blood River and has put up a R15 000 prize for the best book on the subject. Institutions like the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereeninge, the church and the various "volk" get-togethers are all subjects of political wrangling.

FOR example, right now there is fighting over who is going to be able to run the next official Day of the Covenant celebration at the Voortrekker Monument.

This lost support will not be made up by the English vote. Professor Kleynhans says bluntly: "English political support in South Africa means nothing. A party that depends on English support is a party doomed. English-speakers are not politically-minded. Very few become so interested that they become card-carrying members. They won't do the hard work to bring a party to power."

He sums up the situation: "Many people who have traditionally voted Nat fear they will be swamped by blacks. They will become extinct after being swamped socially, politically and economically.

"This is a fear that dominates their political and religious thinking. These same fears were used by the Nats to come to power. The Government is keeping a few non-negotiables such as the Group Areas, but Conservatives say they have removed too many of the safeguards already. What remains will not do the trick."

He believes the trigger for the calling of elections will be fighting in opposition ranks. "This will enable the Government to cut its losses to a minimum."

Another factor is that elections were due in April this year, but the Government extended its term of office when the tricameral system was instituted. "The fact that the Nats have not had elections is eating at their credibility because many critics are saying they do not have a mandate."

YOU'LL find Professor Carel Boshoff on a smallholding called *Boorgat* (borehole) on the outskirts of Pretoria, behind a thick stone wall and guarded by a bull mastiff called Leeu.

In many ways this leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag has become the fount of much of right-wing Afrikaner lore and aspiration. He and others in related organisations articulate a not-inconsiderable demand which would see the Afrikaner fenced off in his own and purified Boer republic where blacks will have no rights and foreigners, like the Englishman, will be a necessary but tolerated irritation.

Does the right wing really matter?

The short-term answer is no, and this is why the Government is able to press ahead with reform measures which are seen as too little and too late by its opponents to the left, and suicide by its opponents to the right.

In hard political terms they may have no significance, for their political solutions are ephemeral daydreams, they cannot achieve unity and anyway, they will tell you, PW Botha has already raped the Constitution and would never hold an election if he thought there was the slightest chance of the Nats' losing power.

BUT the very existence of the far right should evoke in any thinking South African a feeling akin to political tenderness, for they are the human equivalent of an historical anachronism as odd and endangered as the white rhino.

Witness, for example, the motivation for a Boer republic (this mythical country would cover the Transvaal, Orange Free State, parts of the Eastern Cape and Northern Natal) as set out by the man who is regarded as the chief ideologue of the right, Professor Hercules Booysen of the University of South Africa: *"Dit gaan lekker wees. Lekker om te weet hierdie is jou land en jou land alleen."* (It's going to be terrific to know this is your country and your country alone).

Prof Boshoff subscribes to the Boerestaat theory and he is massively worried about the Afrikaner's future, politically and culturally.

The Afrikaner, he says, "no longer has a country. He lives in a common land. He is being pulled into another social life. He has lost his political freedom."

His movement was formed with an initial membership of 12 000 just over two years ago, and attracts elitist Afrikaner families. The 15-man executive, for example, includes seven professors and five doctors. The organisation holds regular meetings all over the country — braais, sing-alongs, youth programmes.

"We want," says this former Broederbond chief, "a culture-conscious Afrikaner community which will make its influence felt on all terrains." It is a cultural organisation, but its political ambitions lie solidly with the right-wing parties — the Herstigte Nasionale Party and Conservative Party.

The Volkswag's recipe for the future: "A commonwealth of nations, each with its own territory and independent."

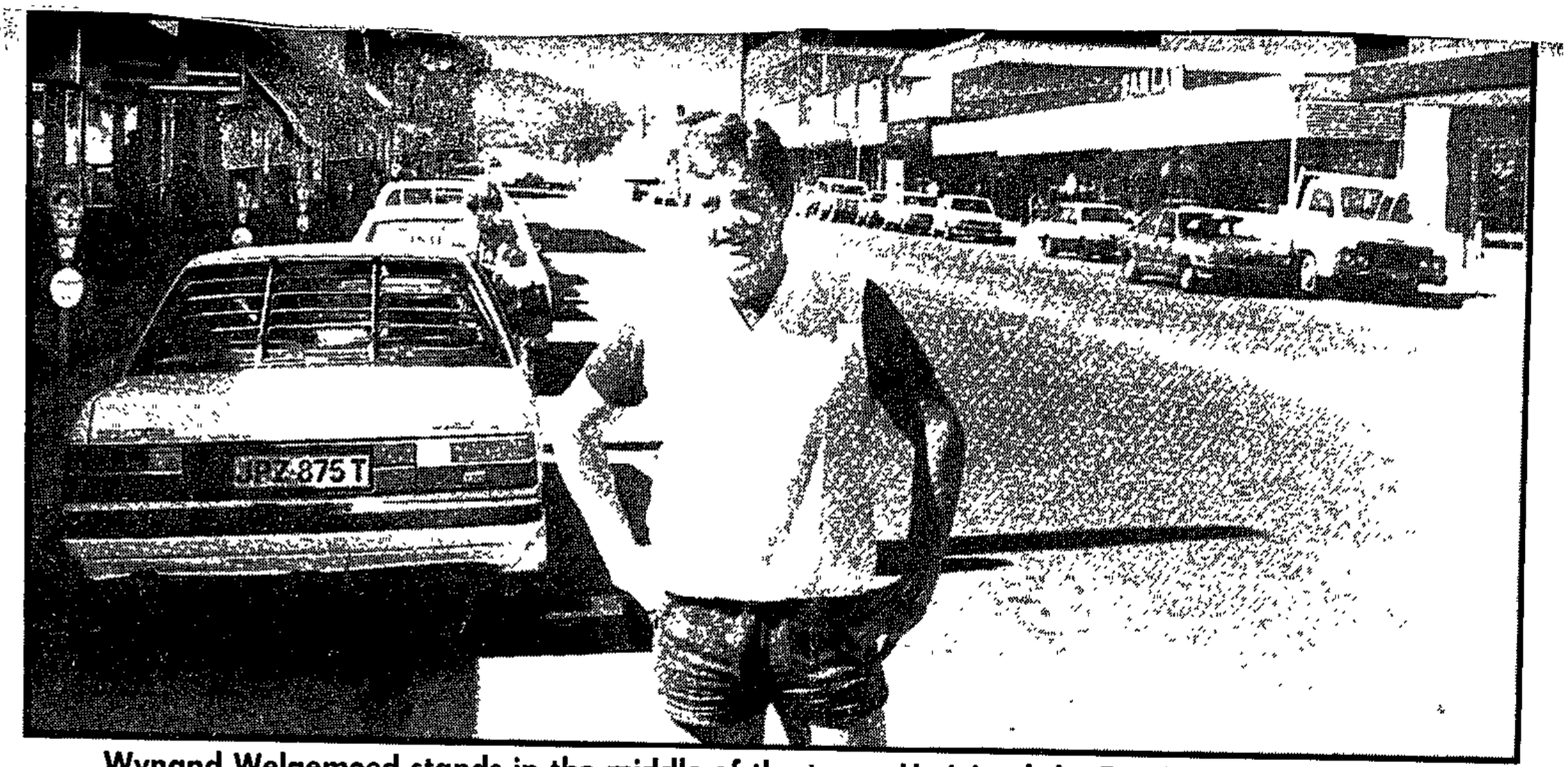
It sees the biggest danger to the Afrikaners as "being forced out by blacks and becoming an inferior little group with no way of protecting its culture".

HE is optimistic about the growth of the right, but even he admits the Government will have no trouble in winning the next election. "The Government has fantastic propaganda power. It invokes the Communist threat, the total onslaught, tells people through the mass media that the reform process is the only answer. And people believe it ".

This message is reinforced by his wife, Anna, who is the Volkswag's executive secretary and daughter of one of grand apartheid's architects, former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd.

"The Afrikaner is being given information on the drip method. He has to depend on rumours and leaks. The Government will not come out with a bald announcement that this or that is going to happen. The Afrikaner should be properly informed so he doesn't go blindly over the cliff.

"The Afrikaner worked body and soul for what he is. That was what the Great



Wynand Welgemoed stands in the middle of the town. He joined the Potgietersrus CP on his 18th birthday and runs the Mickey Genis Youth Branch. "I cannot agree with what the National Party wants to do."

Trek was all about, but today he is giving his sovereignty away."

PROFESSOR Hercules Booysen strikes a body blow to right-wing aspirations in admitting that the CP and the HNP cannot achieve unity on what are fundamental policy differences. But even if the right wing is split, he claims, it is growing.

Among the reasons, he says, is that political reform has not brought peace, prosperity or satisfaction among blacks.

At the same time, he notes, whites are feeling threatened. With apartheid, the "threat" was always present. With the removal of apartheid, the danger to whites has become much more obvious.

He believes the drift to the right will also increase because the whites will receive a smaller slice of the economic cake.

Finally, he detects a cultural alienation between the Government and the Afrikaner. "The Government no longer articulates the political aspirations of the Afrikaner."

He concedes that the Boer republic idea raises all sorts of imponderables, but says: "This is long-term planning. Let's not break our heads over something which still has to be created."

He says that the entire concept might sound whacky but that the principles of a Boer republic have been tried successfully elsewhere: "Look at the French Canadians. Look at the Israelis. They just went in there with guns and shot it out to establish a homeland."

It is this unspecified threat which gives an organisation such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging an aura as immediate as the African National Congress's alternative of violence.

THE AWB wants a Boer republic but none of its spokesmen is willing or able to tell you exactly how he intends obtaining it. Professor Alkmaar Swart, who is chairman of the AWB's advisory council — in effect a think-tank — speaks of a "freedom battle" but will not be drawn on the nuts and bolts of this fight.

Who will the AWB fight? How will it fight? These are the questions its members will not and dare not answer.

Professor Swart, saying that he is speaking in his personal capacity, warns that "Boer resistance will be triggered by a black takeover".

His organisation envisages a future in which there would be no party politics, and candidates would be elected individually on merit, as in the old republics.

Blacks would be allowed to work in the new Boerestaat,

but they would not have rights; the government of the day would encourage their departure from white areas by introducing such incentives as housing allowances and higher salaries in neighbouring territories.

HIS sentiments are reminiscent of Winston Churchill: "A Boerevolk exists nowhere else in the world and we will not stand under the heel of a black government. We will fight for our freedom as our forefathers did.

"The whole world must know this. If we get driven into a corner we will offer active resistance. We will fight back. We will not surrender."

He has full confidence that the Afrikaner can go it alone. "He has the knowledge, the entrepreneurship and ability to set up a Boerestaat. If the Israelis can do it in the desert, then so can we. We will be able to feed it, we have nuclear power and we will be able to defend it."

Other whites in the Boer republic would have to assist in the "freedom battle" and would be regarded as aliens if they were not prepared to join the AWB's cause.

PROFESSOR Willie Lubbe, a Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk pastor who teaches classics at Unisa, brings to light yet another crack in the right wing. He speaks of the split among the Afrikaner churches which, until recently, have provided support straight from the Gospel for the Government's apartheid policy.

The NGK's General Synod in 1982 was in favour of such legislation as the Mixed Marriages Act; its political views were embodied in the Ras, Volk en Nasie report.

Since then, the Government has changed the rules and Afrikaner theologians are now having to re-read the Bible to justify the reform policies.

Prof Lubbe understands this requires an in-depth, rewriting task, and that this has to be completed before the next Synod in October. He is worried that the Gospel is to be watered down, specifically in relation to the church's traditional views on apartheid. "We feel there are distortions, and false political notes are now being sounded."

It is for this reason that he and others in all three Afrikaner churches — the NGK, the Gereformeerde and the Hervormde — have started an organisation known as *Bybel en Volk*. He says hundreds have joined and that the membership is growing.

"The church view used to go along with the Government's policy of separateness (*afsonderlikheid*). People should live, work and worship separately. Now they're changing it. For the church to follow the Government is fatal. The church should have only one leader and that is God. We will fight anyone

General Koos de la Rey — the Lion of the Western Transvaal. He wanted the old Boer republics restored.

who is against the Gospel.

"If someone says I must love all — fine. But if he says you must eat with someone, you must live with someone, you must let him into the church, then he is using political language.

"I don't believe we must have one structure, because it ignores the variety of peoples. They are trying to make out everyone is the same in all respects. We are equal before God, but not in society in terms of talents, views of life, civilisation and development. This is a variety which God has made."

JAAP Marais, leader of the HNP, also drives a nail into the coffin of right-wing unity.

The HNP and the CP have little chance of getting together because the Conservatives stayed in Parliament for 13 years after the HNP opted to spread their "true" gospel in the wilderness.

He believes policy differences can be ironed out eventually, but the CP's presence in Parliament for all those years is the nub of their disagreement. If one party was right in staying on, then the other must have been wrong in criticising it for doing so.

He does not foresee some magic policy uniting the two factions ("there is bad blood on both sides"), but he hopes that the supporters of the two parties will be able to grow closer together at mutually-arranged functions. To the uninformed outsider, this would seem another way of saying the HNP wants to swallow the CP and vice versa.

The differences between them place them a world apart.

The CP wants a Southern African council of states. The HNP says this will create a mini United Nations with no advantages.

The CP wants homelands for the coloured people and Indians. The HNP says India is in a state of undeclared war with this country and there is no point in creating a second India here.

The CP is happy to use English as an official language. The HNP wants Afrikaans and only Afrikaans.

Their other differences are ill-defined and refer to the areas in which blacks would be allowed to live.

So much for unity. To right-wing commentators, the one wild factor is the possibility of a coup. If push becomes shove, they foresee a violent clash between the AWB and the ANC. Should this happen, they expect the AWB will seize power by extra-parliamentary means.

I won't have anything to do with the downfall of the whites, says the 'fighting Tannie' of Potgietersrus.

TANNIE Katie van der Merwe ran the National Party machine in the Northern Transvaal town of Potgietersrus for donkey's years. Then she saw the light and joined the Conservative Party in the same capacity.

Her story illustrates the growth of right wing support in many platteland constituencies, underlined dramatically in the case of Potgietersrus when the CP wrested the provincial seat from the NP in a by-election.

Potgietersrus, according to the people who live there, is not just another dusty "dorp," even though it has all the characteristics of a rural centre — including a main street labelled Voortrekkerweg.

It was proclaimed as Vredenburg in 1852 and renamed after the Great Trek leader Piet Potgieter shortly after. For several years the bushveld town was uninhabited because of malaria, but today it has well and truly grown up as a rich agricultural centre.

TANNIE Katie will tell you with some pride that the town is home to 11 000 whites and 600 Indians (another 154 000 blacks live in a nearby "homeland"), it boasts the biggest cotton mill in Africa and the second biggest tobacco industry in the country. Then there's the chrome and tin mines just down the road. Oh yes, Tannie Katie, will add, the place has been solidly "Nat" since the year dot.

For two decades she was the NP's lone dynamo as member of the divisional committee and the person in charge of the party's Strydvonds (literally: Battle Fund.)

Then came the Schlebusch constitutional proposals and she was faced with a crucial question which she posed to the NP. She demanded to know whether it was possible for a black person to be appointed to the Cabinet.

The answer was an unequivocal "yes", so she gave in her notice and joined the CP immediately. With her went the entire divisional management and the NP had to start from scratch.

At the launch meeting of the branch, says Tannie Katie, the Waterberg Hoërskool Saal (the biggest in town) was packed out. Many of the people were Nats but there were no problems. The CP's Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg (MP) received a vote of full confidence.

"It wasn't really necessary to convince the people. They were already looking for another solution."

SINCE then, according to Tannie Katie, the NP has been very low profile. The sitting MP, Dr Sampie Golden, has not held a public meeting in the town for the past two years — in contrast to the CP — and she estimates her party and the equally rightist Herstigte Nasionale Party commands 60 per cent of the vote. If there was an election in "Potties" tomorrow the CP would walk it.

Today it seems a town at peace, but below the surface the factions are involved in a gouging battle for key and influential positions which have always been in the gift of the NP — municipality, school committees, the ratepayer's association and agriculture.

(Until recently the venerable Oom Nico Kotze, long time vice president of the SA Agricultural Union and chairman of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, was allegedly humiliated in the election for chairman of the local Springbokvlakte Landbou Unie by the CP's Mr Ben Gildenhuys. Tannie Katie recounts with glee that Oom Nico withdrew from the fight only a day before the election when the NP discovered they could not count on a win).

The most visible test of voter support — and the lessons of this election could be applied to dozens of rural seats — occurred in the 1984 provincial contest when the NP threw in everything.

"The pollsters were so busy that their shoes wore out the thresholds," says Tannie Katie. "Shopkeepers told me that party workers came in every six minutes."

The voter turnout was 70 per cent and the CP's Deon Swanepoel achieved the near impossible of a majority of more than 1 000 votes. For the NP, Potgietersrus, a traditonally safe seat, had become hostile "Indian territory".

SO why the big swing? This is Tannie Katie's opinion: "People say they didn't vote for what is happening now. The fine print is only starting to emerge. The issue is a mixed Government. There's no place in the world where it goes well with the white man when he is subject to a black Government.

Tannie Katie van der Merwe and her ox wagon trophy. She won it for running the most efficient CP branch in the Transvaal.

"In spite of all the concessions we have violence and we are being pushed with sanctions. A fair policy of separate development cannot make things worse.

"I cannot change what is going on, but I won't have anything to do with the downfall of the whites. I want to have a clear conscience so that I can say to my grandchildren that when the opportunity was there to fight, I fought to save that which could still be rescued."

(304A) DD 9/8/86

Suzman detained at Soweto school

JOHANNESBURG — PFP MP Mrs Helen Suzman and Mrs Winnie Mandela were briefly detained while they were visiting a school in Soweto yesterday.

Mrs Suzman said her "irritating" 45-minute wait for police clearance at the Phefeni Secondary School was "blown out of proportion" because of the "ridiculous regulations" made by the government.

Mrs Suzman, Mrs Mandela and African Self-Help Association worker, Mrs Phillipa Newton Thompson were visiting the school nearby the Mandelas' Orlando home when they and a group of foreign and local journalists were instructed not to leave the school grounds.

Mrs Suzman said she was at Mrs Mandela's home as part of a visit to Soweto. Accompanied by the journalists, the three women walked to the nearby school and asked the principal if they could look around.

"Mrs Mandela said they wanted to see the school because they were parents to the children there," a journalist who was at the scene said.

"As we were walking back I noticed the presence of a number of armed soldiers," Mrs Suzman said.

She said the group was approached and told they could not leave the school grounds.

"I don't like to say we were detained, we were just delayed, asked to remain where we were. It was quite melodramatic."

Mrs Suzman said the group waited for about three quarters of an hour before they were told they could leave the school.

"It was irritating to be kept waiting, a bit annoying, but there were no hard feelings," Mrs Suzman said.

"The sight of armed soldiers inside school grounds makes me wonder how the government ever expects black education to return to any form of normality."

● The "police interference" with Mrs Suzman was "outrageous", the leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said in a statement in Cape Town.

"The fact that a conscientious and responsible Member of Parliament like Mrs Suzman could be harassed in this way is a graphic illustration of how the (emergency) regulations hamper normal political duties and the inroads that they make into the Parliamentary system of government," he said.

Nats to plot strategy

By LESTER VENTER, Political Correspondent

THE federal congress of the National Party in Durban this week should provide the first signs of where the Government intends taking South Africa in its hour of grave international and domestic crisis.

But it is unlikely that any rivers — and certainly not a Rubicon — will be crossed.

The key themes likely to emerge are: a hard line against Western "meddling" in the country's domestic affairs; powerful appeals to South African business to form a team with Government in combating sanctions; and a re-affirmation of the limited reform programme already spelt out by Pretoria.

The fourth element will be a general domestic dusting and tidying to put the party house in order

A central concern of the

All eyes will be on congress in Durban

National Party will be how to reverse the gains that the Conservative right has been making in platteland and blue-collar constituencies.

Nationalist MPs have recently reported that, since the declaration of the state of emergency and since sanctions have become a real threat there has been a major drift away from the Conservative Party. National Party leaders will seek means to accelerate this.

Accordingly, items on security and the economy will figure prominently on the congress agenda.

The ruling party is also likely to use the congress as an occasion to consolidate the rising sympathy for its cause among many English-speaking white voters.

It will demonstrate its commitment to reform, underlining the acknowledgment that apartheid has failed.

Making a prognosis for the congress this week, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said: "People will be looking to the congress to break the present political deadlock."

This, he said, could be done only by scrapping racial classification and "getting on with job of a new constitution" — which would involve releasing Nelson Mandela and starting meaningful negotiations

Reform

"But we have been disappointed too often to believe that the NP will act boldly," he added.

"The congress will probably be a domestic housekeeping exercise in which current policies will be put in one tidy basket"

The centre-piece of the NP's reform policy has become the proposed National Statutory Council (NSC) — a body designated as a multiracial forum that will formulate a new constitution that includes blacks.

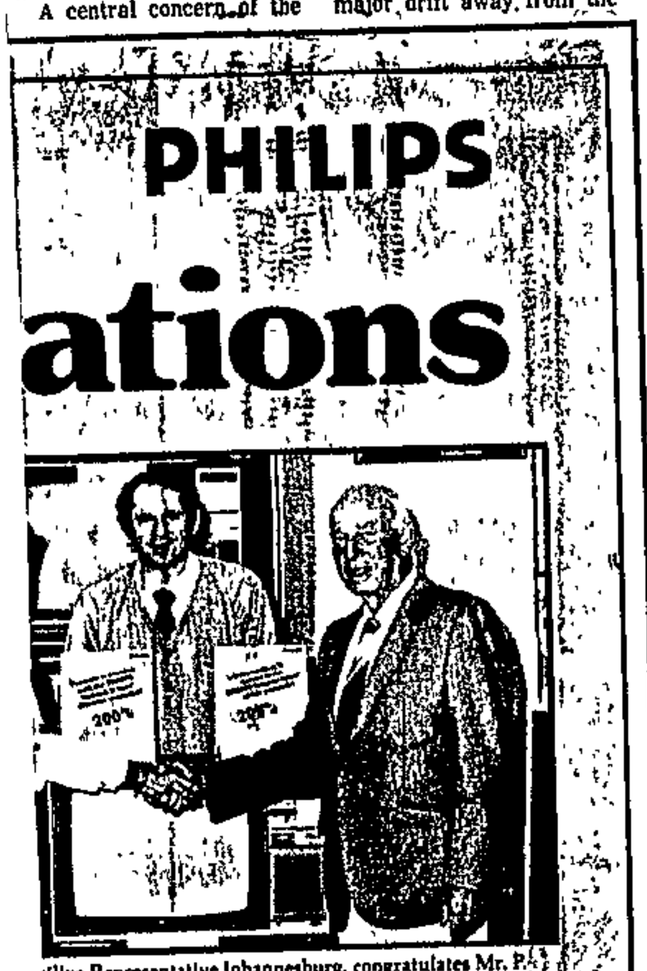
But it has already been rejected by moderate blacks in the form of KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC).

Another hot potato of reform — possible relaxations of the Group Areas Act — is also on ice The President's Council is drawing up a report on the Act which will have to be presented later this year before amending legislation can be formulated.

The calling of the federal congress aroused intense initial speculation because such congresses have traditionally been used to announce major policy shifts The last was in 1982 and presaged the present tricameral constitution

But NP sources have pointedly played down expectations of major developments at the congress.

Observers, though, believe there is one outside possibility: that the Nationalists will use their governmental prerogative to call a general election for next year



illips Representative Johannesburg, congratulates Mr. P
ived a 100% discount on a Philips 51cm Remote Control
Centre of picture is Mr. Cyril Golombeck of I. Lubners.

Mr. and Mrs. Newcombe (left and second from left), received a 100% discount on a Marantz 600 Hi-Fi System worth R2995. Congraulating them is Mr Patrick Ollivier, Philips Representative Orange Free State, with Mr. Patrick Tam (second from right), owner of M. Tam & Co., Allwal North.

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you to pick a mystery discount
25%, 50%, 100% or 200%, and
tch off the mystery discount panel
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ers, Vacuum Cleaners and Marantz Audio Products.
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CONSORTIUM 00134/E

160 architects in massive police probe

By JEREMY BROOKS

MORE than 10 percent of all architects in the Transvaal — 160 in all — are being investigated by the police.

Their names, and copies of declarations signed by them expressing their opposition to apartheid, have been confiscated at the offices of the Transvaal Provincial Institute of Architects (TPIA).

A tape-recording of a special general meeting at which members decided not to vote on an anti-apartheid motion was also removed

The motion would have made it unethical for any architect to design a "pro-apartheid" building — including segregated schools and police stations.

□□□

TPIA president Arthur van der Westhuizen sent out a circular to all members of the institute this week warning that all signatories to the anti-apartheid declaration were now the subject of a police investigation

Mr van der Westhuizen said the institute, alarmed at the police raid on July 9, had telexed and written to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, asking for an explanation

The telex and letter pointed out that the wording between the original declaration, which merely called for the special meeting, and the eventual motion were very different

The Minister was also asked to give an assurance that "no members would be detrimentally effected in any way by the fact that 160 of them had signed the requisition form

"As no response has been received from the Minister, the committee deemed it advisable to inform all members"

Mr van der Westhuizen said he was assured by senior officials of the police that the difference in wording between the declaration and the more radical motion would be emphasised in their reports.

The police investigation opens another chapter in a long-standing row which has threated to split the normally placid architectural body in two

The anti-apartheid motion was drawn up by Johannesburg architect Mr Hans Schirmacher, founder of an organisation calling itself "AAP" — Architects Against Apartheid.

Telephone calls to Mr Schirmacher's residence were answered by a tape recording — he is currently believed to be in Europe for several weeks.

One architect whose name was taken by the police said:

"I signed the declaration requesting the special general meeting merely because I felt that the whole issue of apartheid in architecture should be discussed in a democratic manner.

□□□

"I felt the motion was too strongly worded — I would have voted against it had it been put to the floor

"Now it appears my name has been entered in some police file in Pretoria."

The Sunday Times was referred by the Bureau of Information to the Police Directorate of Public Relations, who referred the reporter in turn to the office of the Minister of Law and Order.

There a spokesman said he had no record of the TPIA telex being received.

SECURITY BRIEFS +++ SECURITY BRIEFS +++ SECURITY BRIEFS +++

● THE Editor of the Sowetan, Mr Joe Latakgoma, has promised his paper will be out on the streets again tomorrow, despite the shock police seizure of some late copies on Friday

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information confirmed that the order for the seizure was given by the security police, but no reasons were given.

Mr Latakgoma said he did not have the slightest idea why his newspaper had been seized.

● A VETERAN security policeman died in a hand-grenade attack on his home early yesterday.

According to a relative, two hand-grenades were thrown into Lt Victor Narsi Raju's house in Himalaya Drive, Shallcross, near Durban, shortly after midnight.

One landed on the bed where Lt Raju, 61, was sleeping, and the other in the lounge. He died in the arms of his son-in-law, the Rev John Naidoo, who had found him lying in a pool of blood on the bedroom floor.

Lt Raju retired from the police recently, but continued working for the Durban security police.

● AFTER months in hiding, five fugitive student leaders from the University of Durban-Westville gave themselves up to police this week.

The five decided to turn themselves in after receiving assurances that any criminal charges against them would be processed rapidly.

● TEARGAS was fired and thousands of people were turned away from the Soweto funeral of three young men killed in what was described as gang battles.

About 1 000 mourners were allowed into the Emadwaleni High School. Police fired teargas to disperse a chanting crowd of thousands on the fringes of the funeral service.

Battle of the airwaves

□ From Page 1

channel" was strange in the light of the Government's privatisation policy.

He said it would contribute towards "ploughing under" the printed media who were already suffering from a distorted advertising market.

Yesterday, industry sources calculated that the SABC's new moves could gain it a further R49-million from the estimated R600-million which will be spent on advertising in all media this year.

The SABC will employ powerful weapons in its bid to obstruct the M-Net launch, chief of which will be its R50-million reserve on top imported programmes.

Its aim is to boost its national viewership by at least a million from next month — and its advertising income by at least 25 percent next year

Last year, the SABC earned R172-million from TV1 according to Ad-index.

This year, the national pool of advertising monies is less and the mid-1986 Ad-index figures show the SABC's TV earnings down to R62,8-million

But in 1987, with TV1 and TV4 doing its best to expand its all-race viewership, SATV should earn up to R200-million — without counting the millions of rands still to be spent on programme sponsorship

A senior SABC source said yesterday: "Since its inception, SATV has been accused of being monopolistic.

"We now have competition and we welcome it. The viewer will win because the programmes from the SABC and M-Net will have to be the best."

The SABC's licence does not limit the hours available for transmission of TV and radio, while M-Net is restricted to seven hours daily

The SABC has designed its new four-channel programming to compete with M-Net on two fronts — viewership and advertising.

It will go for viewership by starting transmissions earlier, in mid-afternoon, and by running top shows, such as "Cosby", at the same time as M-Net's 5-7pm "open transmission" period before the station switches to its coded signal

Advertising revenue will be consolidated and boosted by new schedules whereby advertisers can target top programmes in each hour between 4 30pm and 10pm daily

Advertising rates are also set to rise in January to R25 000 per 30-seconds at peak times

This means that the main nightly news bulletin on TV1 alone could earn R400 000 from commercials a day, say industry sources

Moreover, TV4 is set to expand into the key new advertising market of black urban viewership.

There are 2,2-million TV sets in South Africa, and research shows that viewers on average watch about 2-3 hours an evening

One SABC source said "Obviously we can't push sales of TV sets to three million overnight, so our plan is to expand the average viewing time by between 4-5 hours daily."

While sticking to its brief of an even split between English and Afrikaans programmes, the TV1 will simulcast all its top, dubbed shows to reach the 70 percent of its 5-million, all-race viewership who prefer English-soundtrack shows

From September 1, opposing M-Net on TV1 alone between 5-7pm will be housewife-soap series like "St Elsewhere" and "The Waltons" and, notably, "Loving" screened twice weekly — and sitcoms like repeats of "The Cosby Show" and "WKRP"

The new local magazine shows, "Graffiti", "Potpourri", "Fast Forward", "Sports Spectrum" and "Sundowner", will run from 6 15-7pm

The news bulletins will be prime weapons against M-Net — prevented in terms of its licence from transmitting current affairs.

The early bulletin will move to 6pm — in the middle of M-Net's "open window" — and will be followed by top series and sitcoms like "Knight Rider", "Who's the Boss?", "Remington Steele" and new US hits such as "MacGyver".

The 8pm news will be split by four commercial breaks — between the headlines, general news, sport and the weather report.

Following the main news and "Network/Netwerk" from 8-9pm, the major adult series like "Dallas" — followed by "Falcon Crest" from September 9 — "MacGruder and Loud", and mini-series like 'Key to Rebecca" and the new Afrikaans "Die Mannheim Saga"

Feature movies will run on Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights, with Friday's dubbed movie simulcast.

TV4 will take on M-Net between 6-7pm daily with hit series such as "Mr Belvedere", "227", "Lottery", "Blacke's Magic" and "Fame"

After 9pm, when M-Net is running movies and serials, TV4 unleashes its biggest-ever winner, the second series of "V" on Saturday.

WEATHER AND TIDES

TRANSVAAL: Witwatersrand and the eastern highveld, fine and warm; western and south-western parts, fine and warm; north-western and northern parts, fine and warm to hot; eastern lowveld, escarpment and Venda, fine and hot.

FREE STATE: Fine and warm but cold overnight over the northern and north-eastern parts.

CAPE- North of the Orange River, fine to partly cloudy and warm; Peninsula, Boland and the Overberg, cooler with light rain; western coastal belt, fine and mild in the north, cloudy and cool with possibility of light rain in the south; Cape Infante to Plettenberg Bay, partly cloudy and mild; Plettenber Bay to Port Alfred, partly cloudy and warm; Port Edward to Port Alfred, partly cloudy and warm

NATAL. Fine to partly cloudy and warm in the interior but cold at night

	High/Low	High/Low
Cape Town	0558/****	1817/1155
Mossel Bay	0614/0005	1833/1208
Knysna	0633/0018	1854/1222
Port Elizabeth	0618/0011	1841/1215
East London	0604/0004	1826/1207
Durban	0615/0011	1857/1220
Walvis Bay	0621/****	1824/1202

KLERCK & WHITE 4976/6

ALL TOGETHER NOW!

Report and pictures: HILTON HAMANN

It was a day on which fences that keep black and white apart would be broken down ... well, almost. Louwsburg's fences were still there, but, as any youngster knows, where there's a fence, there's a way through it. And, at the end of a historic day, happiness was simply ... being together

AND SOME MORE TOGETHER NOW

Afrikaners and Zulus in historic peace pact

THEY are billing it the Peace of Ngotshe, and it is being held up as an example to the rest of South Africa and the Government that conservative Afrikaners and blacks can live together in peace.

On Friday the conservative, predominantly Afrikaner farmers of Louwsburg in northern Natal entered into a co-operation agreement with the Zulu community living in the area

At a ceremony at the sportsfield in the little town, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini described the pact as historic

Faith

Addressing about 10 000 of his subjects, and virtually every white inhabitant of the town the King said that all were Africans white and black and were there to pioneer a new development in human relationships

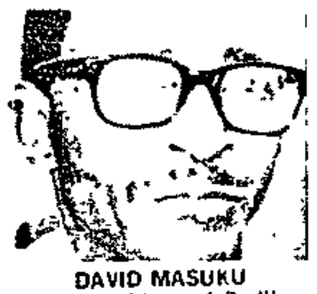
"Apartheid has bequeathed to many a legacy of bitterness which this new spirit of South Africanism must ban-

"baas" turned into the small town – hopelessly overloaded

Smoke and the smell of cooking meat filled the air Fifteen oxen were slaughtered and were being cooked in enormous drums converted into cooking pots The day had been declared a holiday in Louwsburg, and this was going to be a feast second to none

Up and down the road the royal impis ran in tight formation beating their shields and chanting praises to their King

An air of excitement filled



DAVID MASUKU
"All children of God"

the rugby field Today black and white, Boer and Zulu, traditional enemies, were getting together as equals, but one couldn't help noticing that the black children were separated from the white kids by two fences

A local black farm-school choir sang a few stirring numbers to great applause

Next came traditional Zulu warrior dances

"Let no one try and obstruct us in our goals" said Tjaart van Rensburg

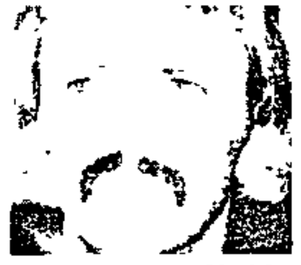
"Today we are all together; we are all children of God," David Masuku told the people sitting in the blazing sun

"I know every true Zulu supports me in my earnest desire for reconciliation between black and white," King Goodwill Zwelithini told the 10 000

"Unity between black and white is now a necessity of survival."

"We must beautify our school gardens" said Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Education and Training, after announcing that his department would be giving R50 000 for the improvement of the black school s sports facilities

"I know the King is interested in agriculture and this is a subject close to his heart. Let us grow vegetables so



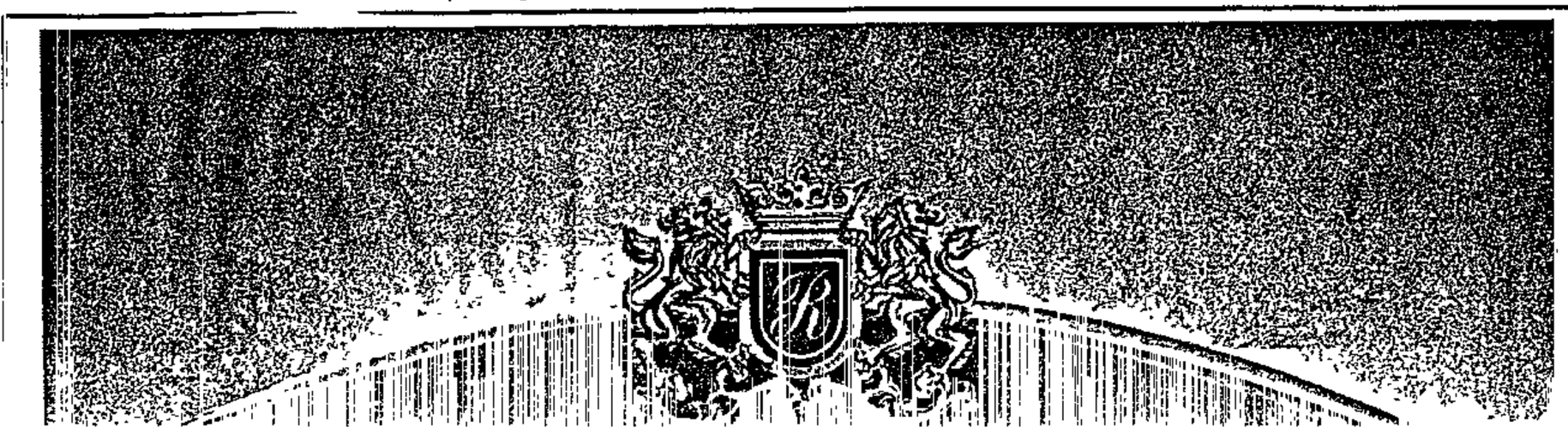
TJAART VAN RENSBURG
"A need to do something"

that we can make soup

"Education is like a three-legged pot The legs are the children, the teachers and the parents If one leg is broken the pot will fall into the fire

But perhaps the barriers were already broken down Black youngsters obviously tired of sitting in cramped conditions in the blazing sun took the gap and crawled under the two fences separating them from their white counterparts and they were all soon sitting together

A white youngster hair shorn high above his ears, found two little sticks and a game was started, neither side understanding the other's tongue, but what the hell, fun is a universal language



Pupils cross the colour line on Arbor Day Picture: AMBROSE PETERS

Schools 'twinned' across race line

Sunday Times Reporter

IN WHAT is believed to be a first in South Africa, two primary schools — one white and the other coloured — "twinned" this week

Taking a lead from cities and universities throughout the world, the two Cape schools' committees will now work closer together, sharing and exchanging ideas, cultures and facilities.

And on Arbor Day this week the two schools — Stephen Road Primary in Lotus River on the Cape Flats and Muizenberg Junior launched their close relationship by planting a tree on both their premises and then exchanging trees.

But for the present, the close relations will not extend to the sportsfields.

Mr K G Williams, principal of Stephen Road Primary, said: "At this stage it is still too delicate for us to start meeting on the sportsfields, as our union, the Western Province Primary Schools Sports Union — an affiliate of the South African Council on Sport — will kick us out."

The two schools first met at a Wild Life Society meeting last month when 18 Cape schools — black, white and coloured — came together.

Afterwards, when the 18 schools met several times to exchange ideas, Mr Noel Carr, the chairman of the Education Committee at Muizenberg Junior, noticed that pupils of his school and those of Stephen Road Primary were "hitting it off".

"I think the twinning is an excellent, fabulous idea," Mr Carr said, "and we hope that this type of visit, like the planting of trees, will take place more frequently."

Mr Williams expressed his joy at the twinning, saying: "I'm a very happy person and I just know this could be the start of something big."

The woman who organised the get-together at the Wild Life Society, Mrs Vera Lawrence, of the Fairest Cape organisation, added:

"This has taken a lot of courage on the part of both schools, but we are confident it will work out. As far as I know, this is a first for South Africa."

'Impotent' Stefano fathers his second child

Princess Caroline and Number 2

Sunday Times Reporter: Rome

THE husband of Princess Caroline of Monaco, who gave birth to the couple's second child this week, avoided national service by claiming he was impotent

Now Stefano Casiraghi 25, an Italian faces questioning in a fraud investigation

If fraud is proved, he will be liable to serve 20 months in the army

Casiraghi has dual nationality after having been made a Duke by Princess Caroline's father, Prince Rainier last year

He was the unknown son of a wealthy businessman when he was called up for national service in 1979

Phony

He produced hospital documents saying he had a genital tumour and was temporarily impotent.

Italian army investigators have to decide if he "failed to comply with a call to arms

They are also questioning a colonel arrested last year over a vast racket of discharges pardons and other phony permits paid for by servicemen

Casiraghi married Caroline in December 1983.

STEFANO CASIRAGHI

They had a son, Andrea, six months later

And this week Caroline gave birth to a daughter, Charlotte Marie.

The military inquiry was first opened in 1984 just before Casiraghi became a father, and has never been closed

The birth of his second child has re-awakened interest in the case.

The officer in charge of the inquiry said "The fact that he is the husband of Princess Caroline makes no difference."

"Apartheid has bequeathed to many a legacy of bitterness which this new spirit of South Africanism must banish from our land," he said

The peace initiative was mooted by blacks in the area who felt they needed a forum to discuss their grievances with farmers after 15 black farmers had been threatened with eviction from white farms.

"I was approached by a group of men from the Ngotshe district," said Mr David Masuku, local induna for the Louwsburg area

"They asked me to become their spokesman and to take up their grievances with the white farmers in the area."

KING GOODWILL
"We're all Africans"

What followed were numerous meetings between Mr Masuku and Mr Tjaart van Rensburg, chairman of the Louwsburg Agricultural District.

"We realised there was a need to do something about the situation," Mr van Rensburg said.

Traditional

"But there were some people in the area who did not think the same way. Eventually, though, we gained the support of about 90 percent of the people in the district. Those who haven't thrown in their lot with us will never change in any case.

"We have agreed that the two race groups need to cooperate," Mr van Rensburg said.

"We will be looking at labour relationships, and creating school facilities and new jobs."

From 50km outside Louwsburg you already knew something was in the air. The Zulus were out in force.

They lined the Magudu-Louwsburg road decked out in traditional rabbit-skin anklets and skin loincloths, and waved cowhide shields and sharpened assegais in the cool mountain air.

In the town itself the law was out in force, but no aggro — all smiles Maybe this cooperation thing can work. More buses arrived. Bakkies obviously on loan from the

LifeStyle
TART UP WITH TRENDY T-SHIRTS

CP blueprint for future takes SA back 20 years

(309A) STAR 11/8/86

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

The Conservative Party has begun to map out its blueprint for reversing constitutional reform and returning South Africa to strict Verwoerdian apartheid should it come to power.

The way to achieve a separate, white South Africa was the dominant theme of the CP's Free State congress in Bloemfontein at the weekend.

Party leaders sounded a warning to "non-whites" that the "rights" given to them by the National Party would be removed by a Conservative Party government.

A priority in the Free State and Northern Natal would be to eject Indians who had recently been permitted to settle in these areas.

Any land sold to Indians would be confiscated and they would be paid only the original value of the ground. No "extra" compensation will be allowed, the congress decided.

Delegates also confirmed the CP's policy of developing separate homelands for coloureds and Indians.

The congress went into committee to discuss the "suicidal" integration-oriented policies of the Government.

They also discussed how the clock would be turned back if the CP came to power.

The congress voted in favour of numerous motions on the subject of constitutional development, condemning the State President for accepting the permanence of blacks in "white" South Africa.

Delegates agreed they would put a stop to black freehold rights, the restoration of South African citizenship to homeland blacks and freedom of movement for blacks.

They also rejected any black representation at the "highest level of Government".

Other priorities outlined at the congress included:

- Firing the director-general of the SABC, Mr Riaan Eksteen, and breaking down the National Party propaganda machine within the corporation.
- Restoring agriculture to prosperity by giving more support to farmers.

MP Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said if the Government spent just R75 million on more land for farmers, it could aid their recovery.

"The Government hasn't got money for this, yet it spent R600 million on unemployment projects."

Municipalities had been told that they had to hire black workers who weren't trained for the jobs.

"What happened? They just sat in the shade," said Dr Hartzenberg.

- The CP would also put a stop to multiracial decision-making at provincial and local government level.

Delegates condemned the proposed regional services councils.

- The party would never negotiate with the ANC, even if it renounced violence.

Mr Daan van der Merwe accused the Government of negotiating "indirectly" with the ANC, using church leaders, businessmen and the Broederbond as intermediaries.

The congress also hit out at the Bureau for Information, describing it as a National Party propaganda instrument.

- Integration of sport at school level would not be permitted.

A resolution adopted by the congress called on CP supporters to use their influence at schools and to refuse to let their children take part in multiracial sport.

Opening the congress, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht hit out at the Government for co-operating with the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group.

"I am not impressed with Mr Pik Botha's handling of the EPG — he gave them many assurances that reform was continuing."

Dr Treurnicht said the Government had been too weak to tell the EPG to stop interfering in South Africa's affairs.

He strongly criticised the United States for the role it was playing in South Africa.

He said the US had a history of "letting nations down" — it was preoccupied with ending apartheid because it believed "whites are on their way out" of power.

He vowed that the CP would continue "the fight" for apartheid in South Africa. There was no future for whites in the country unless full partition between the races was achieved.

Dr Treurnicht predicted that the Government would call an election by next year, using its stand on sanctions as a way of winning support.

Right wing to meet in Pretoria

Political Reporter

South Africa's right wing parties meet in Pretoria tomorrow to discuss their differences amid speculation that a general election may soon be called.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said today the talks between his party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party had not been arranged specifically to discuss election tactics.

Addressing the CP's Free State congress at the weekend, Dr Treurnicht predicted that the Government would call an election, using the sanctions issue to win over white voters.

1986

Mercury 11/08/86

P W expected to stick to tough sta[nd]

304-A

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha is fully expected to maintain his hardline stand tomorrow that South Africa will change at its own pace and in its own way — sanctions or not.

Nationalists who are already gathering in the city for this week's Federal Congress suggest that Mr Botha will not be cowed by the increasing international threats — and promises — of sanctions.

Instead, he could turn the tables and use the growing clamour as a rallying call to unity as Mr John Vorster did so successfully in the anti-South Africa Carter era.

Nationalist MPs, particularly from the Transvaal, are reporting the party is facing a serious threat from the combined Right-wing in several constituencies where they have been working all-out to consolidate support since Parliament went into recess at the end of June.

They are hoping that when Mr Botha opens the Federal Congress tomorrow night he will be able to consolidate it even further in the face of rising international pressure.

Nobody seems to be expecting him to spell out in chapter and verse what the Government's future constitutional plans are for bringing blacks into the decision-making processes at the 'highest level'.

However, he is expected to spell it out in general terms and to reaffirm his commitment to change — but at South Africa's own pace.

Nationalist have strong hopes that the much vaunted National Council will pave the way for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

However, there are doubts that the final draft of the legislation to establish it has been completed which would mean Mr Botha would only be able to talk on it in general terms.

So far there has been no indication of which black leaders will be prepared to serve on it.

The Government has stated repeatedly that the National Council will be the start of a new phase in reaching a negotiated constitution involving all communities in Parliament and not the final solution.

It is estimated that about 1 600 delegates from all corners of South Africa will attend the congress which is expected to debate various crucial issues throughout Wednesday.

The Natal provincial congress will be held on Thursday.

Reforms expected of Botha

304A

Cape Times 11/8/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha will again be the focus of intense local and international attention tomorrow when he delivers his crucial "Rubicon Revisited" address to the National Party federal congress in Durban.

Western governments, the United States and Britain in particular, are hoping Mr Botha will unveil an imaginative package of bold reforms that will allow them to resist pressures for additional sanctions in coming weeks.

Some governments, including the US, have held back on announcing new punitive measures ahead of Mr Botha's long-awaited address to the rarely-convened federal congress — the highest body of the NP.

And on the home front, many South Africans will be looking to Mr Botha for specific guidelines on how he plans to lead the country out of its continuing domestic crisis and growing international isolation.

But National Party politicians — mindful perhaps of the disaster which followed Mr Botha's fateful Rubicon address to the NP congress in Durban this time last year — have been anxious to downplay expectations surrounding the address and the congress itself.

Some party sources have put out the word that unlike previous federal congresses, this week's get-together will not be used as a platform to launch bold new initiatives or announce major policy shifts.

Instead, it is being characterized as a consolidation exercise — a bid to clarify and sell government policy and future plans to confused and wavering supporters.

In recent months the government has been especially concerned by

➡➡➡➡ To page 2

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From page 1

inroads made by extreme right-wing groups

At the congress, the government is also expected to use the country's growing international isolation as a rallying point to drum up support from white voters in general.

As such, political observers expect the proceedings to be marked by frequent tirades against "foreign meddlers" and calls for South Africans to bury their differences and fight sanctions.

A number of influential opposition MPs, both the left and right of the NP, believe that this tactic — coupled with the government's continuing hard line on security issues — is being used to prepare the ground for a referendum later this year or a general election next year.

Plan to 'throw Indians out of Free State'

By Colleen Ryan

Indians have been warned that they will be thrown out the Free State if the Conservative Party comes to power.

CP delegates at the Free State congress in Bloemfontein at the weekend voted in favour of a motion to revoke the rights of Indians in their province "without extra compensation".

They accused the Government of breaking its promise that it would go to voters before allowing Indians into the Free State.

"We are not prepared to put up with the mistakes the Government is making.

"Indians who decide to move into the Free State and Northern Natal should know that they will not keep these rights when we come to power," said Mr Daan van der Merwe, MP.

NO MALICE

"Every facet of white life will be affected by Indians moving in, including social affairs, the economy and education."

Mr van der Merwe said there was no malice in the CP's policies towards the Indians.

The party stood for complete separation of the races and would partition the country if it won power.

Some delegates were concerned that the motion would be used "as a stick" to show up the party in a bad light.

Mr Frans Wessels said he had lived in Natal for four years and knew "better than most what it's like to live with Indians".

"I agree there should be no Indians in the Free State, but it is a question of tactics. This motion could be used against us."

● See Page 13

If for any reason you can't participate, your donation would be greatly appreciated.

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KIERICK & WHITE 14127

PW expected to toe party line in speech

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

DURBAN — President P W Botha is expected to make a major policy speech when he opens the National Party Federal Congress here tonight.

However, he is unlikely to announce any dramatic shifts in policy.

The National Party has officially billed the congress as a Congress for Freedom and Stability, which will be used by the Government to reassure the party faithful and all South Africans and to show the way ahead.

Observers believe that this means Mr Botha will attempt to get negotiations with black leaders on track while re-dedicating his Government to continued political, social, constitutional and economic reforms.

What announcements there will be are expected to be in connection with the promotion of these aims.

Mr Botha is also expected to use the Congress, which is to be well attended by the diplomatic corps and the foreign media, to demonstrate to the world the National Party's unity against sanctions and its determination to survive them.

He is unlikely to give details of how South Africa intends busting sanctions.

The bulk of the close on 2 000 delegates, official observers, diplomats and journalists, who will be attending the conference, streamed into Durban early today.

Fleets of buses and ministerial limosines shuttled between the airport and beachfront hotels.

Security has been tightened around the hotels and the venue of the Congress.

Five motions will be discussed at tomorrow's proceedings.

They will deal with constitutional development, foreign relations, security measures, economic and financial affairs and social development.

12/8/86 (304/A) BUSDAY

Business Day Correspondent

PW set to stand firm on reform

PRESIDENT P W Botha is widely expected at this week's National Party federal congress in Durban to maintain his hard-line stance that the pace of political reform will be determined internally — with or without sanctions.

Nationalists gathering for the congress say Botha will not be influenced by mounting threats of sanctions from abroad.

Observers believe he might use the growing clamour as a rallying call to unity — as John Vorster did so successfully during the anti-SA Carter era.

National Party MPs, particularly from the Transvaal, say the party is facing a serious right-wing threat from several constituencies where the NP has been working to consolidate support since Parliament went into recess.

They hope that when Botha opens the congress he will be able to consolidate the party even further, despite rising international pressure.

But nobody is expecting Botha to announce details of government's future constitutional plans for bringing blacks into the decision-making process.

National Party supporters have strong hopes that the much-vaunted national council will pave the way for a negotiated settlement in SA.

But there are doubts that the final draft legislation to establish the council has been completed, which would mean Botha would only refer to it in general terms.

To date, there has been no indication of which black leaders would be prepared to serve on it.

Government has stated repeatedly that the national council will be the start of a new phase in reaching a negotiated constitution involving all communities in Parliament — not the final solution.

It is estimated that about 1 600 delegates will attend the congress, which is expected to debate various crucial issues tomorrow.

The Natal provincial congress will be held on Thursday.

Economic fight 'must take in politics'

232 BUS DAY 12/8/86 304A

MICK COLLINS

POLITICAL and economic policy were totally interdependent and must be mutually incorporated in any strategy for survival, Project Free Enterprise (PFE) chairman Professor Martin Nasser said this week.

Delivering an overview of the PFE's final report at the annual meeting of the Furniture Industry Training Board in Johannesburg, Nasser said any ad hoc approach to such strategy would only create greater unrest.

"There is a distinct grouping of elements which seriously hampers the individual's right (especially black) to participate in the free-enterprise system. The removal of these elements is viewed as an absolute prerequisite for economic growth and stability."

He outlined some measures he said must be implemented by government:

- ☐ Opportunity for all to have access to property ownership;
- ☐ Introduction of direct political representation for blacks;
- ☐ Removal of influx control;

Nasser said the role of the business sector was closely linked with that of government and any strategy implementation would need to look at management commitment, monetary reward and workforce needs.

Nat congress issues

FROM PAGE 1

tutional development, foreign relations, security issues in the face of growing international hostility, finance and economic and social development.

Each motion will be introduced and seconded by a minister and then thrown open for discussion by the approximately 1 600 delegates from all round the country.

Clearly, constitutional development will be the most important topic, as it will form the basis of the Goverment's future race policies.

It is expected that the Goverment will reafirm its commitment to change — at its own pace, and to scrapping race discrimination.

Sanctions

However, it is thought it will attempt to justify the retention of separate schools and residential areas as far as possible

Until now these have been considered 'non-negotiable', but there has been increasing speculation that the Government might be prepared to consider some form of 'local option' on these matters.

With a tigthening security situation developing, it is also thought the congress could be asked to consider the expansion of the Defence Force and the increased involvement of blacks, coloureds and Indians.

The spectre of sanctions is also likley to be a well-aired topic during the debates on the foreign relations and economics motions.

Mr Botha will close the congress some time tomorrow night and the first Nationalist reaction from a provincial congress will come from Natal, which starts its own congress on Thursday.

● See Editorial Opinion

Joint Natal KwaZulu legislature on Nat cards

Mercury 12/8/86

304 A

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

A JOINT legislature for Natal/KwaZulu — and possibly other areas — could still be on the cards if speculation surrounding the National Party's Federal Congress proves correct.

Only the fourth of its kind, the congress will be opened by President Botha in Durban tonight when he is expected to make a firm commitment to the involvement of blacks at all levels of government after future negotiations.

The congress agenda had not yet been published, but some deligates are already laying heavy emphasis on the possibilty of the congress considering future consensus-style government for various bodies still to be agreed on.

'City states'

It is being suggested that the congress will be asked to approve the principle that all non-independant homelands have the right to participate in all political institutions and that the various political components of the Republic be allowed to choose their own form of government.

So far the Nationalist Goverment has approved a joint administration for the running of white Natal and black KwaZulu, but has steered clear of a joint legislature.

If speculation is correct and the congress approved the principal of allowing the countries various political components — such as the KwaZulu Goverment and the Natal Provincial Executive — to choose their own form of government it would appear that a joint KwaZulu/Natal Legislature could be possible.

Alternatively it is suggested that if the congress approved the principle that all non-independant homelands have the right to participate in all political institutions, then it would not be impossible for KwaZulu to have a member on the new-look provincial executive.

It is also being speculated that the Government might be prepared to go further and consider some form of independant 'city states' for large black townships, such as Soweto, which are in the middle of what are considered to be traditionally white areas.

According to the Nationalist, official organ of the National Party, five motions will be presented to the congress, which can take no binding decisions for the autonomous National parties of the four provinces.

The federal congress can only recommend that the provincial congresses, which are the policy-making bodies of the NP, accept its recommendations.

According to the Nationalist, the five motions to be considered concern consti-

TURN TO PAGE 2

12/8/86 Mercury

New Bill to 'clean up' security industry

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Wide-ranging controls over private security firms are to be introduced soon. In terms of the Security Officers' Bill, which was released yesterday, all security officers will have to be registered.

No one may be registered as a security officer, except with the approval of the Commissioner of Police, if they have been convicted of a serious offence, or if they have been banned, listed or detained under the Internal Security Act.

In an explanatory memorandum, the Government said the new Bill provides for the appointment of a Security Officers' Board to 'to deal with and to exercise control over the occupation of security officer'.

The memorandum said it was proposed that only registered people would be allowed to provide security services or be employed for this purpose.

The Bill provides that every director of a security company and every employee, who is 'rendering a security service' will have to be registered with the Security Officers' Board.

Criticisms

No person may be registered if they were 'at any time, whether before or after the commencement of this Act' found guilty of offences, such as treason, sedition, murder, culpable homicide, kidnapping, childstealing, rape, indecent assault, sodomy, bestiality, robbery, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, arson, housebreaking, theft, receiving stolen property, fraud, forgery or offences relating to the coinage.

They may also not be registered if at any time steps were taken against them under Chapter 3 of the Internal Security Act.

The Bill has been drafted in response to criticisms of unscrupulous security firms.

However, its provisions barring the registration of security officers because arbitrary action has been taken against them under the Internal Security Act is likely to meet strong opposition when the measure is debated in Parliament.

12/8/86 Mercury

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12/8/86 Bus Day · 3044A

Du Plessis, De Villiers come in for blistering personal attack

● DU PLESSIS

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

A BLISTERING personal attack was launched yesterday against the Ministers of Finance and Trade and Industry by Sanlam's retired chairman Andreas Wassenaar, who questioned their ability and competence to handle their respective portfolios.

Effectively labelling them as incompetent and not fit to be in charge of the country's economic reins, Wassenaar charged that SA was being let down badly by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Trade and Industries Minister Dawie de Villiers.

He told a delegation of businessmen attending an SA-British Trade Association (Sabrita) lunch in Cape Town: "It is my personal view that they will continue to let the country down because they are not qualified to take the decisions required of them.

"They have to act on the advice of somebody, and they are not qualified to discriminate between good advice and bad advice."

Wassenaar said President P W Botha should remove Du Plessis and De Villiers from their posts, combine the two portfolios into one, and find an individual who had the qualifications, competence and experience in economics and finance to head the Ministry.

He said: "He must be the best man we have in SA. His qualification should definitely not include the fact that he won a seat in some constituency."

It was conceivable that such a step by Botha would inject renewed confidence into SA's ability to weather the storms that lay ahead.

Wassenaar said two "big blunders" committed by Du Plessis had led him to question the Minister's competence.

The first was Du Plessis' announcement of his intention to push the perks tax through. The question Du Plessis had apparently not appreciated sufficiently was how important it was to decide just how those perks should be brought into the tax net.

At the time (July 1984), the economy was on a downward trend and the motor industry was somewhat vulnerable. Wassenaar said: "One would have thought that the indications were for anybody with experience to see that 'car perks' should have been brought into the tax net in a time of economic strength."

● DE VILLIERS

relating to arrest

All-race State council discussed by Nats

From TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — A council of state, in which representatives of all entities in South Africa can formulate policies on matters of common interest, is one of the proposals being discussed at the National Party's federal congress here today.

Another proposal, mentioned by President P W Botha when he opened the congress last night, is aimed at creating autonomous 'city states' for large concentrations of blacks in metropolitan areas.

The proposed national council, in which black leaders would join in consultations on constitutional change and on legislation affecting blacks, would be a forerunner to a council of state.

ELECTION HINT

When he opened the congress last night Mr Botha hinted there could be an early referendum or election to test white opinion if drastic constitutional changes were proposed.

He also called on followers to "shed the spirit of defeatism and doubt about the future of our country. No one else has a plan or example which we can follow".

The congress will not make final recommendations today on constitutional change.

The congress cannot take decisions binding on the National Party and, instead, it will make suggestions that can be considered further by provincial party congresses.

The Natal congress of the party will be held in Durban tomorrow.

FIVE DEBATES

Today the congress is having five major debates on motions dealing with economic affairs, foreign affairs, group security, constitutional development and order and stability.

Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, told the congress that African countries could lose supporting services and trade with South Africa if they continued with boycott threats, but he also offered them friendship.

The condition was that they should not allow their territories to be used for the execution of violence against South Africa.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, rejected the notion that South Africa should introduce a fully controlled or socialist economic system because of trade sanctions.

Instead, he said, the Government was giving urgent attention to a tightening-up which could be imposed within the framework of a market-oriented system.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Sash demonstrators say hello and goodbye

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Black Sash gave President P W Botha their traditional demonstration welcome to Natal — but for once he did not see it.

Last night 13 women wearing black sashes lined up outside the hall in Durban where the President was to speak but were taken away in two police vans before they could hear Mr Botha say: "The federal congress meets under the banner of genuine freedom."

PW speech sparks snap poll preparation

ARGUS 13/8/86 304A

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

POLITICAL parties are gearing for an early election — possibly before the end of the year — and have welcomed President P W Botha's indication that this may be on the cards.

However, party leaders emphasised today that the Government would have to clarify whether the test of opinion would be for voters of all races, or only for whites.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said Mr Botha's statement that any drastic constitutional changes would have to be subject to a decision of voters was obvious.

But it would be "ridiculous" for such a test to be limited to whites.

The coloured, Indians and blacks would also be vitally affected and should be consulted.

Mr Eglin said the PFP was ready and eager to meet any electoral challenge that might be presented by the National Party.

Meanwhile, it also emerges from a PFP circular that the party has been gearing itself for a general election.

STRONG HINT

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, said President Botha had given a strong hint that everybody should get ready for a general election or referendum.

Mr Sutton said he saw Mr Botha's remark about a possible early election or referendum as a clear message "to get yourself geared up".

"An election or referendum will be a very good thing. It will clear the air and it will mean the Government will commit itself to a positive programme and will ask the country for a clear mandate," said Mr Sutton.

One aspect that needed to be clarified was who would take part.

Mr Sutton said President Botha seemed to confine his remarks to white voters.

This matter still needed to be clarified.

CHALLENGE →

Commenting on Mr Botha's speech as a whole, Mr Eglin said: "This was another disappointing speech in which Mr Botha failed to give the country any bold lead."

The speech was essentially a party political one.

"It is obvious the Government has no plans for getting the country out of the trouble it is in today, nor has it any clear vision of the future," said Mr Eglin.

Mr Sutton said President Botha's speech was a challenge to the National Party to make up its mind as to exactly what it wanted to do about black representation in central decision-taking.

The object of all political reform had to be to bring blacks into the sharing process.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said he did not think President Botha had shown any clear direction into which the Government was moving.

Mr Botha seemed to be bogged down in his constitutional schemes.

And Mr Botha did not give a clear lead in respect of a general election.

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

● Government wants dialogue — Page 17

DD 13/8/86

DAILY DISP.

Good response to PFP drive, says Savage

304A

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The response by industry and commerce here to the Progressive Federal Party's R10 million Progressive Trust fundraising campaign was extremely satisfactory, the PFP MP for Walmer, Mr Andrew Savage, said yesterday.

Mr Savage met various industrialists and businessmen in the city yesterday to gauge response to the trust launched nationally a few months ago.

He said that during his meetings he had noted a significant and highly optimistic change in the attitude of commerce and industry to the government.

"They seem to have realised that South Africa confronts a series of central choices. It's now a matter of politics first, and not economics," he said.

Mr Savage said that commerce and industry were researching new political models which differed greatly from that of the government, and which all contained the tendency to move to an equal vote for all racial and ethnic groups in the country.

"The government still thinks in terms of racial groups and the allocation of national assets and political rights to ethnic groups. Commerce and industry seem more aware of this and are prepared to confront the government with the issue," he added.

Mr Savage said the change in attitude by commerce and industry probably stemmed from the realisation of South Africa's situation and apprehension about their future in the country.

The chairman of the Progressive Trust in the Border area, Mr Errol Spring, said that he too had noticed a change of attitude to the country's future among members of commerce and industry in the area.

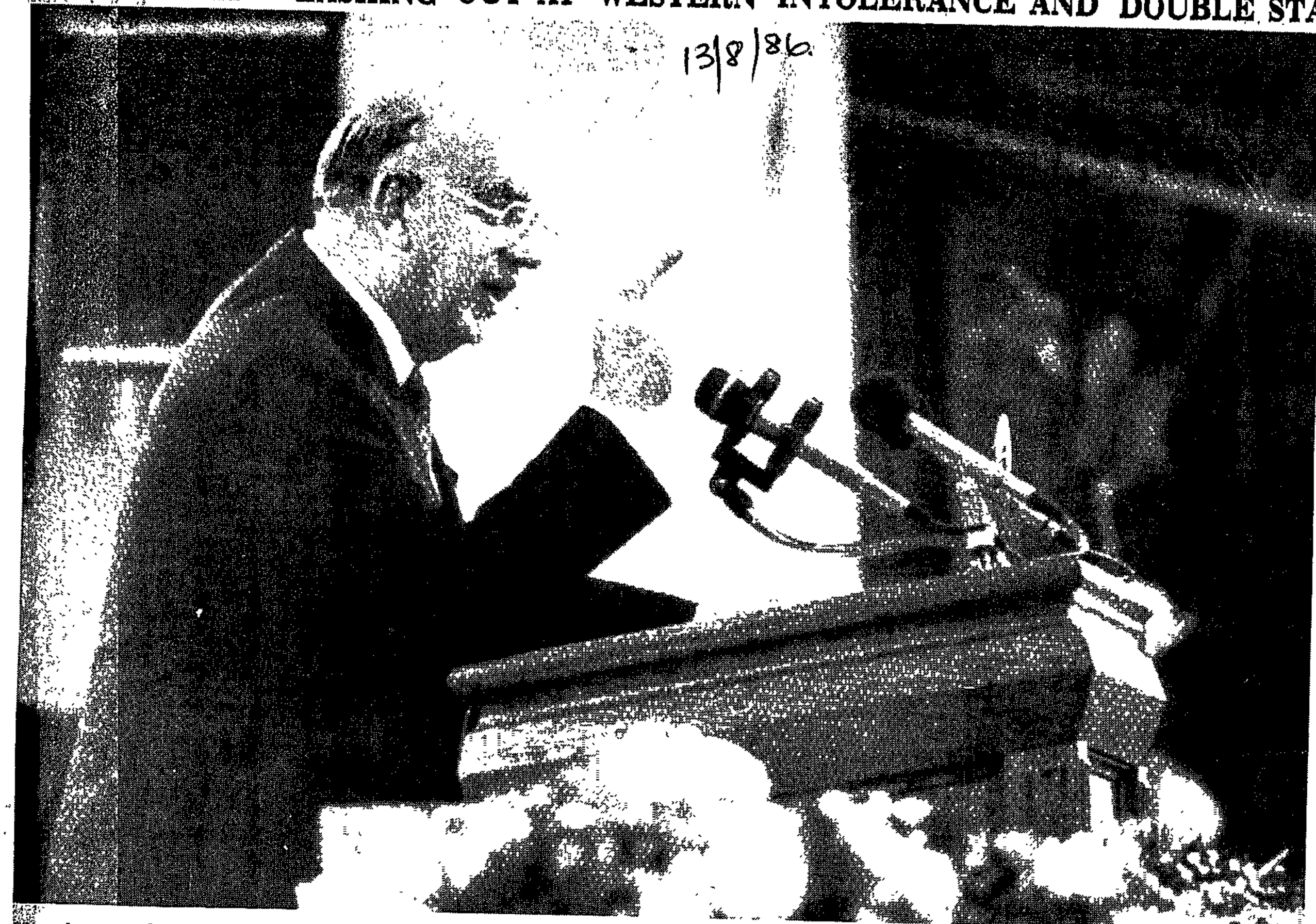
"Previously the attitude here was one of a brick wall of apathy and indifference. For the first time we now see indications that commerce and industry are concerned about their future in South Africa.

"They are now more aware of the threat evolving in the South African situation and are actively looking at an alternative to the government's policies and have shown a great interest in the PFP's policies," Mr Spring said.

He added that of the R650 000 target of the trust set for the Eastern Cape, at least R400 000 had already been raised. Nationally, over R9 million had already been raised, with the hope that the R10 million target may well be exceeded.

PW BOTHA — LASHING OUT AT 'WESTERN INTOLERANCE AND DOUBLE STANDARDS'

13/8/86



Last night's picture: State President PW Botha opening the National Party's federal congress in Durban.

How British newspapers saw speech

The Argus Foreign Service in LONDON

PRESIDENT Botha's speech is given wide coverage in the British Press today, with three newspapers making it the front page lead.

Their headlines are: "Botha defies the world on apartheid" (The Times), "Defiant Botha scorns sanctions" (The Guardian), and "Hint of reform by Botha" (Daily Telegraph).

The Financial Times reports the speech on its front page under the double column headline: "President Botha prepares ground for early poll." Other newspapers give extracts on inside pages.

The speech was also the main item on BBC and commercial television news bulletins last night, accompanied by film showing Mr Botha making the speech and the scenes inside the hall.

There has been no editorial comment so far, but commentators see the speech as making it clear that Mr Botha has no intention of bowing to pressure for fundamental change.

Government wants dialogue — but also 'self-determination of groups'

ARGUS 15/8/86 (3064A)

From TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent, in DURBAN

PRESIDENT PW Botha last night referred to the possibility of an early referendum or general election for whites to test constitutional changes resulting from negotiations.

Opening the National Party's federal congress before an enthusiastic crowd of some 3 000 he also renewed his offer to have discussions with Western states and leaders in Southern Africa.

At the same time he lashed out at Western intolerance and double standards being used against South Africa.

Mr Botha said the National Party was irrevocably committed to dialogue as part of the process of broadening participatory democratic institutions. He maintained that a lot had already been achieved through consultations.

DIALOGUE should not, however, lead to a situation where the self-determination of groups and communities in a multicultural country was jeopardised.

It should provide for protection of minority groups and dialogue should be an instrument of hope, peace and freedom for all.

If negoiations led to drastic changes to the constitution he would keep his promise to consult the voters beforehand.

In any event anything on which agreement was reached in such negotiations would be subject to the decision of the white voters.

He assumed that black leaders would also want to consult their supporters or "constituencies."

Mr Botha added: "Such consultation on our part, whether by means of a referendum or by means of a general election, could take place sooner than most people expect."

He said it was not expected of this congress to take final detailed decisions on these matters. The congress should, however, indicate guidelines to which the provincial congresses of the National Party could react.

IN the meantime, the Government would continue to carry out its responsibilities to the fullest extent.

Mr Botha said he wanted to repeat his offer to enter into discussions with Western countries and Southern African leaders on issues such as the following:

- Military security and stability in Southern Africa;
- Economic development, aid and mutual co-operation;
- Agricultural and industrial development and job creation;
- The conservation and use of water resources and other natural resources;
- Social development in the fields of health, nutrition and training.

He said South Africa rejected interference in its domestic affairs which was often portrayed as diplomatic attempts to bring about negotiation in South Africa "as if we have not for a very long time been actively engaged in internal dialogue."

Referring to the possibility of sanctions he said:

"We do not desire sanctions, but if we have to suffer sanctions for the sake of maintaining freedom, justice and order, we will survive them. Not only will we survive — we will emerge stronger on the other side."

Planning for the future should be conducted jointly between the State and the privte sector, without mutual reproach over the past.

Since the implementation of the international arms embargo in 1977, a highly sophisticated arms industry had been developed through vision and initiative.

After an oil embargo had been imposed, South Africa at one stage had a supply for only eight days, but this embargo was overcome because the State and the private sector had co-operated.

"Our continuing endeavour towards self-sufficiency and towards increasing our export capacity will be our repeated response to international punitive measures in every field of life."

REFERRING again to the purpose of the congress Mr Botha said the discussions here represented part of the negotiating position of the National Party in respect of discussions that were taking place and would take place on issues such as the proposed National Statutory Council.

Nobody could accuse the National Party of going to the negotiating table without guidelines or empty-handed.

As governing party the National Party found itself in a unique dilemma. It was expected of the Government to continue with immediate reform and to enter into negotiations at the same time.

Through negotiations clarity would have to be reached on various important aspects.

Self-government and autonomy for the large concentrations of black communities close to the metropolitan areas would have to be negotiated. As in the self-governing states leaders should emerge in a democratic manner.

"Our policy is one of orderly, evolutionary change in contrast to the so-called liberation of violent revolutionaries. In Africa we have repeatedly seen the consequences of premature liberation without proper preparation and planning," Mr Botha said.

304 A

'The federal congress meets under the banner of genuine freedom' — PW Botha opening the NP congress in Durban last night

PW hints at 'drastic' constitutional changes in pipeline:

Views of whites to be tested

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

304A STAR 13/8/86

Durban

The Government is playing its cards close to its chest — despite dropping hints that a major breakthrough in black constitutional development could be at hand.

President Botha hinted during his speech at the opening of the National Party federal congress in Durban last night that white general elections or a referendum to test "drastic" changes to the country's constitution could come sooner than most people expected.

He also opened the way for blacks to express their views on reforms through elections.

The only detail of the new plan to be made public so far is contained in a motion to be debated at today's congress.

The motion on constitutional development provides for a joint Council of State in which the representatives of all communities can take decisions by consensus on matters of common interest.

More details may be provided when Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis addresses congress this afternoon.

The congress has meanwhile not yielded any major announcements so far. The Government is instead using the opportunity to spell out exactly what its position is on a broad range of issues.

Highlights at the congress so far:

- The possibility of a joint Council of State, to flow out of the National Council, in which leaders of all political entities may participate in policy formulation over common interests.

City states

- The suggestion by President Botha that he could not see why large black communities in urban areas should not get autonomy as city states.
- An apparent easing of the vestiges of institutionalised segregation.
- Rejection of the notion of opting for a socialist or fully-controlled economy to counter sanctions. But there will have to be tighter discipline of state spending and allocation of precious resources.
- Rejection of sanctions, and confidence that South Africa will survive.
- An unyielding approach to the security situation, with no softening of the view that Mandela and the ANC must first abandon violence before the Government will negotiate with them.
- A reaffirmation that there can be no settlement in South Africa which does not take cognisance of the multi-cultural character of the country and protect minority rights.

● See Page 17.

A congress 'happening' you can't read about

Political Staff

DURBAN — Something unusual happened at the National Party federal congress opened by President P W Botha last night but due to the emergency regulations details cannot be published.

Thirteen women from the Black Sash were there briefly.

They never got to hear President Botha say "The federal congress meets under the banner of genuine freedom."

Security was clearly the watchword last night and the area was crawling with policemen.

Two blocks away an ANC bomb had claimed three lives on the Durban beachfront in June and the police were not taking any chances of a repeat car bomb.

But the crowd of about 4 000 inside the hall did not need any policing. They stood and cheered at all the right times.

President Botha seemed to be nursing the residue of a cold and his voice at times was strained.

Most of the evening was a serious affair but he drew the occasional laugh.

He commented how General Smuts had made statements about restricting black rights — "and they erected a statue of him in London.

"They won't erect one of me — not that I will apply for it," he said.

Parties are ready for action

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

White opposition parties say they are ready to fight if the Government calls a general election or a referendum.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said his party was "ready and eager to meet any election challenge".

He was reacting to statements made by the State President, Mr P W Botha, that a general election or referendum "could take place sooner than most expect".

Mr Eglin said, however, it would be ridiculous to consult only whites about a future constitution because coloureds, Indians and blacks were all involved.

The State President's speech met with a lukewarm response locally, but President Ronald Reagan said the United States would be "pleased to help" if it could, with regard to a possible meeting of Western and Southern African leaders.

Mr Eglin said the State President's address was "essentially a party political one". Mr Botha had tried to rally members of the National Party, rather than unite and inspire citizens of the country.

Proposals to establish independent black city states were merely decentralised apartheid.

Anti-SA vote just makes it in South

BUSDAY 13/8/86

130GA

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Slightly more voters in the US's southern states favour sanctions against SA than don't, but they are against penalising US firms operating there.

The findings of a poll prepared for the Southern Governors' Association show a substantial number of don't knows.

Sanctions were favoured by 38%, to 35% against, in the 17 states south of the Mason Dixon line.

The margin opposed to selling the stock or refusing to buy the products of firms with operations in SA was 41% to 36%.

The survey of 620 southerners was taken between July 29 and August 2, and had a sampling error of plus or minus 4%.

There was little difference between blacks and whites or Republicans and Democrats on the issue, as 43% of blacks favoured sanctions, while 37% of whites did.

Blacks were opposed to penalising companies by 43% to 39%.

Highest support for sanctions — nearly 50% — came from young Southerners aged between 18 and 35.

Expenditure

Administration, prop
Interest

Profit before tax
Tax

Profit after tax
Unappropriated pro

Less:

Dividends declared
Interim 12,0c (9,0c)
Final 18,0c (15,0c

Transfer to reserve

Unappropriated pr

Earnings per share
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ANNUAL REPORT
The annual report

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2001

12 August 1986

Indaba — one glimmer of light in SA politics

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

DIPLOMATS and overseas politicians visiting South Africa nearly all end up at the office of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba — and most of the them are steered there by the Government.

Although some Natal National Party delegates viewed the Indaba as a threat to white rights, many of the visitors see it as the one glimmer of light on an otherwise depressed political landscape in South Africa.

This concerns the Indaba chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence, who says he has a horrible sinking feeling that the Indaba is being elevated to a higher level than it should.

Although he does not want to make any predictions, he is obviously happy with the way things are going.

There is agreement on a Bill of Rights which itself will dictate the shape of the constitution that the Indaba hopes to decide on within months.

Professor Desmond Clarence

One of the major decisions, that Natal and KwaZulu should be seen as a single economic and political unit, was reached soon after the first meeting of the Indaba in April.

Another is to try to get the maximum powers for the region — at the very least the level of powers held by KwaZulu which are significantly more substantial than those of the province.

But Professor Clarence emphasises that there is no intention to have KwaZulu and Natal secede.

THERE is no doubt, he says, that the Indaba will come up with a constitution, although "I don't know if we will get complete consensus".

The problem is the same as that which is testing constitution makers throughout the country, namely the protection of group rights, and group rights as opposed to individual rights.

The Bill of Rights indirectly rules out apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act by stating that everyone has the right to own and occupy property anywhere.

Prof Clarence points out that there are 6,5-million Zulus, a little under one million Indians, 800 000 whites and a small number of coloured people in Natal.

There is no way, whether Natal is divided up into regions or there is proportional representation, that blacks won't have the majority.

This fact seems to have been accepted by most of the delegates, but the search is still on for protection of group interests.

Prof Clarence thinks the way will be found through special interest councils which would advise on all matters affecting their groups.

Pressures from some quarters in the Indaba to give the councils teeth by, for instance, creating a two-house legislature with representatives of the councils forming an upper house, are not likely to be met with approval.

INDABA delegates seem to be working through options more or less by elimination. The options are narrowing after every meeting and soon they expect final decisions.

Although there is no real framework, it looks as if the plan could be influenced by the Swiss Canton system.

Authors of the book *South Africa — The Solution*, Leon Louw and Frances Kendall, are among the few people who have been asked to give evidence to the Indaba.

The question now seems to be not whether the Indaba will be able to reach finality, but what will happen when it does.

The Government, despite the misgivings of some of its following in Natal, is showing far more signs of being sympathetic than originally anticipated. But obviously the final form of the Indaba recommendations will be vital.

Many Nationalists, including some of those who have sat in as official observers, do not see why the Government should not attempt to slot in a special arrangement for the region with the rest of the country.

One senior Nationalist said this week: "Natal is a good place to experiment. There is more peace here than anywhere else and it could set a pattern for the future."

However, the Nationalists are nervous about what will come out of the Indaba. Their collective eye remains transfixed on the Conservative Party, even though they are not a factor in Natal.

Professor Clarence says the Indaba has not yet considered this issue, although there are special committees investigating financial viability and education.

These committees would not be dotting i's and crossing t's but would present reports which could be used to support arguments in convincing the Government to accept the overall recommendations of the Indaba.

THE Indaba problems, however, do not only lie in the direction of the National Party Government, but also in the direction of black rights and customs.

For instance, the land tenure system of KwaZulu could be a thorny question — one which KwaZulu has wrestled with for many years.

Whatever the Indaba recommends, Prof Clarence believes, should be tested against opinion in Natal and KwaZulu.

Early indications have been that public support is behind the Indaba.

The Bill of Rights is being distributed on a wide scale with an invitation to respond, and although the response has been comparatively limited, it has been overwhelmingly favourable.

The Indaba should start wrapping up its work within months before the hard-sell can start.

CAPE Times 20/8/86

304A

'Not enough work for MPs'

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

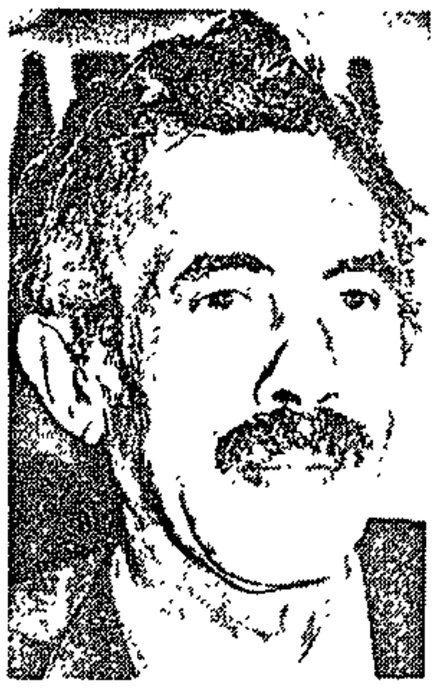
THE coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament will adjourn for another week today — less than three days after Parliament resumed for the second session this year — because there is not enough parliamentary work for MPs.

The House of Delegates adjourned yesterday till Tuesday, September 2, although it will briefly meet tomorrow. The House of Representatives will adjourn today till Monday, September 1.

The Leader of the House of Representatives, Mr Ismail Richards, said the adjournment was caused by the "weakness in the system" and that there was "not sufficient Parliamentary work" for MPs in his House.

'Ahead'

The House of Representatives was ahead of the House of Assembly in terms of dealing with legislation. "This only supports our argument for one sitting of all Houses of Parliament," Mr Richards said.



Mr Richards

He said failing to adjourn now would mean that the House of Representatives would end their session much earlier than the House of Assembly.

The Leader of the House of Delegates, Mr Manilall Naranjee, yesterday said one of the reasons why the House had to adjourn was that Indian MPs had dispensed with the scheduled legislation.

He stated that the adjournment should not be seen as a "holiday" but that all MPs should still attend standing committee meetings.

Mr Naranjee said that compared to the other Houses there were fewer Indian MPs who still had to serve on 30 standing committees. MPs were therefore overburdened with responsibilities of serving on up to five standing committees at a time.

Solidarity chief whip Mr Yunus Moolla said the "defects in the system" were responsible for the adjournment.

'Agreed'

His party agreed with the adjournment since it was a reasonable option instead of debating one bill for a few minutes a day and then adjourning until the next day.

"This reaffirms our earlier call for joint debating sessions and one House of Parliament," Mr Moolla said.

On July 30 the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced pay rises of 35 percent for ministers and 22 percent for MPs.

'Expectation gap' behind frustrations

304/A

Eve Post 20/8/86

By KIN BENTLEY

IT was "largely a revolution of rising expectations", caused by the Government's failure to deliver fundamental reform, which sparked off much of the unrest over the past two years in South Africa.

This was said by Mr Gavin Bradshaw, a lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Port Elizabeth, during a security seminar held in PE yesterday.

The seminar was characterised by the diversity of opinions expressed, with "liberal academics" coming in for criticism from several speakers.

A self-proclaimed liberal academic, Mr Bradshaw said he was not denying the role of ANC cadrés. With the black population in a state of "high frustration" due to the more than 50% unemployment in PE, many had nothing to lose. As a result it had indeed become possible for the ANC to adopt "strategies of direct action", not previously considered.

However, he said, when out of a concern for security, the State President, Mr P W Botha, embarked on his reform programme, it generated in the hearts and minds of blacks certain "realistic expectations", which had not materialised.

This led to an "expectation gap" or "revolution of rising expectations".

As a result, he said, blacks viewed the present tri-cameral constitution as one which maintained their disadvantaged position, with the "collusion" of the coloured and Indian groups.

It was not only the right, but the duty of the police, he said, to provide security, "with coercion if necessary" during the reform process, which was inevitably accompanied by unrest.

But, he said, this had to be balanced with "substantial reform, without delay". More reform and less coercion would lead to long-term security, which was what everyone hoped for, he said.

Answering a question from the divisional inspector of police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier M J Rust, on when he thought the deployment of military forces within a country would be justified, Mr Bradshaw said "all facets of the State" would have to be perceived to be threatened with collapse. The government of the day would be informed of this by its security advisors.

"Obviously the more representative the government, the more accurate the perception of those advisors," he said.

304A

'SA moving into long-standing loop of violence'

Staff Reporter

SOUTH Africa is not moving into a cycle of violence but into another loop of the violence which has existed for decades, according to a spokesman for the Let South Africa Speak campaign.

Mr Jimmy Baigrie said at a University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business Association lunch that the present violence was not change but simply allowing "our already violent South African history to repeat itself unnecessarily and on perhaps a grander and grimmer scale".

It was a misunderstanding of politics and power to say that the bottom line of politics was power. The basis of both was consent.

"As members of society we stand or fall by our consent — the things we promote by active consent and the things we allow to be promoted by passive consent."

At the opposite end of the scale to consent was authority — what was left when power was gone — which was why authority needed weapons. It recognised its own weakness and that it had to be propped up.

Let South Africa Speak's position was that one could not consent to something that one knew very little about.

"The one thing we know virtually nothing about is what possible options we have apart from the National Party option," said Mr Baigrie.

"We do not know what any black leader's views really are because we have not been given the opportunity to examine and test them in public so that their strengths and weaknesses can be discovered."

Mr Pierre Cronje

CAPE TIMES 21/8/86

Cronje: NRP accepts PFP tenets

Political Staff

THE NRP had accepted three major aspects of PFP philosophy at the KwaNatal Indaba which made its continued existence not only irrelevant but a stumbling-block in mobilizing white opposition to the government, Mr Pierre Cronje (PFP Greyton) said last night.

Speaking in support of Mr Jan van Eck in the Claremont by-election, he said these aspects were:

- The concept of a national convention.
- A bill of rights protecting individual and group rights and not forced separation.
- Single structures of government on non-racial lines as opposed to ethnically defined parallel structures.

A good win against the NRP in Claremont would strengthen the PFP's hand in Natal as the only anti-Nationalist force and would give Natalians the hope of setting Natal free again.

ends

(Report by Ormande Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Federal congress rings in an era of siege politics

Cape Times 21/8/86

By ALLISTER SPARKS

THE most revealing thing about last week's federal congress of the National Party was what it *did not* do.

When President P W Botha announced the special congress last February, he did so amid a blaze of publicity emphasizing the government's commitment to reform.

There were his big newspaper advertisements declaring apartheid to be "outdated". The pass laws were to be scrapped, citizenship was to be restored to homelanders, a National Statutory Council was to be established as a first step towards giving blacks a voice in the central government.

And the parliamentary session was to be interrupted to allow a federal congress of the National Party to be held in August.

The message was clear. Only twice before in its 73-year history had the federally structured NP held such a special national convention: to endorse the republican constitution in 1961 and the tricameral constitution in 1983. This third federal congress was obviously intended to endorse another constitutional change, giving effect to the black political rights that white and black negotiators would agree upon in the National Statutory Council.

But when the delegates gathered in Durban last week, there were no constitutional amendments for them to consider. Abashed party information officers were billing the event as a "stock-taking exercise" and warning reporters not to expect too much.

Platform for defiance

In the event it was more than that. President Botha used the congress as a platform for breathing defiance at the world over sanctions and for drawing more clearly the boundary lines beyond which his reforms will not go.

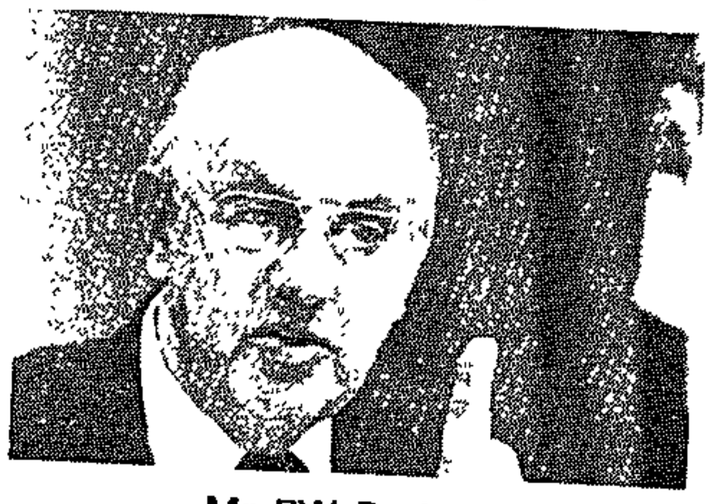
Even so, as the delegates filed out of the congress hall on Wednesday night they were wondering why it had been necessary to summon such a special convention to do that.

The reason is that some time between the announcement and the holding of the congress, the government decided on a change of strategy which nullified its original purpose.

Back in February the government was deeply engaged in a dialogue with the Western powers. Convincing them of its commitment to reform was a priority consideration.

No more. Today the government is intent on telling the Western world to get stuffed. It is taking a public stand against what is perceived as foreign interference and it is preparing to tough it out on sanctions.

The decision to end the *toenadering* was taken in mid-May, just as the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) was arriving here for its final visit.



Mr PW Botha

Immediately before that there was a widespread feeling of optimism that a breakthrough to a peaceful settlement of the racial conflict might be possible.

The EPG had put forward a plan which involved the government agreeing to release Mr Nelson Mandela and unban the ANC, in return for the ANC declaring a truce in its efforts to overthrow apartheid by guerilla violence and agreeing to negotiate.

Members of the EPG had seen Mr Mandela in prison and reported that he had given them a positive response. The government had sent a special envoy, Mr Carl von Hirschberg, to London to tell the EPG it was not opposed in principle to releasing Mr Mandela and legalizing the ANC, but that it wanted assurances of Western backing if it had to act to quell any disturbances that resulted.

Encouraged, the EPG returned here on May 12. But the optimism was short-lived. President Botha did not see the group, as they had expected. Instead they were advised to attend a speech by him to the President's Council in which he slammed the "unsolicited interference" of "meddling groups visiting the country".

Four days later South Africa launched its military raids on Lusaka, Harare and Gaborone. One week later the Department of Information issued a booklet on the ANC labelling it communist and ruling out any possibility of negotiating with it.

The decision to break off the dialogue with outsiders had been taken and the EPG plan had been deliberately killed.

When Sir Geoffrey Howe arrived last month to try and pick up the threads, he was given a public brush-off. The new "go-it-alone" strategy had begun.

The reason appears to be that President Botha felt he was being pushed further than he wanted to go on reform.

He had never seen it as more than a limited exercise, the adaptation and modernizing of apartheid to take account of certain anomalies — particularly the permanence of the urban blacks which could no longer be denied,— while retaining the bedrock fundamentals of "group self-determination" under overall white control.

Others kept trying to read more into it and to commit Mr Botha to an incremental process where one step would lead to another, but the president kept reacting against this, as with his "Rubicon" speech and his repudiation of Mr Pik Botha for suggesting there might one day be a black president.

Barrier line

The EPG plan brought matters to a head. To agree to negotiations with the ANC would be to cross the barrier-line from "group self-determination" and enter a whole new field of open-ended possibilities including eventual black majority rule. Here indeed was a Rubicon,and President Botha declined to cross it.

He has broken off his engagement with the West because he knows it will bring him back again and again to that same barrier line that he is not prepared to cross.

He is saying so far and no further and digging in where he is. Mandela and the ANC have been declared untouchable. That means no other credible black leaders will participate in the government's constitutional schemes either, for to do so on those terms would be political suicide for them.

What we are about to see now in place of negotiated reform is a policy of coercion and co-option. An attempt will be made to crush the black rebellion by brute force, and then in the vacuum of leaderlessness and desperation in the townships to co-opt enough people to get a system of black administration functioning again.

It will be an era of siege politics as well as a siege economy.

Is this a monster of their own creation?

ARGUS 21/8/86

ISSUES

By Hugh Roberton

PARLIAMENT has resumed its interrupted session and reasonable people would be justified in asking: What for? When President Botha announced the two-month adjournment, NP officials offered a very clear explanation for the break.

It was necessary, they said, in order to facilitate a federal congress of the NP at which momentous decisions would be taken; that the resumed tail end of the session would be needed to pass legislation based on the NP's decisions.

Everyone, even Mr Botha, appeared confident that the legislation in question would set up a National Statutory Council, i e legislation permitting the involvement of blacks in a statutory negotiating process, which is undoubtedly what the country most urgently needs.

In fact, Mr Botha announced the adjournment and his intention to set up the NSC in the same speech and went on to say: "It is my wish that negotiations on the National Council be furthered in this way and that it will lead to the passing of a Bill before the end of the present session of Parliament — the present session in its extended form, of course."

But no momentous decision was taken by the NP's federal congress. No enabling legislation for the NSC appears to be in the pipeline now that we have got to the session in its extended form, and already the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates are planning another seven days' vacation because they have no work to do.

THE PFP is making commendable use of the resumed session to expose in the House of Assembly matters relating to the state of emergency which the Government clearly wanted to keep concealed.

But the hiatus in Parliament as far as other matters go, especially the NSC, remains most curious. It suggests a crisis in the NP's constitutional programme and it suggests, too, that even the huffing and puffing of Chris Heunis cannot breathe life into the NSC.

While a power struggle within the NP explains a great deal about the party's retreat into the security of a Verwoerdian laager, it does not explain why the NP leadership has failed to get the NSC off the ground.

The NP leaders must have known, right from the start of the NSC exercise, what sort of body they had in mind. They must have known, too, that the plans were more or less compatible with the consensus that would be reached at the federal congress in Durban.

Why, then, have they failed to make tangible progress?

THE explanation from Chris Heunis — that they are negotiating, negotiating, negotiating — is implausible.

What seems far more likely is that the NP's evasion of reality on the issue of negotiating with blacks has caught up with it; that even the most moderate black leaders who would be the likely candidates for membership of the NSC have reached a consensus on preconditions to their participation which the NP cannot countenance.

An example: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has insisted on the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and other political movements as one of his preconditions for taking part.

It would be preposterous to go ahead with the NSC if Chief Buthelezi, leader of the largest black ethnic group and of the largest political movement in South Africa, were not part of it.

Another example: At their national congress in Cape Town last month, the members of Nafcoc, probably the most moderate and amenable blacks in the country, and certainly the most financially influential, also insisted on the release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC and PAC as a precondition to serving on the NSC.

With a man like Chief Buthelezi making such demands, with the same demands coming from the black champions of free enterprise, and given the climate prevailing in black areas, what other credible blacks would agree to join the NSC for less?

Excluding Chief Buthelezi, the heads of homeland governments *have* agreed to, with their usual ingratiating willingness, but few outside the NP take them seriously, in spite of all the pomp and ceremony with which they are treated.

IT would seem very much as if the NP has been trapped by its own policy of rejecting negotiations with the ANC, UDF, PAC or Azapo and is now frantically searching for blacks with a modicum of credibility who might help it out of the pickle.

And already Chris Heunis seems to be trying to find ways of giving credibility to leaders other than those who command manifest support in the black community. He has made, for instance, great play of the Government decision to allow an election, or some other "consultation" of black opinion, to establish whether or not those who negotiate with the Government are "real" leaders.

But we all know what tests of opinion mean to the NP and how it manipulates issues in elections.

Blacks who were elected to local authorities by pitifully small percentage polls, for instance, were trotted out as credible leaders by the Government.

And, of course, we all know that by maintaining their ban on the ANC and other organisations, the Government would for all practical purposes be dictating who the candidates would be in any "consultation" of black opinion.

The more one hears of the Government's plans for the NSC, the more it seems that the NP sees in its own creation the embryo of a monster which terrifies the daylights out of the party's bosses, for there can be little doubt that if Mr Mandela were released and the ANC unbanned, they would be the dominant forces with which the NP leaders would have to negotiate. And that, we know, would be just too much for them to bear.

Jewish Board reaffirms anti-apartheid stand

Staff Reporter

THE national executive of the Jewish Board of Deputies, which is the representative body of South African Jewry, has reaffirmed its condemnation of apartheid.

A statement issued after the board's quarterly meeting in Johannesburg, prompted by what were described as "misleading reports" in the Johannesburg press said: "The board's rejection of apartheid was clearly and unequivocally expressed in the unanimous resolution which was passed at the last national congress of the board.

"In reaffirming its attitude, in accordance with its policy of speaking out in humanitarian issues and matters affecting basic human rights, the board appeals to members of the Jewish community to participate actively in the process of improving race relations and the lot of underprivileged people.

"Furthermore the board once again urges that immediate steps be taken to dismantle unjust and oppressive laws based on racial discrimination."

All major Jewish organizations are affiliated to the board.

● *The statement follows a controversy in the Johannesburg press in which the rabbi of a Houghton congregation said that most Jews in South Africa condoned the evils of apartheid by their silence. Editor, Cape Times.*

Ucasa says 'No' to National Council

(329) (3024A)

21/8/86 BUS DAY

THE Urban Councils Association of SA (Ucasa) has rejected participation in government's proposed National Council until African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is unconditionally released.

It has also rejected the creation of "city states", as it does not want to see homelands created in urban areas.

Ucasa national executive member B B Zondani of Grahamstown said the decision emerged from a meeting with Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, in Cape Town, at the weekend.

"We told the minister in clear terms that Ucasa was not interested in the National Council before the release of Mr Mandela," he said.

Zondani said Ucasa also totally rejected the concept of proposed "city states" because it did not want the creation of "homelands" within the urban areas.

He added Ucasa told Heunis that "blacks in the country wanted full participation in the decision-making organ — Parliament — and were not interested in making decisions at black local authority level". — Sapa.

Rich warned of drop in standards

304A
Eve Post
21/8/86

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Affluent South Africans would have to accept a drop in their expectations and living standards for the Government's reform plan to succeed, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, warned last night.

Addressing a Businesswoman of the Year banquet, he said: "I must tell you this in all candour: if the ship of reform in which we now sail is to reach her haven, there will inevitably have to be a downscaling of expectations — and of present standards too — on the part of those segments of our society that by world standards are already amply privileged."

Mr Du Plessis said that while the privatisation of economic life for which he had argued was bound to relieve the State Treasury of heavy responsibilities in the areas concerned, "there is no necessary corollary of lower State expenditures overall".

Privatisation implied direct charges for services previously paid for indirectly through taxation but was invariably subsidised to some degree.

"The services the public sector continues to supply will increasingly be approached from a user-charge perspective," Mr Du Plessis said.

● The Minister warned that South Africa could not anticipate further large inflows of overseas investment and would have to generate its own funds.

This money would have to be used to help with the rapid modernisation of the Third World part of the economy.

Mr Du Plessis said there would have to be a significant redeployment of the country's resources towards the creation and maintenance of physical and social structures.

A thorough evaluation would have to be made of the demands on resources so they could be used to the best advantage.

"This is particularly vital with regard to capital insofar as we can scarcely look for further inflows of overseas investment on any significant scale.

"We will thus have first to generate our own investment funds and then ensure that they are employed so that they can make the most effective contribution in facilitating the rapid modernisation of the Third World component of our economy."

Mr Du Plessis said South Africa's growth rate had fallen short of the level needed for maintenance of living standards over the past few years.

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ECONOMY

New sanctions wave coming — Ackerman

Argus 2.10.86

30K4

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Businessmen have two years to fight the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa, warns Mr Raymond Ackerman.

Speaking at the opening of the Lonehill Shopping Centre in Sandton, Pick 'n Pay chief Mr Ackerman said that businessmen had the power both internally and externally to prevent punitive economic measures against South Africa.

"The first stage of sanctions is already upon us but we still have the opportunity to fend off full mandatory sanctions — which could hit us in two years unless we do something about it now."

Mr Ackerman suggested four ways in which businessmen could fight sanctions:

- "We must show confidence in the country by expanding business. If we are being squeezed from the outside, we have to pull together by continuing to promote business in the country.
- "Businesses must be run along non-racial lines by employing people of all race groups.
- "Businessmen have a role to play in telling their international counterparts about the changes taking place in South African business. They must persuade companies outside South Africa that continued reform in the country can only come about with increased investment."
- "Businessmen should continue to pound the Government to dismantle apartheid. The biggest curse we face is that apartheid is still legislated and although we have enormous political problems in the country we still have the confidence of the business and industrial community. We must strive to help the Government to bring about reform by building up confidence in business."

Mr Ackerman lashed out at black leaders who had advocated the imposition of sanctions as a way to achieving peaceful change in the country.

"Sanctions are a violent option — one that will lead to unemployment, poverty, the exodus of professional young South Africans and the creation of further political unrest, and one which will hold the Government back on reform."

22/8/86

Govt facing heavy fire in call for resignation

304A STAR

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government faced a severe dressing down in Parliament this afternoon during a special debate on a motion calling for the immediate resignation of the Cabinet.

Both the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party were to demand the Government's resignation, although for different reasons.

The motion is a serious censure of the Government. If carried, it would oblige the State President to go to the country immediately for a fresh mandate.

But obviously the overwhelming majority the National Party enjoys in the House would see to it that the motion is amended to read instead that the House supported the Government and its policies.

Nonetheless, it was understood that the Government was taking the motion seriously and that virtually the entire Cabinet would be present to hear the opposition parties give Ministers a severe dressing down.

It was not clear whether President Botha would take part in the debate, although his office indicated that he probably would not.

The debate, similar to the annual no confidence debate at the start of a session, was initiated by the PFP. Opposition Leader Mr Colin Eglin gave notice on Monday that he would be moving the motion that the Assembly call on the Cabinet to resign forthwith because the Government has failed to deal with the serious problems facing the country, in particular in the fields of:

- The economy, unemployment and inflation.
- Sanctions and international relations.
- Unrest and security and
- The Government's inability to set in motion meaningful negotiation on a new constitution, or to present any realistic vision for the future.

Retreat to Verwoerdian era

Mr Eglin said today that the main thrust of his attack would be that the Government had retreated to the Verwoerdian era and that the National Party's recent Federal Congress had proved that the Government had no vision for the future.

The PFP planned to use its heavy guns in the debate.

Mr Harry Schwarz (finance spokesman) was to lash the Government for its failed economic policies. He indicated that his speech would be particularly harsh.

Mrs Helen Suzman (law and order) was to examine the Government's record on unrest and the emergency, and Mr Ray Swart (PFP Natal leader) was to deal with the Natal situation.

Conservative Party sources said party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht would demand the resignation of the Government on the basis that it had no mandate for the direction it was taking.

Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis were likely to be the main Government speakers.

CAPE TIMES 22/8/86

Hecklers boo Heunis, Wiley

304A

Political Reporter

SOMERSET WEST. — White right-wingers caused pandemonium at a National Party meeting here last night.

Two senior NP ministers, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and Mr John Wiley, Minister of Environment and Tourism, addressed a crowd of 500 people in the Somerset West Town Hall amid jeers and boos from a sizeable crowd of right-wingers.

Tempers became frayed when the meeting was repeatedly interrupted by right-wing hecklers who taunted the ministers for "selling out South Africa".

The meeting was brought to order after a group of some 20 NP supporters got up and warned the hecklers against disrupting the meeting.

In his address to the meeting, Mr Heunis said only inferior whites could live in fear of losing their identity through contact with others.

"Whites, coloureds and blacks of moderate conviction should join hands at a time like this," Mr Heunis said.

He said it was ironic that Afrikaners — who were the original freedom fighters in this country — were afraid of change.

All parties in Parliament acknowledged that South Africa must undergo constitutional change.

He lamented the fact that it was white governments overseas who sought the destruction "of our fatherland ... while in South Africa black leaders are prepared to walk the road of peace".

"We will live together or together we will go down," he said.

Nats gear for election war with the right

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE ferment in South Africa's political cauldron is likely to be whipped into a fine froth by an election for whites within six months.

Speaking in his capacity as *hoofleier* of the National Party, President PW Botha told delegates to its special federal congress last week that a general election or a referendum could take place "sooner than expected". Botha's statement was vague, probably deliberately so.

The next election is not due until 1989. Botha having used the introduction of the new tri-cameral constitution in 1984 as an excuse to postpone the scheduled date for the next election from 1986 — the last election was held in April 1981 — to 1989. The phrase "sooner than expected" could thus mean anytime before 1989.

There is, however, indirect but cumulatively convincing evidence that Botha had in mind a poll within the next six months or so. He is keeping his options open, but seems more inclined to a election than a referendum.

The Sunday newspaper, Rapport, reported in the wake of Botha's speech that the Department of Home Affairs has already been asked when it would be able, logistically, to hold an election and whether an election by the end of November was possible. Rapport's disclosure has since been verified independently.

The query was not made idly. Seen in the context of Botha's statement, it means an election within the next six months is, at the least, being considered seriously.

The prospects for an imminent general election have been downplayed by some commentators. Two reasons are advanced to justify their scepticism. Neither is totally convincing.

First, it is contended, Botha cannot hold a general election on the present delimitation of seats. It is loaded too heavily in favour of rural seats, an aftermath of the era when the National Party was virtually unchallenged in the rural hinterland. Now, however, these seats are vulnerable to the ultra-rightist Conservative Party. Hence the need for a redistribution of seats from rural to urban areas.

The logic is faultless. But there is another consideration.

The continuing shift of white voters into the Transvaal means that a new delimitation will redistribute seats away from the Cape, and to a lesser extent, the Free State and Natal, in favour of the Transvaal. Rough calculations suggest that the Transvaal will gain 10 seats from the Cape and one each from the Free State and Natal.

The Transvaal is the provincial stronghold of the Conservative Party and its ideological allies, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, and the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. Thus the National Party may lose as much as it gains from a new delimitation.

The second argument against an early election is that the National Party could lose seats to the ultra-rightists in an early election, particularly in the view of progress in CP-HNP coalition talks.

But if the NP is likely to lose seats now, it has no guarantee that the prognosis will improve if it delays the election for a long as possible. The opposite may be true. The longer it waits, the worse the situation may become.

There are powerful voices in the NP pressing for an election to be held as soon as possible.

The State of Emergency has helped to recapture for the NP its old reputation for *kragdadigheid* and, to that degree, muted the vociferous howls of betrayal emanating from the ultra-rightists. As important, white resentment against "foreign interference" and the escalating sanctions war "against South Africa" provide an opportunity for an election with patriotism and xenophobia as the government's rallying cries.

Former Prime Minister BJ Vorster asked for a mandate against foreign meddling in the 1977 general election and won the biggest parliamentary election victory in South Africa.

The belief exists in the NP that the time is ripe for a similar poll either late this year or early next year. It would, it is hoped, enable the NP to prevent the ultra-right from growing to the "critical mass" at which it would become very difficult to stop.

But if some of the NP commanders are itching for action at the polls, not all their troops are fired with the same enthusiasm. A key reason is ideological confusion.

While the ultra-right presents itself as the true defender of the pristine apartheid, apartheid is an "outdated concept" for the NP. It has to advocate a complex — if not sophisticated — policy of "healthy power-sharing" and co-existence.

The uncertainty among rank-and-file NP members was formally acknowledged in an NP position paper distributed at last week's special congress.

"Many people are experiencing a sense of insecurity because the National Party and the government do not spell out a detailed plan or blueprint for future power sharing with black people," the author of the pamphlet, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said.

"The absence of a detailed blueprint does not, however, mean that the NP is drifting into the future without direction," he assured the faithful.

"The creation of a new dispensation, which will bring democracy, security and prosperity for all, is the highest priority of the National Party and the government.

"The best available brain power is working unremittingly on it."

Hardly a stirring slogan for the coming struggle at the polls.

Cape Times 22/8/86

'Letter paper outdated'

304A

Political Staff

THE letter in which Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the House of Delegates, allegedly said he could have AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche "taken care of" was written on outdated official letter paper.

The new twist in the controversy, which the CP wants a parliamentary select committee to investigate, was revealed yesterday by Mr Rajbansi.

Mr Rajbansi has said the letter is a fake and that he was at a Stellenbosch health resort at the time the letter was supposed to have been signed by him and sent, wrongly addressed, to former budget minister Mr Boetie Abramjee.

He said yesterday that the letterhead under which it was written had been out of use for more than four months before the date on the letter.

"According to our records we ceased using the old letterheads, used in the faked letter, on or around March 10 this year. The fake letter is dated June 26," said Mr Rajbansi.

'All my letters can be checked to discover that I do not use the words 'best regards' but 'with kind regards' or 'yours faithfully'."

AWB hangers-on pose a danger

22/10/90

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) had the potential to spur some of its undisciplined hangers-on into actions which could plunge South Africa in a Lebanon-type conflict, an expert warned today.

30/4/91 STAR

There was ample evidence that sympathisers of the AWB did not have the same self-discipline as members of the movement, said Mr Abie du Plessis, senior researcher of the Institute for Africa and Political Studies at Potchefstroom University.

Speaking at a symposium on resistance movements in Southern Africa, he said Lebanon was characterised by the increasing militarisation of factional groups among the population.

The result was that none of them succeeded in promoting its own interests — and a senseless shooting war developed.

"The fact that the AWB leadership is forcefully spurring people into being able to defend themselves could prompt its undisciplined hangers-on to take action on their own," Mr du Plessis said.

ployees Union, which has 800 members, have given notice of their intention to disaffiliate.

These unions join a host of unions that have severed ties with Tucsa in the last few years, reducing its membership from 340 464 in July 1984 to 275 000. A spokesman for NULW declined to give reasons for the union's disaffiliation.

There are signs that more unions could follow suit. Talk in Tucsa circles is that the 24 000-strong National Union of Clothing Workers and the Natal Liquor and Catering Trades Employees Union (4 000 members), are on the brink of disaffiliating.

The disaffiliations, and Tucsa's inability to find a suitable general secretary since the death of Arthur Grobbelaar in 1984, suggest chronic problems. Botha, however, remains optimistic. "The political situation has had an adverse effect on the economy, which is naturally also affecting the traditional trade union movement." As for the disaffiliations, he says: "I think it was inevitable that this situation would be reached. But ultimately there will be a nucleus of unions left in Tucsa from which we will have build up again as has been done so often in the past. The political situation is polarising the union movement and many of our people have been threatened. But I'm convinced that once the political situation improves the pressure on unions will decrease."

Despite Botha's brave words, some observers remain convinced that Tucsa is in its death throes. ■

22/8/86 FIN MAIL

NP FEDERAL CONGRESS 304A

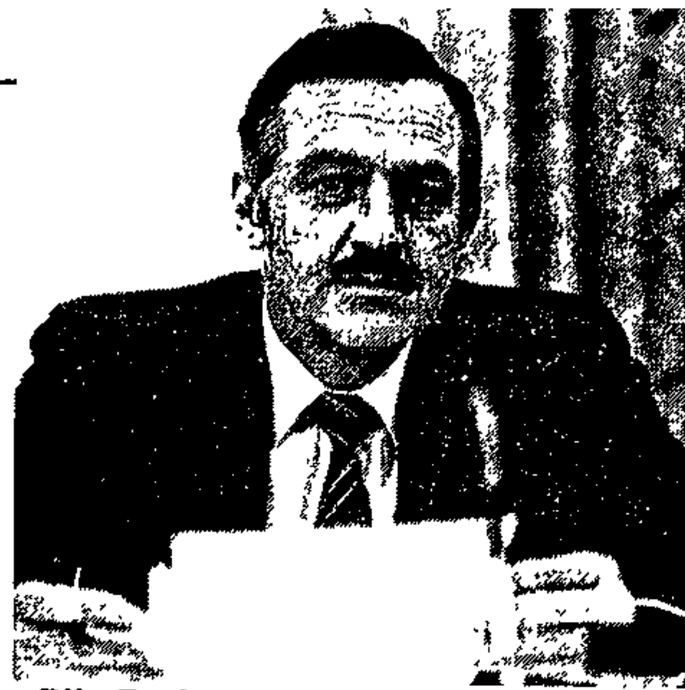
Bunkering down

If nothing else, last week's National Party (NP) federal congress in Durban clarified just where the party stands. State President P W Botha and his senior lieutenants effectively admitted they do not have a broadly acceptable plan for the future.

It is perhaps significant that many delegates regarded Botha's closing remarks as the most important contribution. In spite of a gravelly voice caused by a minor throat infection, the short, off-the-cuff speech was essentially a call to the volk (and the neo-volk in the form of English-speakers) to rally round and withstand the "onslaught." It was emotional and dramatic and was rewarded with an enthusiastic and prolonged standing ovation.

Botha was effectively telling his followers that he had offered all he had in the way of reform — but that it had not been enough to satisfy either domestic or foreign demands for change. The time had come for the NP to close ranks and push ahead with its own plan, which he and the Cabinet appear to believe offers an acceptable solution to SA's manifold crises.

The president's message scotched once and for all the "secret agenda" theory. It also revealed clearly that the NP under his leadership is unable to take the final step towards dismantling the fundamentals of apartheid. Racial "groups," defined and regulated by statute, will remain the focus of political ordering. Freedom of association and tampering with the "pillars of apartheid" will not be tolerated.



Pik Botha ... appeal to ANC to abandon violence

Botha's opening address was another classic of Natspeak studded with fine-sounding rhetoric, but substantially divorced from the demands being made for far-reaching change. It lacked vision and came across more as a rousing, pre-election pitch.

His ministers had little to add in the day that followed. Five carefully drafted motions, introduced and seconded by senior ministers, dealt with finance and the economy; foreign affairs; law and order; policy issues; and constitutional development.

It was the same, tired old message and debate from the floor was largely superficial, most of it being little more than pleas for reassurance. Even the one vaguely positive announcement — Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's effective go-ahead for an investigation into a possible Bill of Rights — left observers feeling there had to be a catch. A government that denies free association can hardly allow a judicially enforcable measure guaranteeing wide-ranging freedom of choice on an *individual* basis.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis probably pulled off the greatest feat. He effectively won congressional backing — although few delegates probably know it — for what could turn out to be a "Super Cabinet," a Council of State, on which representatives of all "groups" will decide national policy (at least in theory).

But even the Council of State, which is likely to be an adaptation of the yet-to-be established National Council, had all the makings of yet another ad hoc, hastily thought out extension of Heunis's jigsaw-like empire.

It appears that by deciding to push ahead with Heunis's plans for "consociationalism," the NP is opting for an "internal settlement" in much the same way that Ian Smith tried to settle Rhodesia's crisis by ignoring the two main nationalist groups. Government's plan also smacks of its similarly styled Namibian internal "settlement," which ignores Swapo and which appears to be crumbling at the seams.

One minister who appeared to have greater vision at Durban was Pik Botha, who very briefly and very vaguely — but with what appeared to be new desperation — appealed again to the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) to "abandon" violence. This would allow government to come forward with a "dramatic" new initiative, he said, but gave no details. It appears that he, at least, realises that internal settlements do not work in southern Africa. ■

22/8/86 FIN MAIL

EDUCATION 38

Nest nurturing

Uthongathi, the first of four New Era Schools Trust (Nest) schools planned for SA, opens its doors at Tongaat next January. It marks the launch of a deliberate community-orientated, non-racial education aimed at enhancing peaceful social change.

The three other Nest schools, where children will have the opportunity to learn together regardless of race and religion, are earmarked for the eastern Cape, western Cape and the Transvaal. Nest's director, Dean Yates, hopes to establish its eastern Cape school in Grahamstown next year, and the next two in 1988.

Uthongathi was financed by donations

JOINT NATAL EXECUTIVE

With his back to the wall in the face of a concerted rightwing onslaught, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis powered the Joint Executive Authority for Natal and KwaZulu Bill (JEA) through its second reading in parliament this week.

In defence of the plan, Heunis said he was trying to implement a "unique" deal unknown anywhere else in the world, in terms of which blacks and whites could share power.

He said blacks had the same right as whites to express their political aspirations.

The Conservative Party onslaught against the Bill centred on charges — denied by Heunis — that the JEA was the start of a process leading to a joint legislature in KwaNatal.

The Bill, which Heunis was at pains to emphasise had nothing to do with the KwaNatal Indaba, provides for a joint executive for KwaZulu and Natal to decide on and rationalise matters of common interest.

304A

IN THE HOUSE

Back-track week as the House gets going

By BARRY STREEK

THE SA Defence Force has admitted in Parliament that it distributed pamphlets in the Pretoria area urging black people not to go to work on June 16.

But Dr Lapa Munnik, the Minister of Communications, has said "it is not in the security interest of the state" to reply to questions about whether telephones were cut off in any townships on June 16.

As Parliament reconvened this week to discuss a number of technical Bills, replies to questions which had been tabled before Parliament adjourned on June 25 became the focus.

So, for instance, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence, Adriaan Vlok, disclosed the role of the Defence Force in the distribution of pamphlets in the Pretoria area when he replied to a question which had been tabled by the persistent Louis Stofberg, the HNP's only MP.

Stofberg asked whether any members of the Defence Force distributed pamphlets in black residential areas in the vicinity of Pretoria on or before June 16 and "whether residents of these residential areas were requested" in the pamphlets "not to go to work on 16 June 1986".

Vlok replied: "Yes, pamphlets were distributed on various occasions in black residential areas in the vicinity of Pretoria to inform the inhabitants of the proposed actions of radical elements during the period 16 to 26 June 1986 and to discourage them from taking part therein.

"The distribution took place on the instructions of the Officer Commanding Northern Transvaal Command."

Stofberg also asked him whether black employees of the Defence Force who lived in these areas had complied with this request. Vlok said: "It is not known whether any of the employees of the SA Defence Force stayed away from work on 16 June 1986 as a result of the distribution of any of the pamphlets."

Asked whether these employees would be paid wages for that day, Vlok said this "falls away".

Munnik's statement that it was not in the interests of the security of the state to say whether any telephones were cut off on June 16 resulted in sharp reaction from Peter Soal, the PFP MP who had asked him about the matter.

"It is obvious that the government did cut off telephones into black townships," Soal said.

"This shows a cynical disregard the Nationalists have for citizens who have paid for their telephone service. At the flick of the switch they are cut off from the outside world.

"One shudders to think about what happened to people who were caught in medical emergencies when the phones were cut off," Soal said.

Then, the Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, told Soal, one of Parliament's most enthusiastic questioners, that the police had not conducted any investigations into alleged offences by the media under the Emergency regulations, nor had any journalists or newspapers been charged with any offences under the Emergency.

Louis Le Grange ... No charge laid

Funny that. In the early heady days of the Bureau for Information at the start of the Emergency, one could have sworn the press was virtually to blame for the unrest and there were undisguised threats to close down papers. But perhaps that doesn't need police investigation.

Louis Nel, the Deputy Minister of Information, who has turned out to be the government authority on the Emergency and who is politically responsible for the Bureau for Information, did some backtracking on what seemed, at one time, to be firm rules for the press in the Emergency.

Nel denied that the Bureau had ruled that the words "white minority regime" had been prohibited or that the word "Draconian" had been banned from use.

He also said the Bureau had not ruled some questions put at press conferences had been subversive and denied that the SABC had been asked or given instructions about the transmission of television film for foreign networks.

But Soal, who had asked him about the activities of the Bureau, said he believed Nel's replies were "incorrect or misleading".

"For instance, the head of the Bureau for Information, David Steward, said on Friday, June 13, that the Bureau took exception to the foreign media referring to the South African government as 'a white minority regime'. Mr Steward said the journalists who did this would 'place their position in jeopardy. We expect the media to play by the rules — tough as they may be. We will not hesitate to take any action against any media which contravene these rules'.

"Yet, Mr Nel now says that the Bureau for Information had not ruled that 'white minority regime' or 'Draconian' may not be used.

"The Bureau's performance during the State of Emergency has been entirely unsatisfactory and Mr Nel's replies have compounded the errors of their pathetic display," Soal said.

Indeed, the one place not entirely subject to Emergency regulations, and where information about the Emergency is not subject to Bureau control, is Parliament.

In the first 13 days of the Emergency, PFP MPs did manage to name various detainees and cite incidents which the press was unable to report. Now that Parliament has reconvened, the PFP has resumed that role.

There are procedural restrictions on just how much can done in this regard, but at least some picture of South Africa under the Emergency is again beginning to re-emerge, as this week's questions showed.

FIN MAIL 22/8/86

PARLIAMENT 304A

No reform jamboree

Any hopes that the brief session of parliament, which convened on Monday, would produce major political changes, have been deflated by last week's National Party (NP) federal congress in Durban.

The session had been billed as a likely reformist jamboree; there was speculation that a new reform package might be unveiled by State President P W Botha and implemented. But he drew the line. Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis was expected to clarify his complicated plans for a better SA, but the possibility (based on expectations generated by NP sources) of a broadening of the reform initiative, did not materialise.

Instead, with the reform bubble having burst in Durban, the session is now little more than extra time to clear up some of the work left over from earlier in the year.

Even government's much-vaunted National Council (NC) is unlikely to come into being this year. Officially, this is because negotiations on detail are being finalised. But the real reason is that blacks with any kind credibility are not interested in the offer.

One line of informed speculation has it that the NC (if it ever is established) will eventually be fused with the President's Council as a prelude to the creation of a transmuted forum, a Council of State, for multiracial representation at the highest level. Represented in such a super-assembly would be the common area (whites, coloureds and Indians), the self-governing and "independent" homelands and, presumably, the mooted black "city states."

But few take seriously the notion of creating black "city states." The idea was proposed by a government commission and rejected as unworkable a few years ago. Of the 227 black municipalities in the common area, barely seven even begin to look like candidates for "principality" status. Further, there is no clarity whether city states will be incorporated into the system of regional services councils on a municipal level, or be represented in an umbrella Council of State. Thus the NP is no nearer the objective of finding political accommodation for urban blacks.

The general assessment of Botha's speech was that he effectively drew the borders of the laager. He appears to have shirked further change. Grand Apartheid will not be dismantled. Instead, discriminatory laws may become more "flexible."

The "flexibility" is likely to include new concessions on the Group Areas Act based on the President's Council's report, which is due this month. Also, certain local government laws are to be rationalised during the short session.

But draft legislation published so far includes nothing of particular significance. Heunis has two Bills on local government "reform" to bring black municipal government into line with white local authorities on a "separate-but-equal" basis. Other new Bills provide for:

- ☐ An amendment to the Mines and Works Act to scrap the final job reservation provisions on the mines;
- ☐ Statutory regulation of the private security industry;
- ☐ The establishment of a transport advisory board; and
- ☐ The divestment by the president of certain administrative functions in favour of the ministers concerned;

Unfinished business from earlier this year includes the KwaNatal Bill (the only real "reform" on the cards for the rest of the year); the Building Societies Bill; the Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Bill; and a number of other largely technical changes to existing laws.

There is no reason to believe the short session will produce anything dramatic in the way of change.

The *FM* has been edited to comply with the emergency regulations. Information may therefore be distorted, incomplete and misleading.

Drama is likely to come — as it did in the previous session — when the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) tries to use the privilege of parliament to debate issues and reveal details otherwise barred by the emergency regulations (a PFP-instigated debate on the crisis facing the country is scheduled for this Friday).

For the rest of it, the session is likely to see heightened battle between the NP and the Conservative Party, which is pushing hard for a general election in the belief that it can grab a significant number of NP seats.

The Nats, in turn, have hinted strongly that an election (or a referendum) is on the cards, possibly within the next six months, and are likely to beat an increasingly conservative drum during the short session in preparation for one.

It may not be all that churlish to suggest that an announcement of salary increases for public servants will be a sure-fire indication of an election around the corner. ■

Barend confident of future under sanctions

STAR 22/8/86

By Peter Farley

It is important for South Africa to put its political and economic house in order, "so we can quickly re-enter the international community," says Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis.

He told the Greek Chamber of Commerce in SA last night that "if sanctions want to make us into an island, we must do everything in our power to make it a temporary phenomenom."

But in a more pragmatic approach to what the future holds for this country Mr du Plessis also said: "Every conflict in history has ended up around the conference table.

Barend du Plessis

"The choice for us is to decide what damage is going to be inflicted before we get around that table". And he added: "The question does not arise because of our use of human and natural resources, but whether we harness those resources in sufficient time."

However, he fired a warning shot across the bows of those contemplating sanctions by saying that "if South Africa is unable to generate a growth rate of 3,5 percent or higher, then the neighbouring states will gradually bleed themselves to death."

He added that South Africa is preparing for sanctions, "but while we can cope with our own problems, we will not be in a position to look after other countries."

Nevertheless, he accepted that the advent of sanctions would mean a certain amount of belt-tightening locally. "We accept that the market cannot operate freely in abnormal circumstances."

He said that new disciplines will have to emerge and added: "If we have to cut government expenditure, it means that we will have to cut services."

And he indicated therefore that certain subsidies might have to be cut and charges brought closer to the people who use various services.

Turning to the local economy he said that he had been misquoted last week about the abolition of GST. But he said that the GST band had narrowed too-much and that if GST were to be retained it would have to be made as wide as possible.

"There are too many exemptions at present," he said, but noted that "if the bands cannot be widened sufficiently to cope with all the exemptions then the system will be replaced with a Value Added Tax. We need a contribution from all those who make up the non-payers of company and personal taxation."

However, in a pointed reference to those who have been calling for governmental action to stimulate the economy, he said: "If business confidence has to be generated by government alone then it is a sad prerequisite. It has to come from the private sector, right down to the smallest businessmen."

He concluded by calling on everyone to start contributing now. "Let's make it happen, let's do it together and let's not wait for government."

Bid for race talks by Nat youths in EL

By KEITH ROSS

EAST LONDON — Attempts to set up group discussions between young leaders of the various races in East London are being made by the National Party Youth Committee.

The committee's chairman, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaighte, said this week that his members had already held discussions with a number of leaders of the black community.

"We have one of the most active youth branches in the country," he said.

"We have held three conferences in the past year, two of which were aimed at making school pupils more aware of the political and economic realities of our country.

"We believe the white youth of South Africa are not as aware of the political and economic realities of our country as they should be, and we are trying our best to increase that awareness in East London.

"We believe it is also important to try to improve and develop communication between the various race groups."

He said his committee had now raised enough funds to help a number of non-racial welfare organisations and get involved in community projects.

"We are now preparing for our Debutantes' Ball, which will be held in the City Hall on October 24," he said.

"There are 10 debutantes who are selling tickets and those who raise the most money will win prizes.

"The ball will be a formal affair and the Minister for Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris heunis, will be our guest."

Mr Bassingthwaighte said his committee was hoping to win the prize for the National Party's best committee in the Cape again this year.

"We won it last year, our first year in existence," he said.

sunrise news STAR

23/8/86

Peace movements : gaining momentum

80 4A

By Sara Martin

There has been a marked increase in formal attempts by middle-class South Africans to bridge the gap between racial and political groups.

All these attempts share the goal of finding peaceful solutions to the country's problems.

The "Let South Africa Speak" campaign, spearheaded by Cape Town businessmen, is now in its third stage

The movement aims at giving the silent majority of all races a united voice and a non-violent action plan.

Its manifesto encourages all South Africans to tie yellow ribbons to their shopping bags, handbags or briefcases and to wear yellow on Mondays and Fridays.

Campaign stickers should also be displayed on front and back of windscreens, on windows and on notice boards.

A return visit by an American psychologist and educator, Dr Carl Rogers, has been planned.

Workshops enable people from all walks of life and from different groups to hear and be heard.

The workshops which formed part of the two earlier stages of the campaign were successful.

Women for South Africa was launched a few weeks ago by women who felt something had to be done about distrust between the race groups.

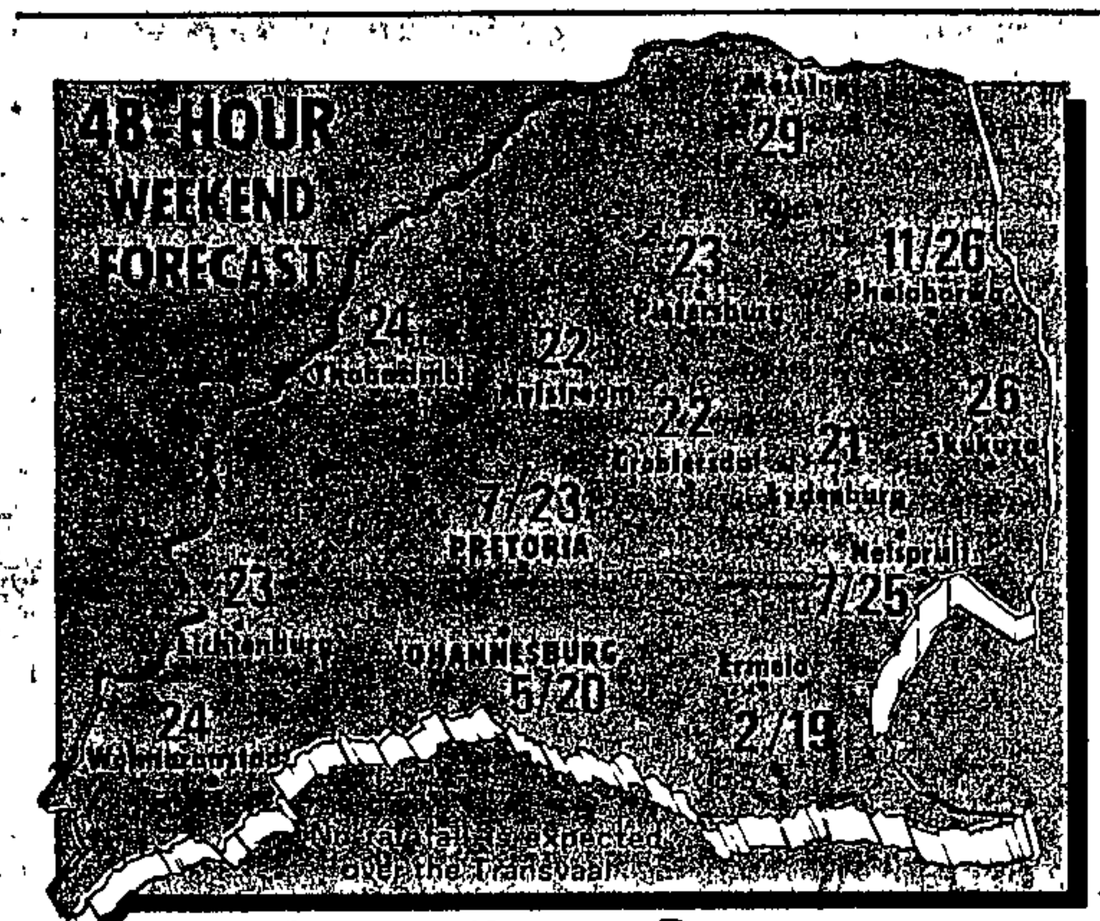
They began by asking all South Africans to say a prayer at 6.30 am each day.

They received so many calls from concerned women that they decided to form a "link" group to work with other organisations to get down to "grass roots" and start solving problems.

The Women for Peace group has recently sent out a questionnaire to all residents of Daveyton, Alexandra and Soweto to find out how the residents feel about what is going on in the townships.

The results of the survey will be known at the end of August.

Their Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC) is continuing its work to help communities under the threat of removal.



Spring keeps its cool

The weather is still not committing itself to summer and is being very lukewarm about the whole issue, with the Weather Bureau in Pretoria predicting a maximum temperature for Johannesburg of 20 deg C.

Pretoria does slightly better with a maximum temperature of 23, but has a chilly minimum temperature of 7 — two higher than Johannesburg's 5 deg C.

So, it's definitely one of those days to postpone getting up and laze about in bed until the day warms up.

The weather bureau has predicted, however, that it will be a clear and sunny day. So if you are one of those people with a sheltered garden or sunroom, you may survive the rigours of a dying Highveld winter.

Or if such a lazy day does not appeal to you, make the trip to Pretoria in the afternoon to watch the Blue Bulls play their best rugby against Orange Free State at Loftus Versfeld.

Prisons Service mum

23/8/86

STAR

The Prisons Service would not comment yesterday when asked if charges would be brought against detainees teargassed at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl this week.

A spokesman confirmed that canisters of "Spray" teargas had been used at the prison on Tuesday to "restore order" when detainees refused to enter their section.

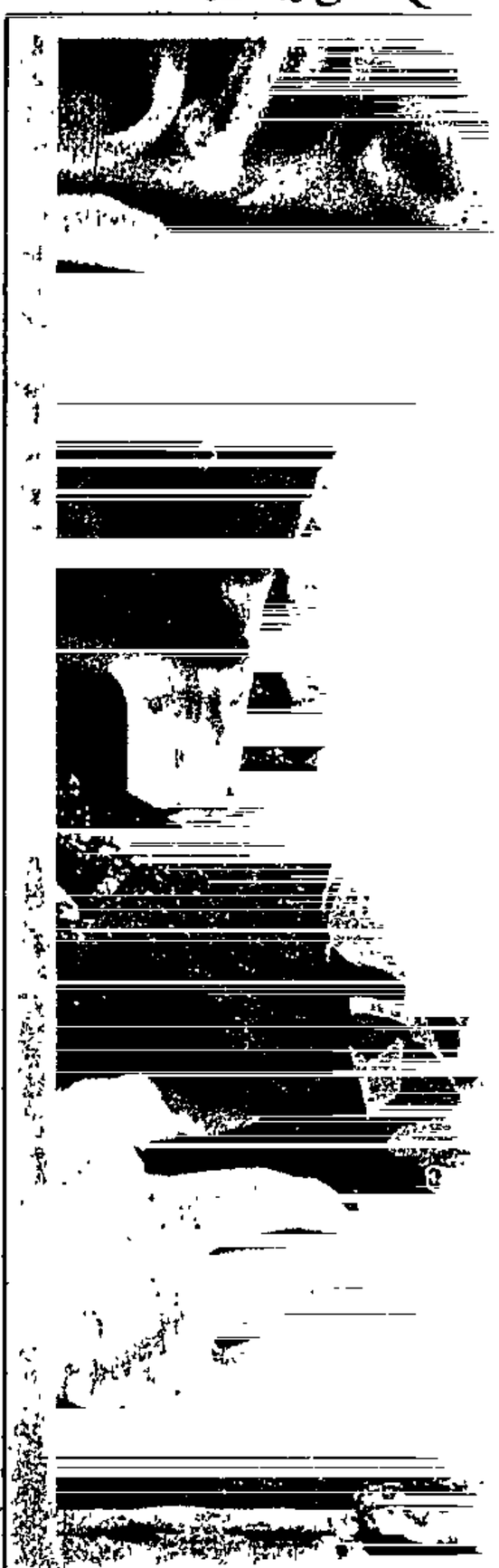
The spokesman rejected as false an allegation that detainees had been kicked and bruised.

No detainees were hurt, he said.

It is understood detainees gathered in the courtyard to protest to a senior officer about an alleged assault on a Mr Njonga.

The spokesman said an allegation that Mr Njonga had been seriously injured while being interrogated was being investigated.

Detainees contravening "rules" issued by the Minister of Justice in terms of emergency regulation 3(9) render themselves liable to "sanctions" such as corporal punishment, solitary confinement and no meals. — Sapa.



33? He's just clowning!

Celebrities got together yesterday to celebrate Francesco the Clown's "33rd" birthday at the Rosebank Fire Station. The party was held to promote the Forest Town Cerebral Palsy School's fete at Zoo Lake on September 6. This year the event is of special significance as it is the Year of the Disabled. Helping 74-year-old Francesco to blow out his candles are children from the school.

● Photograph: Rebecca Hearfield.

KEEPING OUR CRISIS IN PERSPECTIVE

SANCTIONS are finally here, and South Africans, watching the scramble of countries to stamp their own moral imprimatur on this beat-the-baddies campaign, can feel justifiably rattled.

The main question now: how do we, as a nation, react?

There is a tendency among white South Africans to lavish energy on unproductive pursuits. The hysterical denunciation of foreign double-standards in the sanctions debate is as good an example as any.

Yes, the bone-shuddering hypocrisy of many of those demanding sanctions is outrageous.

Some of them, after all, have even less regard for civil rights than we have with our 8 500 political detainees.

But anybody who seriously expected foreign heads of government to place our interests ahead of their own domestic political ones, is guilty of the gravest naivete.

The point, the crucial point, is *our* response to isolation and whether we conduct ourselves with greater or lesser dignity.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha recently warned we must be prepared to suffer for what we believe.

He is right; no self-respecting nation — even one brought to this pretty pickle through the ineptness of its leaders in and out of government — can afford to simply capitulate before international blackmail.

But tied to Mr Botha's observation was another recent one by President Botha. He insisted, chillingly, it was time for the media to pick sides. This raises questions. What *do* we believe in? On whose side *should* we be ?

The independent Press, I would argue, knows precisely where it stands. For the past 36 years it has fought for civil liberties, an end to racial discrimination, deregulation of the economy and our private lives, a control on State spending and an open-handed approach to our neighbours.

It has defended these things so vigorously, in fact, that it switched off large numbers of complacent white South Africans and courted severe retribution from a government not amenable to criticism.

During this time the Press undoubtedly made mistakes, sometimes got it wrong and occasionally, I admit, slipped in the ethics stakes.

But its errors were as nothing compared to the massive, fundamental and ongoing mistakes the South African Government has made during the past 36 years in its policies — from rural development to the handling of human relations.

Urgent

"I told you so," are the four cheapest words in the English language, and are used mercifully rarely in South Africa. But that hardly eases the Government's discomfort.

It is hard to be proved so decisively wrong, to have to measure one's forward momentum by the rapidity of one's reverse gear. For that, at least, we must have sympathy with the National Party.

The real issue is where does President Botha stand, and in the wake of the National Party's federal congress it becomes even more urgent that it be answered.

The responsibility lies with the President and all South Africans to turn what is held to be a truism on its head and prove that decorum and rationality can survive in isolation.

Simon Jenkins, a thoughtful British journalist, observed in these pages recently that the real danger of the sanctions initiative is not so much economic but political; such pressures turn unsophisticated governments into unreasonable ones.

Corruption

Under these pressures, then, such a besieged government will use the excuse to indulge in the most offensive of actions; detaining people without trial, repressing the Press, forbidding political association and circumventing the courts.

The tougher the pressure, the more inclined will such a government become towards corrupting its powers.

To justify itself it will resort to the most intellectually dishonest ways of whipping up public support: it will become even more belligerent in its attitudes to neighbours and to dissidents within its borders — all this defended by the excuse that the public good demands it.

Eventually, like tinpot dictatorships everywhere, such a government becomes totally confused between means and ends, all this culminating in the ludicrous rationale classically framed by the American officer in Vietnam who reported that to save the village he had to destroy it.

The only thing, I believe, standing in the way of such a burlesque end to a nation's aspirations to civilised standards is public opinion.

That is why, more than ever, patriots must carefully examine their values and commit themselves to defending them; they must ask now and continuously where *President Botha* chooses to stand.

There are perhaps three rule-of-thumb principles South Africans should adopt in trying to keep an even keel on the undoubtedly grim times international isolation and Government reaction will impose on us.

Challenge

First, in the words of probably the greatest political sage of all times, between the cock-up theory of history and the conspiracy theory, the cock-up theory wins hands down.

South Africans should not expect this, or indeed any government, to be able to lay out foolproof plans for future utopias.

Pretoria takes decisions not fully aware of the consequences. It then reacts to those consequences, sometimes intelligently, often not, and by such push-and-shove does the country stumble its way forward trying, but never attaining, an end "solution".

The challenge to the public is, at each point, to evaluate the Government's sense of tactics; judge them by a checklist of good, bad and meaningless decisions.

Second, it is pointless getting involved in the game of comparative morality.

They tried that in Lebanon where the various militia kept accusing each other of being guilty of the most terrible atrocities while doing the same themselves until the world got bored and ended up praying they would all just get on with putting each other away.

Violence

What is happening in this country is simple: one group, predominantly white, have the power and is seeking allies to help keep it. Another group, predominantly black, is searching for allies to help wrestle that power away.

The first group believes it is doing a good job of running the country (blacks, pointing to the poverty and violence in their townships, would dispute this), while the second group insists it can do better (whites, pointing to the economic chaos wrought by African socialism in the rest of the continent, reject this).

In this power game both sides, when pushed, are capable of limitless brutality.

Our public indignation must thus be reserved for *specific* outrages whether they be car-bombings or the gunning down of unarmed protesters — not wholesale condemnation of organisations, parties and groups.

Third, following from the second, the debate among well-meaning South Africans must now shift from personalities and parties to principles; move away from hanging labels around people's necks and get down to understanding the basic principles motivating adversaries.

Inevitable

In other words, the important point is not whether P W Botha or Nelson Mandela sits in the west wing of the Union Building, but the values by which they rule the country.

These values, acceptable values, can only be the product of negotiation — negotiation *within* the framework of a ceasefire. That, inevitably, includes the African National Congress.

This attempt at negotiation may, of course, fail.

The consequences?

Hardly worse than the slow drift towards isolation and totalitarianism, on the one side, and increased terrorism on the other, which threatens to become our lot.

Besides, a unique opportunity to turn the sanctions table may arise. If foreign powers are so insistent on their right to punish us for being bad, are they not equally obliged to reward us for being good?

Like agreeing to underwrite the negotiated, basic, democratic principles of a new South Africa — with the threat of an instant reimposition of sanctions should any future government abrogate them.

The Good Government Checklist!

By BRIAN POTTINGER

Whites approve end to influx control

25/8/86 Bus Day 304A

MICK COLLINS

TWO out of three whites say SA will benefit from the recent scrapping of influx control laws.

A Gallup Poll conducted among 1 000 whites in the main metropolitan areas by Markinor shows that 79% of English-speakers and 59% of Afrikaners approve the abolition of influx control.

Only 12% and 24% respectively believe the move will harm the country.

Support for the abolition is greatest among the more affluent and better educated. It ranges from 79% for those with a household monthly income of more than R3 500 to 59% for those earning less than R1 250.

Among university graduates, 82% favour the move. This compares with 70% of those with standards 9 or 10 and 54% of those with Standard 8 and below.

As a result of the change in legislation, many rural blacks are expected to move to cities in search of jobs — jobs which at present do not exist.

Urban whites differ widely in their opinions as to where the responsibility for job creation lies, and most mentioned more than one option.

Sixty-seven percent say the responsibility rests with government, 52% believe it is the responsibility of business organisations, 46% say it is up to blacks themselves, while 17% look to foreign governments to take up the challenge.

4 PFP members held in E Cape

FOUR black members of the Progressive Federal Party — including a local branch chairman — were detained in the Eastern Cape, the PFP's secretary-general, Mr Robin Carlisle, said yesterday.

The detentions were confirmed in the list of detainees released by the Ministry of Law and Order last week.

Speaking at a press conference after a meeting of the PFP's federal council, Mr Carlisle said the four men detained were Mr Bennie Moyakhe, the 73-year-old chairman of the Tuba Branch of the party outside East London, Mr M Mkohlakili, Mr L G Lobi, of De Aar, and Mr C J Fuzile, of Duncan Village.

An application would be brought, probably in the next few days, in the Grahamstown division of the Supreme Court for their release.

Mr Carlisle said Mr Moyakhe was in very poor health and was being held at Fort Glanmorgan.

All representations made by senior party MPs had met with no success, and the party had been told that the men would not be released. — Sapa

PFP 'plans and vision'

Cape Times 25/8/86

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin at the weekend said the party was in better shape and was better equipped to play a vital role in the politics of the country than it had been at any time since the old Progressive Party was formed in 1959.

Addressing the Federal Council of the Progressive Federal Party, he said the PFP had demonstrated by its actions the vital role which a vigorous, determined and concerned parliamentary opposition could play in a troubled South Africa.

The management team had been overhauled and strengthened, and the party's strategy had been analysed and defined.

Mr Eglin described the National Party's federal congress in Durban as "utterly distressing" and said the party's leadership had swung sharply to the right.

In addition, its poor performance in last week's censure debate showed that the government has lost its thrust, cohesion and direction.

It was obvious that the NP had no plans for the present and no vision for the future.

The PFP had the plans and the vision and it was up to the party to present them with greater skill and vigour than in the past, Mr Eglin said.

With the National Party more and more divided and voters more concerned, the PFP had to be more than purely a catalyst for change.

The party had to provide a rallying point for all voters who wanted to see a peaceful and apartheid-free South Africa.

The work done by the party in the past seven months would prove to be of vital value. — Sapa

PFP plan to double number of seats

Cape Times 25/8/86

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party has launched an ambitious new drive to double its parliamentary representation to 50 MPs by the next general election — and then to oust the National Party government.

Details of the multi-million-rand plan were unveiled by senior party members at a press conference last night following a two-day strategy session of the PFP's 60-member federal council, the party's highest policy-making body.

The chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said the party had decided to shift its approach fundamentally, "away from just being an effective opposition to that of a winning party thrusting for power".

Disgruntled

A substantial boost in the number of MPs would set the stage for a wave of defections to the PFP from disgruntled right-wing MPs, who would see an enlarged PFP as a viable alternative government, party strategists believe.

Mr Andrew said optimism about a dramatic electoral breakthough for the PFP was justified by months of painstaking research which showed that "hundreds of thousands of voters" supported PFP policies but did not regard themselves as party backers.

'Coherence'

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said research indicated that NP supporters were split "right across the board" in their attitudes towards crucial policy issues, whereas the PFP enjoyed a far greater "coherence of support".

"The outstanding features uncovered by research are the potential for growth of the PFP and the potential for fragmentation within the NP.

"The NP is under great pressure at the moment and is not kept together by ideological compatibility but by the fact of being in power," he said.

Mr Eglin said the NP's recent federal congress had "done nothing" to strengthen party cohesion and MPs had left the congress more divided than when they arrived.

Mr Andrew noted. "We are approached weekly — if not daily — by prominent Nats who are not happy and we believe that this presents a very attractive opportunity."

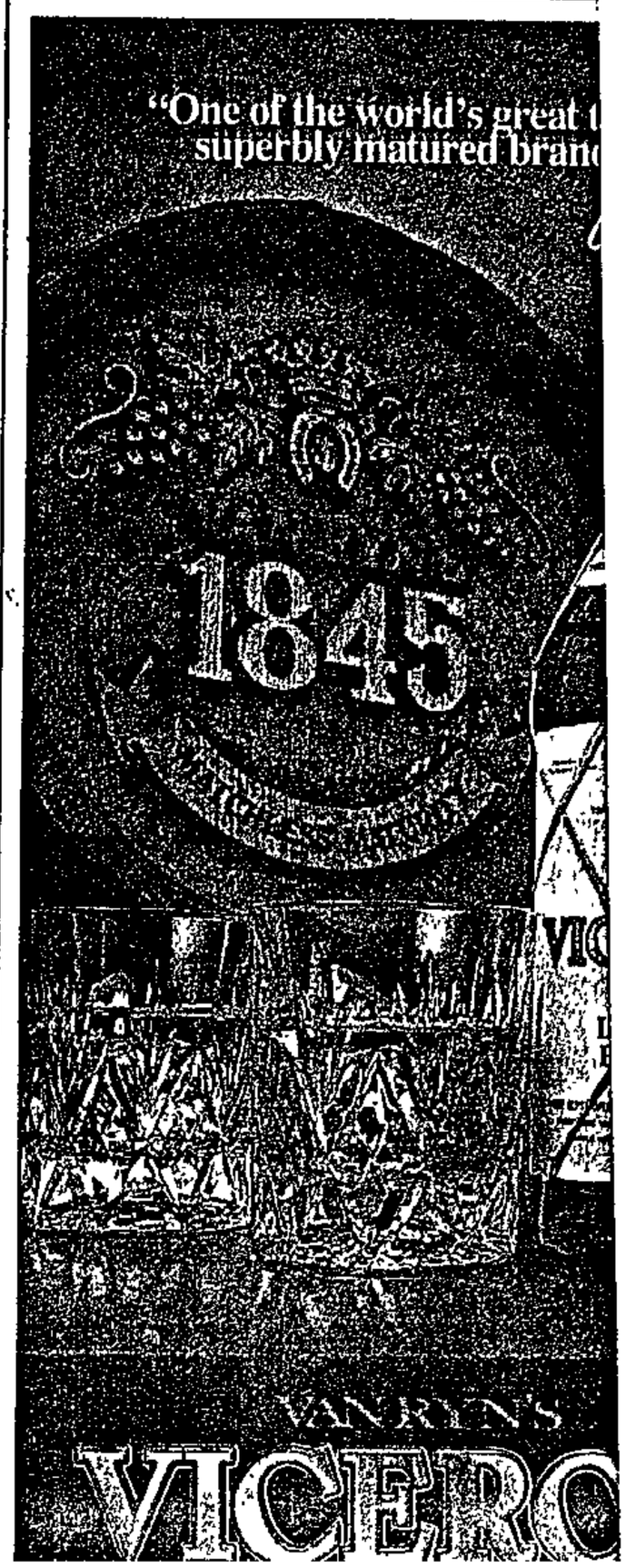
Mr Andrew said an important component of the party's latest compaign — the product of six months of research and planning — would be to promote greater contacts between the party and the voteless.

It was important for the PFP to continue building up "trust and credibility" in disenfranchised communities, as this would be invaluable when the party went to the negotiating table "as an integral part of the new power situation".

Mr Andrew said the party did not believe a general election would be held "in the next few months" but the PFP was "moving up a gear" in its preparations for a poll.

He dismissed suggestions that the Conservative Party might become the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly, saying the "extreme right wing" posed more of a threat in the civil service and security forces than in "white electoral terms".

● 4 PFP members held in E Cape, page 2



Not enough time left for legislation

Multiracial council Bill 'in trouble'

304A

STAR 26/8/86

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

There is every indication that the Government's vaunted National Council concept will not get off the ground until at least next year — if at all.

This is in spite of President Botha's statement in Parliament on April 17 that it is his wish that the Bill to establish the council be passed before the end of this extended session.

The proposed National Council is supposed to bring blacks into the decision-making process at the highest level of government, while also providing a formal mechanism for the country's various leaders to negotiate a new constitution.

With only four or five weeks of the session to go, the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning has yet to submit the Bill to Parliament.

Even if submitted within the next few days, it is unlikely to be dealt with before the end of the session.

President Botha said recently that there has been an overwhelming response to the Bill.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis said two weeks ago that follow-up discussions on the Bill and related aspects were in progress.

A senior source in his department said today the Bill confirmed the necessity for negotiations on steps which affect all population groups, and the Government's commitment not to impose them unilaterally.

'Off the rails'

He added that the Government was not prepared to cut short this discussion, which is to the advantage of both the black people and the Government.

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said today it would be surprising if Parliament could pass the Bill before the end of the session.

"It looks as if the original intention to set up the council this year has gone off the rails. But then, it appeared to me even before the National Party federal congress that it was running into trouble.

"Now that the Nats have committed themselves to an apartheid constitutional structure, it is going to be even more difficult — if not impossible — to get representative black leaders to the negotiating table."

Cape Times 26/8/86

Govt 'policies failed to cope'

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Government policies had failed to cope with the realities of an industrializing, multi-racial economy and society, Mr J H Steyn, executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, said last night.

In an address to the Urban Foundation's annual regional report-back meeting in Bloemfontein, Mr Steyn said that for reform to be effective it had to be accompanied by development policies which offered "products that dynamically affect the lives of people through participatory projects and programmes".

He said those committed to a more just and democratic society in South Africa faced three options: They could support violent change, they could cling to the policies of the past and attempt to maintain the status quo, or they could promote a "planned and rapid process of change".

Mr Steyn said the Urban Foundation was clear on where it stood. It believed that rapid, purposeful reform was the only way that this society will achieve the kind of transformation necessary to restore real and lasting peace in South Africa.

The Urban Foundation, however, totally rejected the idea that the end justifies the means.

The way in which people conducted their lives, engaged in political activity and established inter-racial allegiances today will influence the kind of society to which South Africa was moving.

"We believe that the manner in which South Africa does change, the kinds of experience of emerging leaders, the levels of developmental activity, the state of the economy and the values upheld in the process of transition will greatly affect the nature of the future society and the degree of conflict that may accompany its formation," he said.

Mr Steyn said reform was a word that had become widely discredited, not because the concept was invalid, but because it had been misused.

'Cost'

"Fundamental reform can have transformative consequences as great as those of any bloody revolution, but without the appalling cost or incalculable risk.

"If accompanied by developmental activity seen to deliver products that dynamically affect the lives of people through participatory projects and programmes, the process can demonstrate the integrity of its purpose and thus sustain its momentum," he said.

Mr Steyn said the government had committed itself to a process of reform that had resulted in three positive changes in the last six months — the repeal of influx control, the granting of freehold title in urban areas to blacks and the granting of South African citizenship to some blacks.

Recession

But these had been overshadowed by mounting economic recession and intensified political violence that had culminated in a resumption of the state of emergency, growing international pressure and resurgent right-wing extremism.

Mr Steyn said many whites feared the multi-racial composition of South Africa. But for him this was a unique opportunity that had been unused for too long because of prejudice and fear.

"The writing is not on the wall for South Africa. It is on the wall for apartheid and white domination of our political system," he said. — Sapa

NPP claim of CP 'threat' to be probed

Cape Times 26/8/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The House yesterday agreed to appoint a select committee to investigate published allegations by Mr Boetie Abramjee (NPP Laudium) that he had been threatened by a CP MP from Pretoria about a speech he had made.

The alleged breach of privilege by the House of Delegates MP will be investigated by a joint committee of all three Houses of Parliament.

In moving that a select committee be appointed, Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan) argued that if it were found that Mr Abramjee had indeed been threatened, action would have to be taken against the MP responsible.

However, if it were found that he had not been threatened (by one of the three CP MPs from Pretoria), then the House would have to take action regarding the publicising of a false allegation.

Mr Le Roux said Mr Abramjee had been quoted in reports in the Sunday Times and Beeld as saying he had received a number of threats — including death threats — since delivering a speech asking the government to take action against white right-wing parties.

Mr Abramjee had been quoted as saying that a CP MP from Pretoria had warned him to stay out of white politics.

The PFP's chief whip, Mr Brian Bamford, described the matter as a "storm in a teacup" and cautioned that parliamentarians "should be careful that we are not landing ourselves in a personal vendetta".

Rather than involving the already overburdened parliamentary secretariat in a time-consuming investigation, the matter would best be resolved by the three CP MPs from Pretoria and Mr Abramjee meeting with the Speaker, Mr Johann Greeff.

Politics was a hard game and politicians should be careful not to develop "thin skins" or become oversentitive to such matters, Mr Bamford said.

Mr Brian Page (NRP Umhlanga) said Parliament could not allow threats to be made on its premises. A select committee would help to "clear the air once and for all", he said.

The Leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said the government had nothing to hide. He did not think a long investigation would be necessary.

Replying to the debate, Mr Le Roux assured the House that the CP harboured no personal vendetta against Mr Abramjee.

The motion was approved with only the PFP voting against it.

Question on SADF 'report' on SAP

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — A further question on an alleged report on the conduct of SAP members in Eastern Cape townships has been tabled by Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point).

The question, scheduled to be answered on September 9, asks the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, whether SADF personnel had compiled a report on the conduct of SAP members.

If this is the case, Mr Van der Merwe wishes to know the rank and position of each member of the investigating team, what matters were investigated and what the results were of the investigation.

Three other questions on the existence of the report are due to be answered on September 2.

Another "unrest" question has been directed by the MP for Albany, Mr E K Moorcroft, to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, as to whether an inquest has been held into the alleged shooting of people by police at a church in Mlungisi, Queenstown, in November.

Cape Times 26/8/86 304A

'Mistake to share out wealth through tax'

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Assistant Financial Editor

IN SPITE of any constitutional safeguards, the chief executive of Assocom, Raymond Parsons, believes that as long as a central government can impose what taxes it sees fit minority groups will be threatened by "confiscatory levels of taxation.

"Introducing, for example, very high levels of taxation on particular business sectors — whether in mining, industry or commerce — could for all practical purposes become a close substitute for nationalizing such businesses."

Structure

He suggested that the best way to avoid this would be to build up a governmental structure made up of "a substantial number of autonomous, representative jurisdictions at local and provincial/state level joined into one at the national level."

To preserve their genuine independence, "each geographical level of government should in the main have its own sources of revenue and be independent of transfers from other authorities."

Parsons made these points in a speech at the weekend — the day after visiting Cape Town for talks with the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis.

This might give added significance to his remarks, at the opening of the Transvaal Association of Management Committees' local government and housing conference.

He said that the division of tax sources among the different levels of local government "will be a major issue in negotiation about an appropriate constitutional structure acceptable to all parties".

There was "much evidence in support of the proposition that the best means of redistributing income and wealth was to open employment opportunities and job advancement to all, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.

"In turn, the best creator of jobs is rapid economic growth, which, according to World Bank studies, can best be promoted in relatively low tax countries."

Pressure

Parsons warned that it was likely that strong pressure to redistribute income and wealth through the tax system would "emerge in negotiations about the political future of the country".

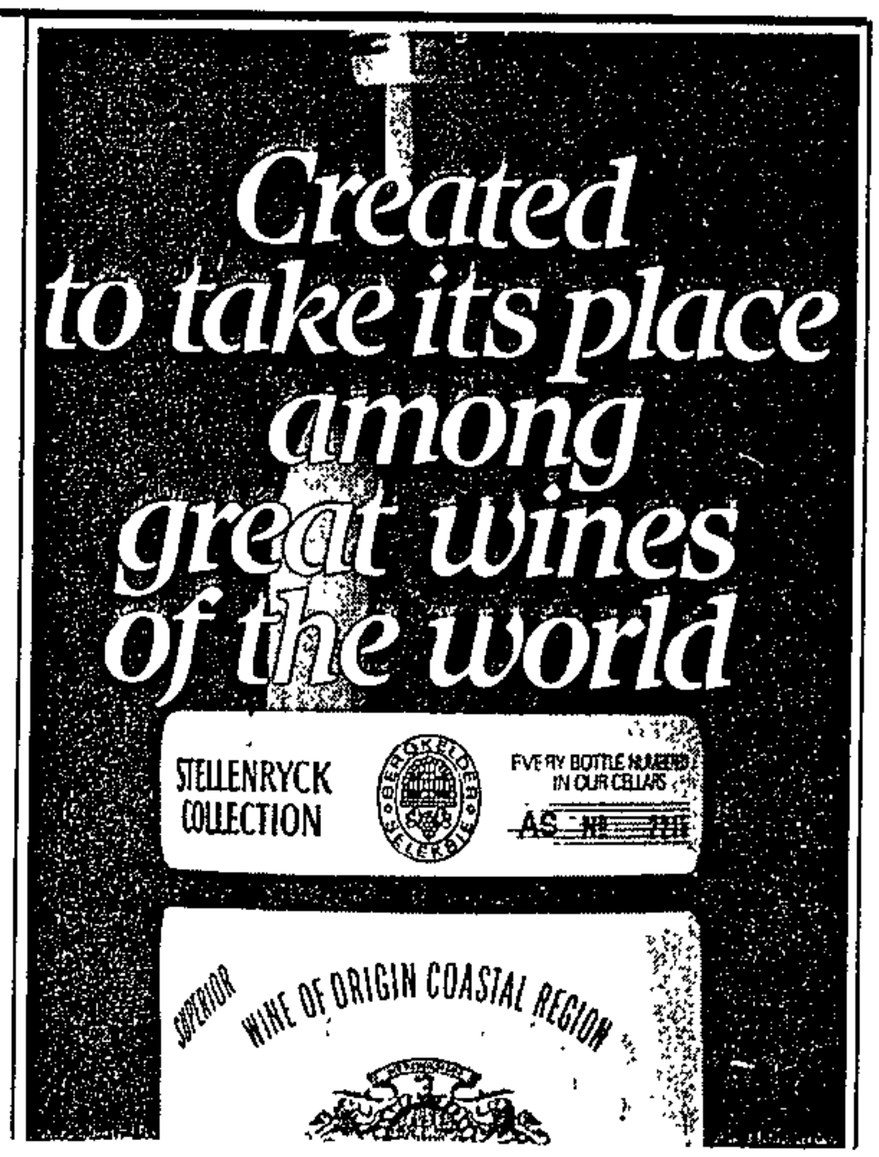
But, he said, if political power — inside or outside the constitution — were used to coerce distribution, "the end result will be a serious deterioration of the productivity and stability of the whole economy."

This "would hardly constitute a very effective way of dealing with the poverty problem.

"If a society does not wish to lose such impressive producing power, it is up to its members to natotiate ways and means of sharing the fruits thereof in a generally acceptable manner."

Parsons said the task facing SA, at national and local level, was "to see to it that the best possible compromise is negotiated between our ultimate aims and our practical means for achieving them."

D W J van Vuuren has been promoted to secretary of Federale Volksbeleggings.



NKBB 26/6/86 (3044)

'Negotiations' put brake on National Council plan

Political Staff

THERE is every indication that the Government's proposed National Council will not get off the ground until next year at the earliest — if it does at all.

This is in spite of President Botha's statement in Parliament on April 17 that it was his wish that the Bill establishing the council be passed before the end of this year's extended session.

The National Council is meant to bring blacks into the decision-making process at the highest level of government while also providing a formal mechanism for the country's leaders to negotiate a new constitution.

With only four or five weeks of the session to go, the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning has still to submit the National Council Bill to Parliament.

Even if the Bill is submitted within the next few days, it is considered highly unlikely it would be dealt with by the Joint Standing Committee on Constitutional Development and all three Houses of Parliament before the end of the session.

Follow-up

President Botha said recently there had been an "overwhelming response" to the Bill which was published for public comment in June.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Heunis, said two weeks ago follow-up discussions on the Bill and related aspects were in progress.

The Government had an "irrevocable commitment" not to impose such steps unilaterally, said a senior source.

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said today it would be surprising if Parliament could pass the National Council Bill before the end of the session, even if the legislation was submitted immediately.

"It seems the original intention to set up the council this year has gone off the rails," he said.

"But then it appeared to me even before the National Party federal congress that it was running into trouble."

26/8/86 BUS DAY. 304A

Why is big business forsaking reform to crusade on sanctions?

STANLEY UYS in London

THE SILENCE which has descended over the business community in SA on the subject of apartheid reform is deafening, even here in Britain.

Everyone understands that with the approach of sanctions it is every man for himself. Survival, not deputations to President Botha's office to press the case for reform, is the name of the game.

It is also accepted here that business leaders had exhausted their powers of persuasion with President Botha: that they saw no point in pursuing any further the direct representations they were making to a man who perceived only a tenuous connection between politics and economics.

But the issues that were at stake when the business community first went to see President Botha are still at stake today. A patriotic crusade to bust sanctions is no substitute for political reform.

A keen eye is being kept on SA's business community from Western Europe these days by anti-apartheid organisations, governments, business colleagues and so forth, and what they perceive is not encouraging.

In the boardrooms of SA companies, or so it seems from here, the preoccupation these days is not with apartheid reform, charters of human rights or ringing declarations on the indissolubility of the SA polity, but with contingency plans to beat sanctions — finding new markets, opening up new incoming and outgoing routes and recruiting friendly sanctions-busters, with their contacts, computers and commissions, to prepare SA for the Great Siege.

In a way, it is the end of a chapter, with seasoned business leaders, who had become wedded to the idea of political reform, being overtaken by a generation of more aggressive men concerned mainly with economic survival.

For all the contumely that has been heaped on the heads of SA business leaders, it has been an honourable chapter for them. In the two years that have passed since the outbreak of black unrest in September 1984, businessmen, particularly at the upper levels, have been a purposeful force for real change.

The SA Federated Chamber of Industries' "Business Charter of Social, Economic and Political Rights" is only one example. For conservative businessmen to go as far as they did in that document shows a perception of the urgency of SA's race problem that is quite remarkable.

This honourable record, surely, cannot simply be abandoned now. Survival against sanctions is a priority with businessmen, but is it a greater priority than negotiating a political future?

The trouble with the Great Siege is that it will generate its own patriotism in which economic survival will take precedence over political survival — putting the cart before the horse. In fact, advocacy of political reform could become increasingly unpatriotic. Botha will use the sanctions issue to whip everyone into line who is being impatient over reform.

There is another problem with the Great Siege: it is short-term, whereas what white SA needs is long-term survival, not only against sanctions but pre-eminently in its relationship with its own black population.

Pretoria's present strategy is based on two huge fallacies. One is that through the application of maximum force — emergency rule — it can, in the black community, eliminate the baddies and bring in the goodies.

This "final solution" approach was tried in 1960, after the Sharpeville disturbances, and failed; and it was tried again in 1976, after the Soweto uprising, and it failed again.

It will fail for a third time, because the black struggle has crossed a threshold from which there is no turning back. Mass detentions will throw the struggle into temporary disarray, but then it will re-emerge in a more professional form.

Already, a term has been coined to describe this process — the professionalisation of the black struggle. If mass protest in the townships is suppressed, targetting will become more selective, and inevitably soft targets — civilians in supermarkets, etc — will be included.

Attacks on homeland structures and on white residential areas, industrial sabotage, armed shootouts with the security forces, trade union action — this is the form professionalisation will take.

The emergency, therefore, with its saturation security coverage, is a gamble which must necessarily fail.

The other gamble Pretoria is taking is to meet sanctions in full frontal confrontation. Sanctions are being positively invited.

The strategy is clear: it is to bring the sanctions issue to a head sooner rather than later — to demonstrate to the international community now that sanctions will not work. The longer SA delays this confrontation (according to what passes for expert opinion in Pretoria these days) the weaker will be the economic base from which to launch it.

The style of this confrontation is pure bravado. Throughout history nations have gone into wars inspired by glorification of the approaching conflict. Normally rational people surrender reason — they breakfast on cliches, lunch on platitudes and dine on dreams. Then comes the reckoning.

Pretoria's politicians are on a "high" now telling the world to go to hell. With our stockpiles and sanctions-busting, they say, SA can last forever. Confrontation is being encouraged, as if there is going to be one glorious battle which will decide everything.

There is not going to be any such decisive battle. Sanctions is a war of attrition. The intention is to wear the SA economy down until it collapses with fatigue. If Pretoria is looking for a High Noon shootout, it is not going to get it.

Zimbabwe is also inviting escalation, so someone must have it wrong. Who — Pretoria or Harare? Faced with a spiral of retaliation and counter-retaliation in Southern Africa, will the sanctions campaigners back off, as Pretoria hopes they will, or will they intensify the pressures, as Harare hopes they will?

It is Pretoria that has miscalculated. The gamble will not come off.

The whole idea of the international community being overawed by what it is unleashing in Southern Africa and, chastened, withdrawing from sanctions, is wishful thinking.

There is a final point businessmen might bear in mind. One of the original purposes of their demand for reform was to distance business from apartheid — to persuade increasingly socialist-minded young blacks that apartheid was not the handmaiden of capitalism, or vice versa. Will this case go by default now?

If the business community decides that the priority now is sanctions-busting, and that the case for apartheid reform must take second place, then it must understand that the young socialists who are multiplying in the townships and the sanctions campaigners who are multiplying overseas, will judge them accordingly.

ARGUS 27/8/86 3644

INTERNATIONAL

Stay in SA, Relly urges businessmen

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly today urged foreign businessmen to take the "hard road" and stick it out in South Africa.

He has also appealed to South African businessmen to "engage black political groups in a dialogue about the economic future".

In a half-page extract from Foreign Policy magazine, Mr Relly writes in The Times that South African business "is rapidly adapting, planning and mobilising" to take part in the future South Africa.

Inadequate

He says South African business knows that its resources, even when combined with the economic forces liberated by the abolition of apartheid, will be inadequate to the challenge.

"The British and American counterparts of the South African executives face an awesome responsibility.

"Faced with lean times and a host of pressures, they are attracted to the easy option of withdrawal.

"Greater participation in South Africa and the structural reform initiatives proposed by South African business are much harder roads to walk.

ANC Charter

He warns: "South Africa can preserve its mining and manufacturing base only if it remains within the Western-dominated international economic system."

He says the ANC's Freedom Charter, "admirable in many respects", is "vague and woolly on economic matters".

For this reason, businessmen should engage black political groups in a dialogue on the country's economic future.

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Apartheid cost SA R56bn last year

BUS DAY. 28/8/86. 304A

Own Correspondent

APARTHEID cost SA more than R56bn in lost income last year and about 12c in every rand spent by the State went towards maintaining segregation, Professor Michael Savage said in Cape Town last night.

Savage said in his inaugural lecture at Cape Town University that those figures were based on "extremely" conservative estimates and they indicated that between 10% and 21% of the annual budget was devoted to financing the machinery of apartheid.

He said the political system had given birth to three Houses of Parliament and the President's Council, with 1 720 members.

It had also resulted in 121 ministers of government and at least 21 deputy ministers — and had spawned 151 government departments.

Savage said between 1980 and 1986, the cost of Parliament, including the tricameral system and the President's Council, had risen by 140%.

He said: "While no State can function without legislative bodies, their proliferation, founded on apartheid doctrines, exacts massive economic and political expenses."

A low estimate of the direct annual cost of apartheid amounted to R2,8bn, a medium estimate to R3,9bn and a high estimate to R5,7bn.

PW gains 20% rise in nods from SA whites

28/8/86. 304A

Business Day Reporter

TWO out of three whites in all the major centres believe President P W Botha is doing a good job, says an Omnicheck poll by Research Surveys.

The figure represents a 20% increase in approval of Botha's leadership since a similar poll was conducted last year.

Director of Research Surveys Henry Barenblatt says 809 white women and 500 men were questioned at the height of pressure brought on SA by the publication of the Eminent Persons Group report and British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit.

In February 1985, 54% of the whites responded positively to the question: "Do you think PW is doing a good job as State President". This year, 67% responded positively to the question.

The jump in approval by English speakers was from 55% previously to 68% and from 56% to 65% among Afrikaans speakers.

Regionally, the most impressive gain was in Durban, where the "yes" changed from 62% last year to 74%.

'Apartheid has squandered R56 000m'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

APARTHEID cost South Africa more than R56 000 million in lost income last year and about 12 cents in every rand spent by the State went towards maintaining segregation, Professor Michael Savage of the University of Cape Town said last night.

These shocking estimates were based on "extremely" conservative estimates and they indicate that between ten and 21 percent of the annual budget is devoted to financing the machinery of apartheid.

Professor Savage, who delivered his inaugural lecture at UCT last night, said the South African political system had given birth to 13 houses of parliament and the President's Council, with 1 720 members.

It had also resulted in 121 ministers of government and at least 21 deputy ministers and had spawned 151 government departments.

Between 1980 and 1986, the cost of Parliament, including the tricameral system and the President's Council, had risen by 140 percent, he said.

"The economic cost of running 151 departments, each having separate managerial and administrative staff, separate budgets, separate accounting procedures and often providing duplicated facilities and services is difficult to probe."

He said the government's decentralization programme had cost R776,5 million to operate in 1985/6.

"This again is a conservative estimate, not taking into full account the cost of the 26 government departments, development corporations and para-statals involved in running the programme; nor the large capital costs involved in its operation."

Professor Savage said: "It would seem reasonable to conclude that some 12 cents out of every rand spent by the State in 1985/6 was directed toward maintaining and enforcing segregation, in imposing apartheid programmes, and on policing and guarding the system."

A low estimate of the direct annual cost of apartheid amounted to R2 800 million, a medium estimate to R3 900 million and a high estimate to R5 700 million.

"It must also be stressed that they refer to direct expenditure in one year only and include neither past capital costs of items such as buildings, vehicles, and so on, nor to any of the economic costs born by individuals and non-State bodies in having to operate under the apartheid system."

He said R8 000 million had been lost in economic growth and R56 000 million had been lost in gross national product in 1985 "as a consequence of the apartheid policy".

This provided indications of the enormous economic losses that South Africa faced because of the policy and amounted to "a squandering of the resources of this nation".

● Apartheid is bleeding SA, page 8

Live together or die together, says Rupert

Finance Editor ARGUS 28/8/86

DR ANTON Rupert, chairman of the Rembrandt Group, today called on the people of Southern Africa to strive for co-existence.

"The sober truth is we are going to live together or die together," he said.

"The consequence of South Africa's continual inability to communicate its good intentions is the imposition of cynical sanctions — now even being propagated by some leaders of neighbouring states — which, in effect, amounts to hara-kiri in this part of the world," said Dr Rupert.

"In this time of crisis I want to appeal to our 'spiritual-political leaders', like Professor Carel Boshoff, Dr Beyers Naude, Dr Allan Boesak and Bishop Desmond Tutu, to realise that today man has the ability to destroy himself and everything around him.

"Our 'spiritual-political leaders' should be able to make contact as fellow-believing Protestants. If this is not possible, we will bring about the destruction of our own part of the world in the name of Christianity."

● See Page 33.

28/8/86

Wassenaar advocates top-name think-tank

BUSDAY 30 4A

HAROLD FRIDJHON

AFRIKANER business doyen Andreas Wassenaar says confidence is at an all-time low because the country lacks economic leadership.

He adds that the business sector should make good this deficiency.

In an exclusive *Business Day*, interview, the outspoken former chairman and MD of Sanlam says President P W Botha is a strong political leader but lacks the abilities to give the economic leadership now needed.

Wassenaar adds that there is no one in government capable of giving that leadership, least of all the heads of State departments who at best are theoreticians without any real understanding of the business scene.

Drifting without a positive economic policy in the present critical situation, particularly with all the threats and talk about sanctions, could be disastrous.

"It's no use leaving it to Pretoria," says Wassenaar.

"That won't get us anywhere. Business leaders must take the initiative.

"People like Anglo's (Gavin) Relly, Anglovaal's (Basil) Hersov, Barlow-Rand's (Mike) Rosholt should form a committee of their peers to examine what positive steps can be taken to get the economy moving and to resuscitate business and public confidence.

"This committee should not be too large, so it would not be bogged down in a maze of economic theory and pie-in-the-sky talk.

"There is no doubt that they would come up with an action programme, not vague speculation."

It should be a consensus plan, Wassenaar says. Not an Anglo plan nor a Barlow plan because politicians are always highly suspicious that most businessmen talk to their own books for their own long-term benefit.

At all times members of this businessmen's think-tank must stress that, whatever their proposals, they are the views of the committee, particularly when they present their programme to the President.

They must convince Botha of the feasibility of their ideas and try to persuade him they are acting in the best interests of the country.

"Botha does not take kindly to political criticism or interference. But he might be receptive to approaches made to him on straightforward business and economic grounds."

Wassenaar is dismissive of the Economic Advisory Council set up to counsel prime ministers and later the President on economic affairs. The council, as it was constituted, is no good at all, he says.

Meetings were days of debate between people of opposing views and philosophies and never came to any practical decisions.

The present council does not appear to be making any positive input towards resolving economic difficulties.

Wassenaar accepts that even the high-calibre committee, which he envisages, will probably not make much headway in cracking what is SA's most nagging economic problem: the unacceptably high rate of government expenditure which, he considers, is a major cause of the country's frighteningly high inflation rate.

He said that if the money being squandered on a top-heavy public service was diverted into industrial enterprises the country would be in a much sounder financial state.

The trouble, is that the governing party has been in power too long and, as a result, the camaraderie between government and public servants is too strong.

There is not a sufficiently objective appraisal of the people in the public service, of the work that they do and their pay and perks.

"Perhaps after all these years we need a change of government, followed by a streamlining of the public service," Wassenaar says.

ARGUS 28/8/86

304A

PARLIAMENT

No podium for me — Stofberg

Parliamentary Staff

THE lone Herstigte Nasionale Party MP, Mr Louis Stofberg, says he is not prepared to speak from a central podium for the proposed joint debates of the three Houses of Parliament.

In the House of Assembly he accused the Government of trying to destroy the traditional impact of parliamentary debates.

"I am not going to speak from a podium like a lay preacher," said Mr Stofberg.

The podium plan is among proposals from a joint meeting of parliamentary committees on standing rules and orders, debated and approved by the Assembly yesterday.

Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) said: "You want to silence us. That is why you want us to deliver a kind of lecture from a podium."

The leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport, said the podium was not intended to prejudice proceedings.

The idea had been considered in the light of technical problems related to acoustics, the loudspeaker and recording systems.

New constitution a success — Heunis

Parliamentary Staff

THE new constitution had proved to be a "tremendous success in promoting inter-group relations", the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, told Parliament.

It had shown itself as a "viable institution of government in a heterogeneous society", he said during yesterday's debate on joint sittings of Parliament.

Inter-group relations had been improved, Parliament had proved a "formidable" force for reform and consensus had been achieved on over 200 general Bills, while only four had been referred to the President's Council for arbitration.

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JOINT SITTINGS

Dispute over black Chamber

By PETER FABRICIUS
Parliamentary Staff

TWO senior Cabinet Ministers appear to have taken opposite standpoints on the issue of whether blacks will be accommodated in Parliament.

Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport, told the Assembly he thought blacks should not be represented.

Earlier the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, apparently made a remark implying he favoured the admission of blacks.

A question from Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, exposed the disagreement.

Conservative view

Dr Treurnicht said the Conservative Party's view was that there could not be two governments or two parliaments in the same country.

The Government, therefore, intended to bring blacks into the existing Parliament.

According to Dr Treurnicht, Mr Heunis had interjected at that point that the Conservative Party was 'stating the obvious'.

"Do you agree?" Dr Treurnicht asked Mr Schoeman.

"That is not my standpoint," said Mr Schoeman

Earlier Mr Schoeman and Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education, repeated the Government's view that there would be no fourth chamber of Parliament.

They were responding to constant taunts from the Conservative Party during debate on a recommendation that joint debates should be held among all three Houses of Parliament on certain Bills

Dr Andries Treurnicht

Mr Hendrik Schoeman

The Conservative Party said the new parliamentary chamber now being built would have 44 seats more than the total number of MPs in all three existing Houses. They suggested these would be for blacks.

Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) challenged Mr de Klerk to say if the Government was making provision for blacks in Parliament.

"It's nonsense"

"It's nonsense to say those 44 places will be for blacks," replied Mr de Klerk.

"Are you saying there will be another chamber for blacks?" asked Mr van der Merwe.

"There will not be a fourth chamber," said Mr de Klerk

Mr van der Merwe then taxed Mr Schoeman, who said there would not be a fourth chamber

"There will be no blacks in this chamber," he said, but refused to answer when Mr van der Merwe asked him if there would be blacks in the wider Parliament.

Greater conflict with all-race chamber — Hoon

JOINT debates in a multiracial chamber would lead to greater conflict between whites, coloured and Indians, Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman), said

Opposing the second report of the joint meeting of committees on standing rules and orders, Mr Hoon said yesterday the proposal was unacceptable

The Conservative Party would definitely not "crawl" to reach consensus with coloured and Indian members

The Progressive Federal Party's wish to have joint sittings of the three Houses was now being realised and it would not be long before blacks were allowed into Parliament

The situation was now being created, he said, where minority parties could force through legislation. — Sapa

Many debates separate

Parliamentary Staff

ALTHOUGH the Assembly has accepted the principle of joint debates with the other two houses of Parliament, many debates will still be held separately.

These will include no-confidence debates and debates on ordinary legislation, except in special cases.

The guidelines for joint debates are set out in recommendations of a joint meeting of the Committees on Standing Rules and Orders, which the Assembly accepted yesterday.

Joint debates will be mainly on the budget votes of ministers and the State President.

But the committee stages of the Transport Services Appropriation Bill and the Post Office Appropriation Bill will be debated separately because this is when mainly constituency problems are raised.

The report recommends that joint appropriation committees be created to sit simultaneously in any of the chambers.

Debates on ordinary legislation are likely to be held separately for the time being.

Assembly agrees to mixed debates

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Parliamentary Staff

THE principle of joint debates by the three Houses of Parliament has been accepted by the Assembly

The idea of racially-mixed debates was opposed by the right-wing parties.

The issue was raised during yesterday's debate on the second report of a joint meeting of parliamentary committees on standing rules and orders.

Committees of the three Houses had recommended that the principle of joint debates be accepted and that it be implemented after completion of the new chamber of Parliament in October next year.

It was also recommended that joint debates be held for only certain matters, including some budget votes such as the State President's vote

The leader of the Assembly, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport Affairs, moved that the recommendations be accepted

The Chief Opposition Whip, Mr Brian Bamford (PFP Groote Schuur), moved an amendment calling for acceptance of the principle of joint debates on all general affairs matters

The Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, said joint debates were not new

He said it was significant that debates now being held behind closed doors in the standing committees would be extended to the joint debating chamber of Parliament

However, there would not be a joint vote on matters debated at joint sittings.

Brian Page

Conservative Party speakers opposed the proposal for joint sittings on the grounds that this was a further step towards turning Parliament into a multiracial institution.

Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said the Government did not have a mandate from the white electorate for such a move

Mr Brian Page (NRP Umhlanga) said his party had consistently advocated representation in Parliament for all races, as well as joint debates.

Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP Sasolburg) accused the Government of breaking down the democratic system and of introducing "creeping integration".

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ARGUS 28/8/86 (304A)

'Apartheid cost R8 000-million in lost growth'

Education Reporter

TWELVE cents of every rand in last year's national Budget was spent on maintaining apartheid — and that's a conservative estimate, says University of Cape Town sociologist Professor Michael Savage.

Counting "the cost of apartheid" in his inaugural lecture at UCT last night, Professor Savage said he estimated South Africa's apartheid policies cost the country R8 000-million in lost economic growth in 1985 because of racial restraints on economic and human resources, loss of potential skills and lost investment.

It was impossible to accurately determine the economic or social costs of apartheid, but by studying budgets, auditors-general reports and consulting economic and social researchers he had arrived at some — mostly conservative — estimates of the direct costs of apartheid.

● The immediate costs of running three Houses of Parliament and 10 legislative assemblies (with 1 270 members, 121 ministers and 151 Government departments) was more than R49-million a year.

● The tricameral system had seen the cost of running Parliament rise by 140 percent in six years.

His figures excluded R20-million for extensions to the tricameral system, R6-million for refurbishing Tuynhuys and R2,5-million on houses for seven new Cabinet Ministers.

● Duplicated facilities (such as in health and education) provided by the 151 Government departments cost more than R130-million a year.

● There were "vast wasted costs" in maintaining a bureaucracy to implement, police and defend apartheid.

Pass laws had been abolished but more than 1 000 officials were still employed by former development boards at an estimated cost of R12,7-million.

The State spent an average of R6,7-million a year applying trespass laws.

● Operating the homelands policy cost an estimated R776,5-million in the 1985/86 financial year.

● R551-million of this was spent by the Department of Trade and Industry on decentralisation.

● More than R804-million had been spent on underpinning the homelands policy.

● Apartheid cost neighbouring states vast sums in war damage, sabotage, loss of exports and tourism.

Other costs — in terms of human suffering, humiliation and anger and lost economic and educational opportunities caused by apartheid — were impossible to measure.

GUST 28, 1986

CAPE TIMES 28/8/86 (304A)

Banker happy with current situation

By GORDON KLING
Financial Editor

MEMBERS of the South African-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry were yesterday advised that a dramatic improvement had occurred in the overall level of confidence in SA in the past few months.

In what must be the most simplistic business address attended by Business Report in some time, Finansbank executive chairman Piet Liebenberg also attempted to ridicule government critics, slandered the press, and implicitly praised the state of emergency.

Liebenberg also selectively quoted from a Business Day leader, giving a false impression of its reasoning.

The respectful audience actively pursued aspects of the unusual speech during a relatively lengthy question period.

This elicited the opinion, stated as fact, that SA was an oil exporter, and the view that the bank hoped to be in a position to buy businesses at bargain-basement prices thanks to mass disinvestment by US firms during the next six months.

Comparing what he regarded as the most important issues of ten months ago with today, Liebenberg said: "You will, no doubt, recall the amazing number of local people during the latter half of last year who were constantly telling the State President how to run the country.

"From the luxury of their armchairs they gave their well intended advice every day.

"At one stage I estimated that we probably had about 10m prospective State Presidents within our borders. The only difference between then and now is that we seem to have the same number, (or greater), of advisers from beyond our borders."

He believed confidence probably struck an all-time low in the week before last June 16.

"Some local and most, if not all, foreign media tried their utmost to create an impression of an inevitable 'peoples revolution' or at least a period of widespread and uncontrollable riots," he opined.

Apparently unaware, to be charitable, of the explosion on Tuesday night of new violence in Soweto which has reportedly claimed at least 12 lives, Liebenberg said firm steps taken by the authorities had resulted in a relatively quiet period since June 16.

"The direct outcome of these firm government actions is that the confidence factor made a dramatic improvement to date."

Liebenberg's eight-point agenda for business includes the advice to continue to develop, coordinate and cooperate, consider new political structures, and set an example.

During the question session he noted that all foreigners he had encouraged to visit SA had gone away with a different outlook on its problems.

He responded with stony silence to a suggestion tossed-off after the meeting broke up that he should have invited Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Cape Times 28/8/86 (304A)

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Cape Times 28/8/86

NP 'split' on black franchise

By ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Conservative Party was jubilant last night at what appeared to be a split in the cabinet betweeen two of the government's most senior ministers, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport, and Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The incident came during a heated debate over joint sittings of all three Houses of Parliament and the possibility of blacks entering Parliament, but was dismissed as a "misunderstanding" by Mr Schoeman, and as "nothing" by Mr Heunis.

However, it is clear that the CP will not let the matter rest now.

The House of Assembly was debating a report by the Joint Committee on Standing Rules and Orders which had recommended joint debates by all three Houses, which the CP said was the first step towards black representation in Parliament.

Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Home Affairs, had earlier given the assurance that the government was not planning a fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks and Mr Schoeman had also said it would be impractical and that blacks would not be in Parliament.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht asked Mr Schoeman a question.

"From these benches we have put the point that if there cannot be two governments in a country there cannot be two Parliaments," he said.

"We also put the point that if this was so the government would have to accommodate blacks in this Parliament.

"Mr Heunis repeatedly said 'you are stating the obvious'. Does the Minister of Transport agree with this?"

Mr Schoeman: "Did he say you are stating the obvious?"

Dr Treurnicht: "Yes."

Mr Schoeman: "That is not my standpoint."

As he sat down Mr Schoeman was congratulted by CP members who called "Well done" and "You are a man Hendrik".

But, shortly after the debate Mr Heunis, who was not in the chamber at the time of the exchange and was informed of it during the division, said: "It is nothing. It was an across-the-floor exchange. Forget about it."

Mr Schoeman later also dismissed it.

"It was a misunderstanding. I did not understand him (Dr Treurnicht) correctly. I thought he was referring to blacks in Parliament."

But CP members were clearly elated at the apparent difference of opinion between the two ministers.

During the debate the CP accused the government of wanting to turn Parliament into a multiracial body and predicted it would not be long before blacks were represented.

Chief whip Mr Jan Hoon, MP for Kuruman, questioned why the new debating chamber had place for 352 seats when there were only 308 MPs. Who would fill the extra 44 seats, he wanted to know.

He also accused the government of breaking its referendum promise that the three chambers would be separate and said it had no mandate to carry on with its plans without a referendum or general election

Mr Louis Stofberg, lone Herstigte Nasionale Party MP, added his voice to the right-wing opposition and said joint debates would lead to the most heated debates Parliament had ever seen.

It would lead to conflict not only between Afrikaner and Afrikaner, but whites and other races.

The Progressive Federal Party's chief whip, Mr Brian Bamford, said if there were going to be joint debates, they should be started as soon as possible.

The other two chambers of Parliament have already agreed to them.

Parliament and Politics

Cape Times 28/8/86

Heunis backs joint debates

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Constitution and the functioning of the new Parliament had created wider and greater opportunity for intergroup communication, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

He spoke in support of adopting new Standing Rules and Orders which provide for joint debates of all three Houses of Parliament.

"The structures created by the Constitution prove that peaceful and democratic development is possible in South Africa," he said.

And Mr Brian Bamford (PFP Constantia and Chief Whip) urged during the debate that joint sittings and debates on all general affairs matters be introduced as soon as possible.

All members of the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives were in favour of the idea and the government should move "boldly" to bring about joint sittings, Mr Bamford said.

He said it was reasonable to expect that joint sittings should take place as soon as the new Chamber of Parliament was complete.

Mr Chris Heunis

Mr Brian Bamford

Mr Heunis said the measure of consensus reached could be measured by the fact that in the two years since its inception Parliament had passed 200 general affairs bills while only four had been referred to the President's Council for arbitration.

It was also necessary that the consensus-making debates which had thus far been hidden from public view in the joint committees, be made public.

The urgent message that needed to be conveyed was not only the possibility of peaceful negotiation and consensus but that all the communities of South Africa could thus be accommodated in a centralized government.

"Parliament produced opportunities which had not existed before — to meet each other face-to-face, to hear and understand each other ...

"New opportunity for co-operation was also created. Members (of Parliament) had to look to each other's support in order to pass legislation in the interest of all South Africa. No single group could force its will on the other."

● The fundamental principle of each of the three Houses voting separately would not be affected by joint debates, the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House, Mr F W de Klerk, said in the debate.

The principle in the standing committees — where a majority of representatives of each House took their decisions separately — would also apply to joint debates, he said.

● The government was moving towards the New Republic Party's stated objective for all races in Parliament, said Mr Brian Page (NRP Umhlanga). — Sapa

House adjourns early

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Opposition leaders objected yesterday when the Leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, moved that the House adjourn early, saying there was not enough work.

The House was due to sit until 10.30pm, but adjourned at 6.30pm.

"The National Party has to make up its mind if it wants us to come here a second time (this year) to work or to do nothing," said Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville). "Either we do our work or we go home now."

Mr Schwarz was backed by Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg), Mr Brian Page, chief whip of the NRP, and Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP Sasolburg), who said: "I don't have a single hour to waste here in the Cape." — Sapa

Apartheid bleeding SA

Cape Times 28/8/86 (304A)

THESE are extracts from the inaugural lecture of Professor MICHAEL SAVAGE, professor of sociology, UCT, on "The cost of apartheid" which was delivered last night at the university.

THE cost of apartheid, however calculated, is considerable and amounts to a squandering of the resources of this nation.

One can examine this in two important areas of the current crisis: unemployment and schooling.

A recent report on the Bureau of Market Research indicated that from 1982 to 1985 the total number of employees in South Africa declined from 7,78 million to 7,72 million, while with population growth the need for employment is growing annually.

Given present population growth rates an additional 3,6 million new jobs will have to be created by the year 2000 merely to absorb new workers entering the market; that is over 250 000 jobs a year. This report indicated that by the turn of the century a total of 6,8 million new jobs will be needed if unemployment and underemployment is to be eliminated and the percentage of economically active blacks is to become equivalent to that of whites.

Unemployment rate

In short, 450 000 jobs a year need to be created to wipe out unemployment and provide employment for new entrants into the job market. Yet over the past five years only 226 000 new jobs, that is 45 000 new jobs, or one-tenth of the required new jobs per year, have been created.

Recent surveys indicate urban black unemployment to be at 25 percent and rising to nearly 60 percent in some areas. A Vista University survey indicated in 1985 that in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area, black unemployment stood at 56 percent. A self-survey in 1985 by residents of Atlantis near Cape Town revealed a 50 percent unemployment figure, while an earlier survey in Grahamstown in 1983 indicated a 38 percent unemployment rate. In the rural areas the picture is less clear but probably more serious. Informed estimates, such as that made by Professor J Keenan for 1984, indicate there is a 50 percent unemployment rate in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa, KwaZulu and Gazankulu.

Job creation

It is clear that a massive programme of job creation requires to be undertaken. Only a handful of estimates of differing reliability and accuracy exists concerning the cost of job creation. Such estimates vary according to assumptions made about the capital and labour absorptive capacity of particular economic sectors and the area in which jobs are created. One such estimate by Dr Richard Bruce indicates that 300 000 jobs could be created at an annual cost of R66 million. Another by Mr Hugh Jagoe of the Ciskei SBDC points out that between R4 000 million and R5 600 million would be needed to provide the 1 500 jobs required per day until the end of the century to meet the demands of work-seekers.

The attack in the 1930s on the poor-white problem involved having both the political power and the determination to gather economic resources (from a combination of tax increases, borrowing and inter-departmental re-allocation) to devote to combating and eventually eradicating white poverty. That a comparably determined and co-ordinated response to black unemployment and poverty does not exist today is beyond question. The 1930s experience among other things demonstrated that a fundamental re-allocation of economic resources is required if unemployment and poverty are to be eradicated.

Part of such a process of re-allocation could be started by moving apartheid expenditures towards programmes to combat unemployment.

Within the area of education the gross inequalities in the primary and secondary schooling systems have been extensively documented elsewhere and do not need detailing here. Recently an important study by Bunting spelt out what some of the large-scale trends have been in South Africa's education systems during the years 1977 to 1984 and also determined what the cost implications would be of various possible changes to these systems.

Bunting provides a careful analysis of the cost component of the chief variables within the primary and secondary school systems, and then shows what costs would be associated with equalizing expenditures on these. He does this not to argue in favour of any ideal or model of what should occur in the school system of South Africa but to provide an illustration of what could occur, given certain changes in current cost structures.

As Bunting points out, if all scholars in 1983 had the white unit value of R1 145, then the share of total public expenditure on primary and secondary schools would have risen from 10,8 percent to 35 percent. Clearly few societies could allocate this amount of public expenditure to schooling. This emphasizes both the unreality of current expenditures on white schooling and that efforts to create an equitable school system will involve a major reconstruction of the system.

The costs of reconstructing the educational system will be enormous, as the Bunting study suggests. Some steps towards this obviously can be made by existing apartheid expenditures and redirecting them into the school system, irrespective of what the final shape of the system may be. Two brief illustrations can be given.

In the Department of Education and Training school system, the government indicated that there was a shortage of 3 327 primary-school classrooms and 2 448 secondary-school classrooms in 1984. It estimated that it would cost R420 million to meet this shortfall. The shortfall could be eradicated by switching the equivalent sum paid to the SA Development Trust over the past four years, for buying land to consolidate black areas, to building classrooms. It could be met in one year by disengaging militarily from Namibia; it could be met in just over two years by charging 15 percent of the cost of their education to white pupils.

Similarly apartheid expenditures on maintaining spare capacity in white educational institutions, which now involves having over 1 035 spare places in eight white schools in central Cape Town alone and 2 683 empty places in white teacher training colleges, could be abolished in one exceedingly limited step toward addressing the educational crisis upon us.

Both the areas of unemployment and education point to the enormity of tasks ahead in reconstructing this society to deal with its people's needs. The profligate waste of resources to entrench a system of minority domination does not enable South Africa to set about seriously tackling the major problems it faces.

Flight of capital

South Africa has entered an era where the cost of apartheid is rising and a growing number of people are refusing to pay this cost.

First, most members of the international community are refusing to continue to finance an apartheid state. There is an increasing flight of foreign capital from South Africa, international bankers are refusing either to provide loans or to service existing ones, and growing numbers of embargoes and sanctions are being placed on the country.

Second, the regional community of neighbouring states, where possible, have broken off links with South Africa and are actively engaged in efforts to extricate themselves from economic ties with it.

Third, and most importantly, within South Africa the victims of apartheid and growing numbers of its former beneficiaries are challenging the existing organization of this society and the price extracted for minority rule.

Critical issue

The internal and external mobilization against the apartheid system has reached a new stage.

The critical issue is not how to lower the costs of apartheid domination and release some of the resources it consumes into the existing economic system, but rather how to excise apartheid and use the resources it squanders to build an equitable society.

Decisions concerning the allocation and distribution of resources are the central political issue: who makes these decisions and who will determine the future shape of South African society. Large numbers of jobs, houses and educational opportunities can be created with the resources that South Africa is devoting to apartheid, as this lecture hopefully has indicated.

The reconstruction of South African society will require a redistribution of its resources and reordering of its priorities. Ony then will South Africa be able, as Tawney put it, to "add an inch to the height of large numbers of its children and a pound to their weight" to better enable them to participate in building a democratic society.

'Live together, or die together'

(3044)

CAPE TIMES 29/8/86

By GORDON KLING
Financial Editor

REMBRANDT Group chairman Dr Anton Rupert yesterday urged South Africa's "spiritual-political" leaders to reflect on the sober truth: "We are going to live together or die together."

Speaking at the annual meeting of the Stellenbosch-based international business conglomerate, he eschewed political theory for a direct appeal featuring religious overtones for sanity to prevail at a time when self-destruction was a real possibility.

'Scorpions'

"In the atomic age all creatures on earth continuously live like scorpions in a bottle."

Leaders mentioned by name in the spiritual-political context were theology Professor Carel Boshoff; the chief secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude; the chairman of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, and the Archbishop-elect of Cape Town, Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Dr Anton Rupert

Dr Rupert maintained these leaders should be able to make contact as "fellow-believing Protestants".

"If this is not possible the result would be that we will bring about the destruction of our own part of the world in the name of Christianity.

"In these portentous times I want to appeal to all other leaders to be humble before the Almighty. None of us has a monopoly of wisdom."

South Africa still had friends. "Let us not scratch out the eyes of these friends simply because they do not agree with everything that we do.

Compromise

His visits to neighbouring states had found that an astonishing degree of goodwill still prevailed. "I pray that we shall accept and assist one another in all humility," he said.

Any dream of a Southern African economic community could only be realized once the people in the region could come to a compromise.

"The important question is how, after the divisions of the past, are we going to come together again in the future?"

This question had to be put first to spiritual and political leaders because business leaders could not answer it alone.

Co-existence through partnership, or ever-increasing unrest, were the only alternatives at present. Revolutions seldom provided a lasting solution, he added.

 Cape Times 29/8/86 (304A) Parliament and Politics

PFP withdraws co-operation of its whips

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Official Opposition yesterday withdrew the co-operation of its whips because of government moves to shorten the sitting hours of the House.

Announcing the PFP's decision, the party's Chief Whip, Mr Brian Bamford, said the government had brought Parliament back together for the second sitting under false pretences.

Its legislative programme was "in a state of virtual collapse" and it appeared the House was going to spend the second session "going through the farce of debating legislation that could be dealt with next year".

There were many matters that required full debate.

"There are millions in turmoil in Soweto, our foreign affairs are deteriorating, the economy is depressed, Moutse and KwaNdebele are in turmoil."

Mr Bamford was speaking during debate on a motion by the Leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, that the sitting hours on Monday and Wednesday nights be shortened by two-and-a-half hours.

Mr Bamford said that, before yesterday, he had never been let down by the government whips.

There was a convention in Parliament that the government whips always informed the whips of the minority parties of the intentions of the Leader of the House.

This had not been done yesterday. The first Mr Bamford had known of the motion was when a messenger from whom he had ordered a sandwich had told him, 10 minutes before the House adjourned for the day, that the kitchen facilities had been closed.

There were only three bills debated since Parliament reconvened on August 18 that could not have waited until 1987, he said. These were those dealing with a joint executive authority for KwaZulu and Natal, the amended third-party system and changes to the structure of building societies.

Cape Times 29/8/86

Assistant ministers?

Political Staff 3040

NATIONALIST sources in the City yesterday indicated the government was considering a new type of "assistant minister" who will be appointed to serve under the three Ministers' Councils.

So far there is no indication of how many there will be but it is understood they will act on a level similar to the old provincial MECs.

Thinking behind the new appointees is that they will assist the Ministers' Councils at provincial level — but not as part of the new provincial system — in administering such portfolios as education on a regional basis.

Larger provinces could have more assistant ministers than the smaller ones.

Legislation is being prepared, but is not expected to come before Parliament this sitting.

It is possible that some of the new "assistant ministers" will be appointed from the ranks of sitting MPs, which would mean by-elections in their present constituencies.

Before the legislation can be introduced the Constitution will have to be changed to provide for the new positions.

Argus 29/8/86 (30KA)

NA

Empty benches as rift deepens in Parliament

Political Staff

MOST of the opposition benches in the House of Assembly were empty today as debates continued with limited participation.

At times only three opposition members — one from each of the main parties — were present.

The absence of most of the opposition members came in the wake of the crisis caused by the withdrawal of co-operation by the opposition whips.

Opposition parties took part only in debates on legislation which they opposed and, even then, their role in proceedings remained limited.

At times, some opposition members of the three main parties came into the House to listen for brief periods, but most of the morning the majority of opposition seats were empty.

Most of the time was spent on discussion of two Bills — the Probation Services Bill (House of Assembly), which was opposed by the PFP, and the National Education Policy Amendment Bill (House of Assembly), which was opposed by the PFP and the Conservative Party.

The extended parliamentary session could be cut short unless the crisis caused by the withdrawal of co-operation by the opposition whips can be resolved.

The opposition parties have accused the Government of increasingly showing contempt of Parliament and of trying to stretch the present session by cutting the sitting hours.

The Progressive Federal Party said today it would press ahead with attempts to discuss in Parliament this week's Soweto riots, which claimed at least 21 lives.

The Speaker of Parliament, Mr J W Greeff, has turned down a PFP request for a debate on the situation in Soweto, declining to give reasons.

It was also confirmed today that important legislation on the consultative National Council would not come up in the present session.

However, there were indications the Government would try to resolve the crisis.

Misunderstanding

The Leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said an unfortunate situation had arisen through a misunderstanding. He said he would approach the opposition parties in an effort to resolve the dispute.

Mr Schoeman said it was not clear yet whether the opposition decision to virtually withdraw from debates would affect the length of this part of the session.

Meanwhile, the New Republic Party will continue to refuse to co-operate with the Government until it gets an explanation and apology for Parliament being "misled".

Mr Brian Page, chief whip of the NRP, who yesterday accused Mr Schoeman in Parliament of telling an "untruth", said today the ball was in the Government's court.

(Report by T Wentzel, F Esterhuyse and B Cameron, all of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

● See Pages 7 and 17.

WHAT HAPPENED IN PARLIAMENT THIS WEEK

ARGUS 29/8/86 (304A)

Background to an Assembly breakdown

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE row between the Government and the Opposition which has led to the breakdown in all behind-the-scenes co-operation on arrangements for Parliamentary debates, has been building up for some time.

At the centre of the controversy are allegations by all Opposition parties that the Government is increasingly treating Parliament with contempt.

The most immediate issue which led to yesterday's Opposition decision to withdraw co-operation between their whips — the group of MPs of each party who are responsible for the arrangements of debates — and those of the Government, was a sudden announcement by the Leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman late on Wednesday afternoon.

Without the Opposition having been informed of the decision beforehand, as is customary, Mr Schoeman rose to move that the House should not have a night session.

He had previously announced that there would be no night sessions on Mondays and Wednesdays from next week.

In addition the Progressive Federal Party was disappointed because the Speaker had tured down a request for a special debate on the Soweto situation.

Mr Colin Eglin, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, said the Progressive Federal Party was determined to discuss the real issues facing South Africa as long as the Parliamentary session lasted.

Along with the other Opposition parties, the Conservative Party, the New Republic Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, it protested against what it called Government attempts to artificially extend the second half of the session.

LEGISLATION providing for the consultative National Council was, according to President Botha in the first half of the sessiom, to have come up in the second half.

The legislation has now been delayed — no reason has yet been given — and there are no major reform measures on the order paper.

There is so little of substance on the order paper at present that the Assembly could finish its work within a few days.

In an apparent attempt to lengthen the session in order to justify it, the Government decided to scrap the two night sessions a week.

The Opposition protested against the adjournment at the end of June, maintaining that the remaining few measures could have been dealt with then.

WHILE acknowledging that the Speaker had the right to turn down the request for a Soweto debate, Mr Eglin expressed his disappointment.

He said it now appeared as if Parliament would not be able to discuss the current situation in the country. While attempts were being made to artificially lengthen the session, there was also the farce of Parliament in session but unable to discuss current, crucial events.

He said that something had gone seriously wrong with the Government's programme of constitutional reform.

Mr Brian Bamford, Chief Whip of the Progressive Federal Party, explained that co-operation between Government and Opposition whips to ensure the smooth working of proceedings in the House was a tradition of Parliament.

It has hardly ever broken down.

On Thursday mornings the senior whips of all the parties met in Mr Schoeman's office to complete arrangements for the next week. There was also a daily meeting just before the session started.

At these meetings arrangements were made for speakers in a debate. Parties also occasionally informed each other whether they would be opposing or supporting certain legislation.

Arrangements were also made to accommodate Ministers who had to speak in all the Houses.

This co-operation was now being withdrawn.

Mr Bamford further announced that the party would only put in one speaker to briefly speak on measures the party opposed and none on ones it supported.

The CP, NRP and HNP agreed with this and said they would do the same.

Hendrik Schoeman, leader of the House.

AFRIKANERDOM

29/8/86 Fin Mail

304A

Looking for new guidelines

Has P W Botha become a Smuts, waiting to be overtaken by a Malan? He should modernise and rejuvenate his party and stop agonising about the decline and fall of Afrikaner exclusivity.

South African statecraft is becalmed. The reason is not far to seek. President P W Botha and the National Party (NP) have lodged themselves in a contradiction from which they are unable to escape: the clash between the basis of traditional Afrikaner nationalism, and the pressing needs of SA's present situation.

SA has been governed for nearly 40 years as a tribal state, with near-total priority given to narrow Afrikaner interests. But by the late Seventies it became apparent to the party's intellectual leadership that government's support base needed at the very least the appearance of being broadened.

The result was that bizarre political creation — the tricameral constitution — which attempted the impossible and so offended practically everyone. The key to understanding this political failure was the loaded phrase "healthy power-sharing," used repeatedly by Botha during the referendum campaign.

Translated into plain English, "healthy power-sharing" means nothing more than nominal representation for minority groups. The implied opposite — "unhealthy power-

P.T.O.

sharing" — presumably means genuine power-sharing, which would dilute the monopoly of political and administrative power still held by the NP.

But even this transparent exercise in window-dressing was too much for the Afrikaner Right. Fears that the ruling party might be pushing for a genuinely multiracial dispensation, coupled with our economic woes, made recruiting easy for the militant rightists.

By-election results in recent years, notably that in Sasolburg, have made Botha uncomfortably aware of how vulnerable the Nationalists have become even in urban blue-collar seats in the northern provinces. The forthcoming Klip River by-election could strongly confirm this trend.

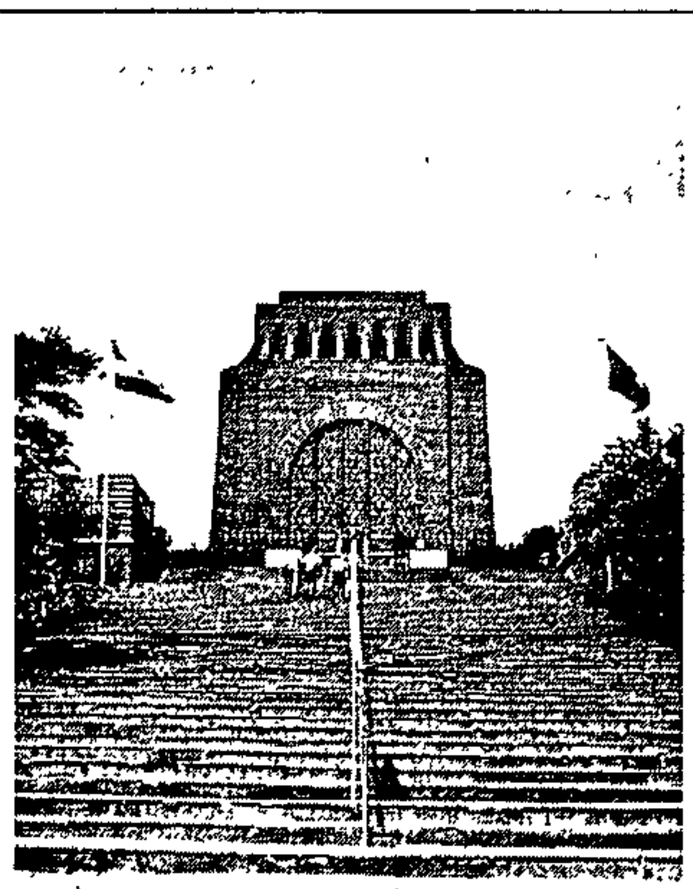
Nationalist leaders must be unhappily alive to the fact that they are now trapped in inhospitable political territory. History shows that a cadre which loses the confidence of the Afrikaner Right — through having grown "soft" in office — never regains it. Precedent further tells that, having planted its standard, the reconstituted Right will grow until it has mobilised the entire Afrikaner constituency to which it can lay claim on grounds of ideological affinity.

Smuts and Botha went through the process before Union. It was re-enacted by Hertzog against Smuts (culminating in the 1924 electoral upset); and then most notably by Malan between 1934 and 1948. The same pattern appears to be under way yet again, with Andries Treurnicht and Jaap Marais in the position of Malan, and P W Botha, most uncomfortably, in the position of Smuts.

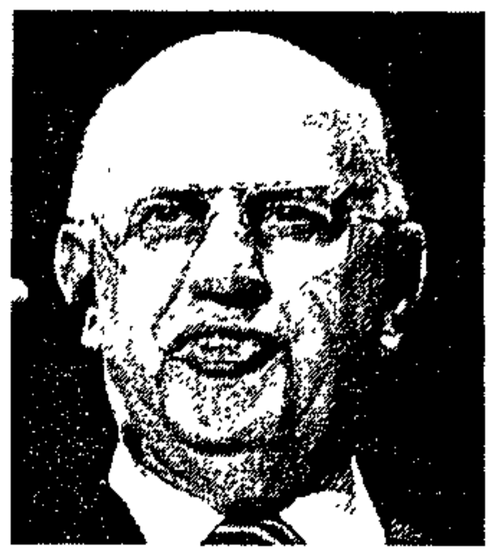
Is the present impasse within Afrikanerdom to drag on until the Right seizes power yet again and then tries to pull contemporary SA back to an irretrievably lost rural paradise? The disastrous implications of such a development hardly bear thinking about.

Current needs cry aloud for Botha and the Nationalists to resolve the crisis by moving to a coherent and defensible centrism. This would have to be broad enough to offer a long-term alternative to the African National Congress-United Democratic Front axis. But it would have to be sufficiently respectable to rid the country of the stigma of institutionalised racialism (without conceding anything like maximal radical black demands) and so make it possible for conservatives in the Western world to defend us with a much clearer conscience than at present.

The creation of a strong centrist party, which at this stage would have to include most English-speaking whites, as well as non-radical coloureds and Indians (with a promise of black middle-class participation a little later), would probably short-circuit the growth of the Afrikaner Right. The political game in SA would be transformed beyond recognition and entirely for the better.



Symbol under siege



P W Botha

But it needs to be tackled now. Why then do the Botha Nationalists continue to balk at this particular fence, despite the risk they are running through the erosion of support to the Right? The answer seems clear: they are still clinging to the old guideposts of Nationalist Afrikanerdom.

But those guideposts have become irrelevant or even destructive, because Treurnicht, Marais, and Eugene Terre'Blanche have far more acceptable credentials to defend traditional Afrikaner exclusivism than a long-standing governing party which has lost much of its appeal because it has had to modernise — and even pretend to renounce — apartheid.

However urgent the NP's need to transcend traditional attitudes, it ill becomes other South Africans to sneer at their very real agony of spirit. Afrikanerdom's historical grievances against the British Empire were real enough. And it is not always easy for members of a linguistic community of some 300m like the British and the Americans to understand the concerns of a small community for its language and culture.

AWB's Terre' Blanche ... historic credentials

The inescapable problem for the Nationalists is that a group that aspires to nationhood, but does not command a national territory in which it has an effective majority, must reconcile itself to being a community. And despite unchallenged political control of SA for 40 years, the Nationalists could not inspire the volk to make the sacrifices required to solve the problem of Afrikaner nationhood on a territorial basis.

Therefore, the Nationalists must bring themselves to the painful recognition that Afrikaner hegemony in SA can only work as long as the black majority remains a political cipher.

The moment blacks gain enough de facto power to press their demands in any way at all, the one-tribe Afrikaner state will be imperilled and ultimately doomed.

This means the NP will have to look for allies. With the tricameral legislative system, the Botha Nationalists thought they could buy the support of other communities at an absurdly low price, but this illusion is now rapidly being exposed.

In the purely political sense, the entire electoral system needs root-and-branch revision: to sweep away the state of affairs which still effectively reserves a political veto to Afrikanerdom through its control of an unfairly constituted white Assembly operating as a political "pyramid" within the tricameral contrivance.

In the fields of administration and economics, the dominance of the State sector over the economy must be cut down through aggressive privatisation as soon as possible. A status quo in which three-fifths of Afrikaners work for the public sector is demonstrably unhealthy. The echelons of civil servants and parastatal employees command a veto over the necessary evolution of the South African political and economic system.

There is one initiative, not often discussed, which could give the necessary impetus. It is all too apparent that the leadership of the governing party has grown tired in office, while some of the best brains within the Afrikaner community are engaged in business and the professions.

The ranks of active politicians urgently need to be reinforced by younger Afrikaners with a contemporary outlook, who are at present entirely outside politics. They constitute the one group both with the vision and the influence within Afrikanerdom to give the necessary push into the future. ■

RACE RELATIONS

Lubricating them

Freedom of association has never sat comfortably with the ruling National Party. Its aim, as Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis put it recently, is a *multiracial*, not a *non-racial*, society. So, underlying its plans for creating a more harmonious country from SA's racial pluralism is a determination to maintain group separatism and "own" affairs. To some this is divide-and-rule; others, including government, say it guarantees minority protection.

All the same, the policy and its effects are hardly geared to encouraging cross-racial contact; indeed, the races are estranged, often ignorant and suspicious of each other. But other initiatives are afoot.

To Pastor Nico Smith, creating inter-racial family fellowship groups to counter apartheid barriers, and fostering the spirit of a new SA in which colour does not count, was a mere idea early in 1984.

But the NGK dominee put the idea into practice with a handful of citizens in Pretoria later that year, and it has grown remarkably. There are 200 participating couples in the capital city, plus about 1 000 others across the country in East London, PE, Stellenbosch, Cape Town, Grahamstown, Bloemfontein and even in Harare, Zimbabwe. Two additional groups are to be established in Pietermaritzburg and Durban next month, and another in Bulawayo.

The basic idea behind the scheme is to get the individuals and families involved to know more about each others' lives across racial compartments.

Smith was moved to form the fellowship group when he felt "something had to be done to counter the frightening effects of apartheid in having totally alienated blacks."

In the Pretoria group, blacks, whites, coloureds and Asians, ranging in age from 14 to 28, socialise together once a week either at picnics or parties, or by meeting for a meal in a restaurant in the capital.

The youngsters' weekly meetings began last May, and the married couples' late in 1984.

Smith explains he employed a full-time organiser last week to visit family groups and to establish new ones. The organiser, who is based in Pretoria but will work countrywide, is to be paid from funds donated by a Swiss organisation, Christian Solidarity International.

"Whatever happens in this country," says the NGK pastor, "the end of apartheid is inevitable. When the new Azania comes, there will still be problems, but the best thing to do now is to create personal relationships between the races in order to bridge the gap created by apartheid; to encourage people to discover one another. We need to break the existing structures and to build ones for the new society."

Mamelodi evangelist Frans Mnisi (46) is a member of the 200-strong Koinonia (fellowship) Group in Pretoria, and will be Smith's neighbour in October when the pastor moves into his new house in the black township. He explains: "My wife and I joined a group of four couples, representing each of the races, in 1984. We visit each other — in rotation — once monthly. At the end of each rotation, the group is split up, with each member placed in a new group. Our neighbours have seen white, coloured and Indian couples visit us but have shown no hostility. Some actually want to join but, because mixing with whites is generally condemned in the black community as selling out, some are still hesitant."

Adriaan Blom (24), a divinity graduate from Tukkies and Smith's protege, lives in a Pretoria suburb with his wife. They too have been involved with the fellowship groups since 1984. Blom is now responsible for organising the fraternity groups, their once-weekly meetings, picnics and parties. He says: "It is unfortunate that our meetings to foster integration are artificial, but it's the only way we can break down, totally, this unnatural society. Since I started mixing, I realise how much I can learn from the black people; and I want to share this knowledge with my fellow white brothers and sisters who don't know just what they are missing in refusing to mix." ■

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

(3004A) Fin Mail 29/8/86

IN MY OPINION

Pretoria's political bankruptcy

Dr Slabbert is the former leader of the Official Opposition. These extracts are taken from a speech he made to the Wits University Law Students Society last weekend.

Nothing is easier for government in a crisis of transformation than to distract attention from its own culpability. For months now we have been told that the real cause for our present misfortune is one or a combination of: a total Communist onslaught on Southern Africa; ANC manipulation by Moscow determined to subject South Africa to a Communist dictatorship; international hypocrisy and double standards willing to sacrifice SA on the altar of expediency; black radicalism determined to make SA ungovernable and to destroy civilised standards.

Because of the nature of this threat, it is argued, extraordinary measures are called for ...

This is all so much hogwash. Ours is certainly not the first government caught red-handed by its own history. Its arguments are the same tired old ones used by demagogues, oligarchies and power cliques throughout history to justify their domination. They are the red herrings of the red-handed.

The simple fact is that the old form of white domination has run out of steam. The government has accepted that it cannot *separate away* those who are not white from its own position of domination. Now it seeks ways to *integrate* them without losing its position of domination. Before, it tried for separation and white domination, now it tries for integration and white domination.

What government is doing on the constitutional level is to open up new shops for old customers ...

Unfortunately for government, the wheels started coming off its co-option policy for blacks ... When the so-called coloureds and Indians were co-opted into the tricameral parliament, it simply highlighted to urbanised and industrialised blacks the extent of their exclusion from the government of their own country, and intensified their demand for direct participation in it. Government hopelessly underestimated the pervasiveness of this demand among the disenfranchised.

It will now claim that it never intended to exclude blacks from the centre, but this is a demonstrable lie. It is quite obvious that the tricameral parliament cannot be extended to blacks without contradicting its logic and undermining its intention.

At the same time, government conceded the legitimacy of black access to the centre. Its key question is how to achieve this without losing control — how to integrate and go on dominating. This is of course far more difficult than separating and dominating ...

Take the question of group participation in the political structures of our country for example. This is one cornerstone of constitution-making which the government is not prepared to sacrifice. Blacks, Indians and so-called coloureds can have access to the centre of power — but only if they are co-opted as members of a coloured, Indian or black group.

The reason for this is obvious. If government did concede forced group participation in politics, it would not be able to claim for itself any special group determination as an Afrikaner or white group, and would immediately undermine its own position of dominance under conditions of freedom of association.

The significance of the shift is thus twofold: government at first wanted to create a multi-cultural society through separation; it is now prepared to create a multi-racial society through integration. Secondly, it first tried to exclude and divide and rule; now it is prepared to *include* and divide and rule.

But government misunderstood the consequences of this shift, and is finding it increasingly difficult to deal with them. SA today is developing into a standoff struggle between constitutional multiracialism and democratic nonracialism. The shift precipitated mobilisation for nonracial democratic government in SA that is quite unprecedented.

The vast majority of the people demand freedom to participate in a nonracial democratic government; government is determined to create a group-based multiracial autocracy in the face of these escalating demands. And, because such an autocracy cannot depend on consent, and cannot tolerate popular resistance, government has increasingly to fall back on repression. It is the repression accompanying the shift that is causing the confusion ...

The confusion is not difficult to pinpoint. It arises from the fact that government gives unilateral content to bilateral political concepts and processes. Words like democracy, consensus, negotiation can only become politically meaningful if they depend on more than one political actor, and if those actors can agree among themselves upon the meaning of those words. But this government has made the ideas of democracy, reform negotiation and consensus ridiculous in the South African political context:

"Negotiation," in effect, means for the government to persuade opponents to fit into their scheme of things;

"Consensus" simply means that others must be reasonable and agree with government;

"Reform" means getting rid of unnecessary discrimination. Unnecessary, that is, for maintaining domination and control.

Government is convinced that the only way to save democracy for SA is to prevent the majority of people from participating in it. It can only be "broadened" by extending it on the basis of "shared power" to co-opted racial groups — provided there is definitely no freedom of association ...

That is why we have reached the ridiculous situation that when people demand freedom — freedom to affiliate, organise and participate; freedom to speak and to choose whom they support — such demands are seen as subversive and a threat to the stability that government wants to maintain. The manner in which government has chosen to deal with this threat has unleashed a new, and perhaps the most serious, assault on the ordinary human rights of the citizens of our country ...

PARLIAMENT 29/8/86 (257) (258) FIN MAIL 304A

Tricameral travails

The adjournment of the coloured and Indian houses until September 2, after sitting for less than a week of the short session, again exposes the inadequacies of the tricameral parliamentary system.

Earlier, coloured Labour Party (LP) leader Allan Hendrickse had said his party would reconsider its participation in the system at its January national congress, reflecting LP frustration with efforts to end apartheid — specifically, the Group Areas Act and race classification.

Coupled to this, Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the Indian chamber, has reportedly told his caucus that he is seriously considering quitting parliament because of pressure on his family due to his continued participation.

All three issues suggest a lack of confidence in the present system, which will be two years old next month. Instead of opening

Rajbansi

Hendrickse

the way to accelerated change and greater participation by including blacks, the system got bogged down in its own procedures and is now seriously threatened by frustration at the lack of progress.

The most significant blow to LP participation came earlier this year when government adopted two controversial security law amendments with the help of the Nationalist-dominated President's Council, in spite of the majority of MPs opposing the measures. Hendrickse was embarrassed. His claim during the No Confidence debate in February that no measure would ever again pass through parliament unless it had the backing of the LP, was shown to be hollow. He has little option but to ask the party to review participation.

The two Houses adjourned because they have dealt with most of the legislation that is bound to come their way this year. The House of Assembly is allocated more time for debate because it has more members. Its political debate is also more protracted due to the greater rivalry between the parties, and it is much further behind with its legislative programme.

Both Hendrickse and Rajbansi deny that, by adjourning early, the Houses are shirking work. They point out that Standing Committee duties and constituency work will continue.

There is no doubt, though, that coloured and Indian MPs want to get into one chamber with whites. There, they believe, "more relevant" debate can be conducted and they can try to re-establish some semblance of community credibility. Calls for their resignation have repeatedly been made by groups such as the Indian Congresses and the United Democratic Front.

The parliamentary Standing Committee on Rules and Orders has recommended joint debates when the new debating chamber, now under construction, is completed late next year. But MPs want joint debates from the start of the next session in January. The Leader of the coloured House, Miley Richards, says the LP believes joint debates will allow the party to make its voice heard as a real opposition. The LP's Transvaal leader, Jac Rabie, says the coloured and Indian Houses have grasped the "essence" of the tricameral system, while the white House of Assembly has yet to learn it.

Cumbersome

An LP member of the Indian House, Salem Abram-Mayet, says the decision to allow joint debates from 1988 is an acknowledgement that the tricameral system is "somewhat cumbersome" — although the change is being made "somewhat late in the day." The LP's Abe Williams says the tricameral system must not be written off just yet: "It is only the beginning of bigger things. It has given us the opportunity to get into parliamentary politics. It has been a good learning process," he says. He believes the LP has done far more at community level than it could have done outside parliament. While there is frustration at the apparent lack of progress on national issues, Williams believes there is movement towards resolving them. He remarks on the value of "dialogue and negotiation" in the Standing Committees, where "more is achieved."

The LP's apparent discontent with overall progress should crystallise when the party congress reviews participation two years earlier than originally planned. While there is little likelihood that the party will withdraw from parliament, there are pressures against continued participation, as Rajbansi's rethink indicates.

However, even if the more outspoken LP MPs decide to pull out, it is unlikely that they would be able to muster the support of more than a dozen or so of their colleagues. But the LP is very much trapped in the system, as Hendrickse (and State President P W Botha) knows. Hence Botha's disregard for consensus principles when he pushed through the security measures against the wishes of his coloured and Indian allies.

On the positive side, the LP's Desmond Lockey — regarded as one of the militants — believes the system has achieved considerable success and still has the potential to force further change. Writing in *Rapport* at the weekend, Lockey (who at times regrets his decision to participate) said he hopes the current shift away from the status quo will eventually result in a form of power sharing divorced from the current need to maintain a "safety valve" of white domination.

Overall, though, the tricameral system is in decline. Some MPs believe it will be replaced within 18 months by a four-chamber system (the Council of State?) which gives blacks some say and provides for joint debates. ■

to be slightly better than last year, before extraordinary items.

The two problem areas at the interim were Nedbank Factors and Nedfin Bank. Muller says these are now "improving". Forex earnings have obviously been hit by the standstill, but he is emphatic that "our normal foreign business is still intact and 90% or more of the business lost immediately after the standstill is back on our books."

Van der Merwe-Vance says: "it was never easy to get trade finance, but we are maintaining our position." Obviously there will be no generation of growth from this area, unlike the position in the past.

A future problem for banks is the capital ratios required by the new Banks Act. But here, too, Van der Merwe-Vance claims he is not worried. The requirements will be phased in and "there should be no need for additional capital from the market," taking into account the ploughback of profits and state of the economy.

So the immediate results don't look all that bad.

But there is still the Triomf conundrum, and it should be borne in mind that in a large bank the results of decisions taken today will only be seen in two years or more. This is inevitable.

With the rights issue past, and no major buyers in the market, the share price remains stubbornly below 600c, down from the year's high of 1 360c. The small improvement from the low of 545c to 580c shows that investors think there is more to Nedbank than just a facade — but it will take a long time to convince the stock market that Nedbank is as substantial as once believed. It will take even longer for it to earn back its accustomed premium rating of a high-growth stock.

Pat Kenney

LABOUR AND CAPITAL

The issue of equity

Fin Mail 29/8/86

Facing up to the realities of social change, big business is beginning to talk about a new labour dispensation. But union leaders are not buying the idea.

Have you noticed new trends in the utterances of leading businessmen of late? Noticed that people like Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly are speaking positively about things like profit-sharing schemes for employees and greater participation by workers in company decision-making?

As the political crisis deepens, a new school of thought on industrial relations is emerging in business circles. Just as much of the political debate is about appropriate constitutional structures, the labour debate is concerned with finding new formulas for governing relations between management and workers.

In the process, businessmen are beginning to think and talk seriously about adapting to very different ways of running their companies. The debate on what could be termed the "new capitalism" does not stem from altruism. Rather, it's about survival in a time of tumultuous social and political change.

Relly said as much when he opened the Number 1 shaft at Western Deep Levels mine on July 22: "I believe (there) must be a new partnership between labour, management and shareholders. Unless we constantly seek to narrow the differences between management and labour ... we will not have a functional economic entity here at the turn of the century."

Spelling out the implications more clearly, Relly said: "I am certain ... that we have not thought enough about the desirability of expanding profit sharing and participatory practices to those who work in our mines, factories and offices. It is only by offering an involved stake that the interests of this company, its labour, its management and its shareholders, and the interests of the country as a whole, will be upheld."

What underlies the "new capitalism" ethos? Anglo's industrial relations adviser Bobby Godsell comments: "A lot of people are beginning to think and talk about a partnership between labour and capital in a broader way than we have previously thought about these things. Instead of automatically equating a company with its shareholders, people are now thinking that a company should be seen as an alliance of different stakeholders, pre-eminently — but not exclusively — employees and shareholders."

Godsell says there is an important psychological need at this time in SA's history to share in the ownership of the wealth-creating machinery. He points out that the countries which have prospered since World War 2 are those like Japan and Germany where management and labour have achieved what he calls "creative partnerships." Likewise, he says, the companies that have prospered in the US and UK are those which have achieved this kind of partnership.

"I'm talking about sharing power and responsibility over the broader issues of company survival," he says. "It seems logical that having acknowledged black workers as industrial citizens by granting them trade union rights, we have to move from having them as passive objects in the process of making wealth to making them active subjects."

Godsell adds: "To give concrete expression to this, means something like ensuring that both the major stakeholders share directly in the riches and rewards of the entrepreneurial endeavour. The reward should be linked to the health or sickness of the company."

What does this mean in practical terms? Godsell says: "How one actually does this is quite complicated. From the workers' viewpoint, there is a need for certainty about part of the reward.

"So we may have to think about a guaranteed minimum wage and some sort of profit-related bonus. Conversely, we have to get to a situation in which workers and the trade unions representing them are concerned about the medium- and long-term economic realities: like the impact of today's decisions on wages on the life of a mine."

Godsell rules out suggestions that the debate on the "new capitalism" is a thinly disguised attempt by big capital to buy off the unions. "It is an attempt to do only one thing: to design structures that are appropriate to present and future realities," he says. "People who treat workers as passive objects are out of touch with modern realities.

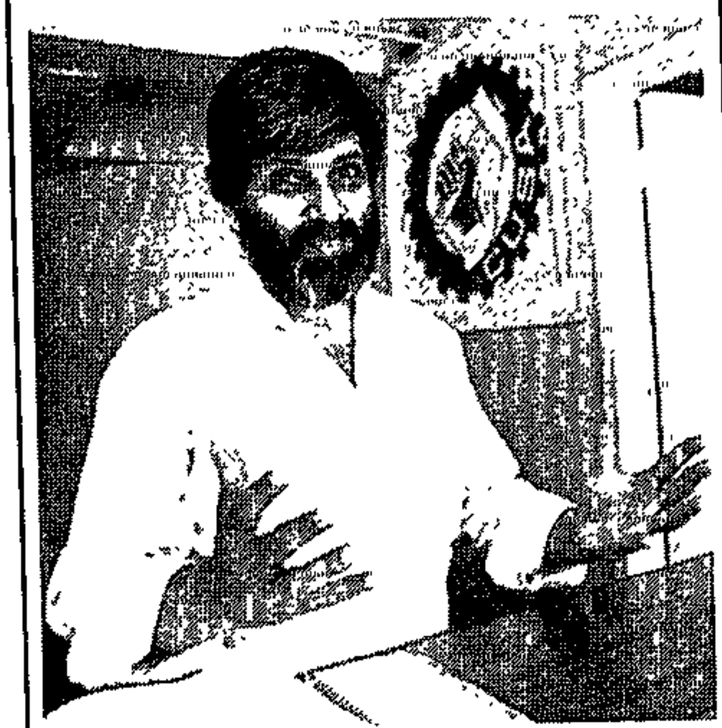
"Equally, people who treat the suppliers of capital as unimportant, have a record of dismal eco-

P.T.O

nomic failure. These issues have to be debated properly by management, shareholders and unions."

But is there any chance that the unions will respond in the way Godsell hopes? Unions leaders canvassed by the *FM* were highly sceptical.

For example, Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), has this to say: "How can we get into a debate on profit sharing when there is no evidence that employers are even pre-



Cusa's Camay ... querying dividend policies

pared to concede to our most fundamental demand — a living wage? The wage disputes in the mining and metal industries illustrate this. Employers should put their money where their mouths are. As long as they continue to profit from massive exploitation of workers in SA, there is no debate for us."

Bernie Fanaroff, national organiser of Cosatu's Metal and Allied Workers' Union, is equally dismissive. He says: "It is just another example of too little, too late. Black workers in particular are not going to be convinced about the benefits of capitalism when they have been denied its fruits under it for so long. All along, they have been asked to produce without getting any of the rewards. Now that things are getting tough economically and politically, they are being asked to share responsibility and profits. We don't believe capitalism is a family business. Workers don't have the same interests as management."

Phiroshaw Camay, general secretary of the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa), also poured cold water on the idea: "One cannot talk about participation in the economic sector when there is still discrimination on a political level in this country. The majority of the population and the majority of workers (in SA) still do not have a say over their political future. Why can't the employers start at the beginning and pay a decent wage? If we are looking at the idea of stakeholders, and that there must be some form of joint decision-making, one needs to ask what it involves."

Camay is deeply suspicious. He says: "It's all very well for the captains of industry to talk about stakeholders, but to my mind it is the managers who actually run the companies.

"There is enough evidence to show that they manage in terms of their own philosophies and that, by and large, the interests of stakeholders are ignored. There are numerous examples. We know, for instance, of mergers in which the interests of the minority shareholders have not been taken into account adequately.

"Look also at how dividends are granted. Those decisions are made by the company board and usually endorsed at a fairly unrepresentative shareholders' meeting: shareholders themselves are not consulted about how much should be paid out. And what about AA Mutual? The fact that an insurance giant can fold means that neither the consumer, nor the shareholder, is protected in our society. Therefore,

Cosatu's Naidoo ... the priority is politics

the idea that workers can share in an enterprise is at best a pipedream right now. However, if Relly is talking about taking worker participation to its logical conclusion — which would mean that decisions rest finally with the workers, we will support it."

Anglo's Godsell ... wooing the workers

There, for the moment, the debate about labour and equity appears to have stalled. But as an issue, it is unlikely simply to disappear. The major South African employers are fully aware that the black workforce needs to be convinced as to the tangible benefits of capitalism.

The private sector's major problem is how to change blacks' present negative view of free enterprise. Currently, blacks' vision is of a future which is entirely theirs, which by and large assumes a socialist system. It will be no easy task to convince them otherwise.

Any step perceived as weakening the traditional adversarial relationship between capital and labour is bound to be viewed with suspicion. Trust will be essential in the process — if it is to occur at all.

Crisis in Parliamen

Cape Times 29/8/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON (304A)
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT was plunged into crisis yesterday when all four white opposition parties reduced their participation in the House of Assembly to a minimum to protest against government attempts to turn the body into a "farce."

The move was sparked by rage and frustration across party lines at the government's unprecedented breach of parliamentary conventions and its apparent refusal to allow Parliament to address the burning issues facing South Africa.

The protest action also came in the wake of the decision by the Speaker to turn down a PFP request for an urgent debate on the situation in Soweto where 21 people died on Tuesday night.

The House had been virtually abandoned by opposition MPs by mid-afternoon and government whips were rushing about in a bid to get Nat MPs to fill the void.

Confusion

There was speculation last night that Parliament might be forced into an early recess or plunged into confusion next week when the other two Houses return for business as a result of opposition whips refusal to co-operate with the government.

During yesterday's debate on the government decision to drastically curb, without forewarning, the sitting hours of the House, all opposition parties banded together in a rare show of unity to rail against the "arrogant, cavalier and untruthful" approach of the government to Parliament.

One speaker after another accused the government of treating Parliament with "contempt", turning the institution into a "farce" and of convening a second session "under false pretences."

'Feeble'

The chief whip of the PFP, Mr Brian Bamford said the House had been restricted to dealing with "feeble matters" during what MPs had been led by the government to believe would be a crucially important legislative programme.

At a time when the country was in turmoil the government was unilaterally reducing the sitting hours of Parliament and denying parties the opportunity of addressing the many crucial issues it should be debating.

"I believe this government can no longer be trusted with the control of parliamentary processes and I therefore withdraw the co-operation of the whips," he said.

'Sickened'

The chief whip of the Conservative Party, Mr Jan Hoon, said he agreed "100 percent" with Mr Bamford. The government had insisted an extended session was necessary to deal with "important and dramatic legislation" but it now argued that there was not enough work.

The NRP chief whip, Mr Brian Page, said he was "sickened by the growing arrogance of this government" and accused the Leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, of telling "untruths" to the House.

Mr Louis Stoffberg of the HNP said he was "shocked and disappointed" at the way the government was wasting the valuable time of MPs in Parliament and added: "There is something terribly wrong with this government."

'A farce'

At a press conference later, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said: "Our view is that the present sitting is a farce if we are not going to be allowed to debate the crucial issues currently facing the country."

The government attitude towards Parliament reflected a "serious malaise in the governing party" that was characterized by a combination of "confusion and arrogance," he said.

Mr Eglin accused the government of wasting taxpayers' money and the time of MPs by calling a "farcical" second session of Parliament in 1986.

Divisional Council trucks arrive at the Khayelithsa tent town with the possessions of squatters removed from Brown's Farm, Philippi, yesterday morning.

Picture: Tony W

Brown's Farm can razed, 29 arrested

Cape Times 29/8/86

By TONY WEAVER

THE Brown's Farm squatter community was yesterday removed to Khayelitsha by police who surrounded a section of the camp in Philippi about 4am, arresting 19 men and 10 women, then demolishing most of the camp.

One of the women arrested is Ms Bueswe Jack, 32, a field worker for the Western Province Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension, Portland Cement Works and KTC, said they were woken shortly after 4am by police who ordered them out of their shacks.

"They ordered the men into the trucks, and told the women they were being taken to Khayelitsha. Ten women refused to go to Khayelitsha, and so they arrested them too," Mrs

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Opposition parties plan confrontation with Government

WG/ARGUS 30/8/86 (304A)

Nats in a turmoil

Political Staff

MEMBERS of the Cabinet and National Party whips are at each other's throats as they attempt to find a scapegoat for the impasse between the NP and the white opposition parties.

The opposition parties took the extraordinary step yesterday of refusing to participate in debates, whenever this was possible, as a protest against the NP's refusal to allow a special debate on the Soweto shootings.

Some NP Ministers and parliamentary whips have been bad-mouthing each other in private conversations.

Meanwhile, the Progressive Federal Party intends to move quickly to embarrass the Government still further by preparing a number of motions calling for debates on various crucial issues.

The most important, which will probably come on Monday, will be to ask for a standing committee of Parliament to be appointed to monitor the state of emergency.

With a very thin parliamentary order paper of a mostly technical nature, the PFP wants to see whether the Government is "prepared to deal with the crucial issues facing the country".

Traditions

And an attempt by the Leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, to call a peace meeting on Monday has been rejected by the opposition parties who repeated allegations that the Government was continuing to treat Parliament with contempt.

Attempts are being made to speed up the workings of standing committees of Parliament to get more work on the order paper while new legislation is being printed over the weekend.

The fight in the NP is taking on extraordinary proportions.

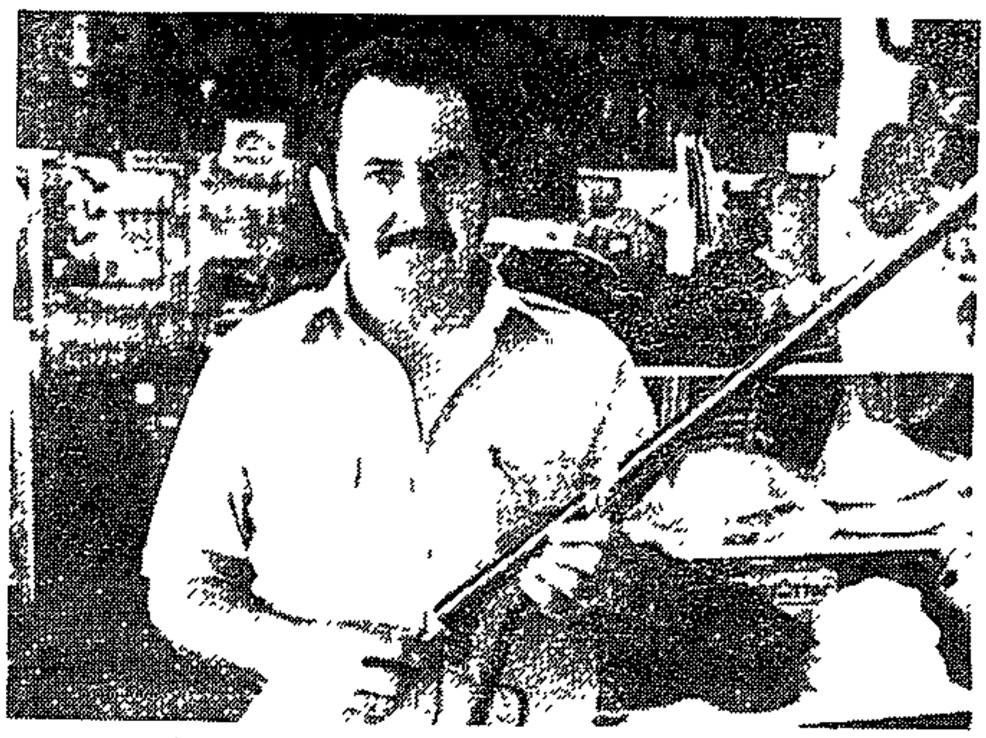
The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, is being blamed for not coming up with important reform legislation for the extended sitting of Parliament.

The intended purpose of the extended sitting was to approve reform measures.

Mr Schoeman is being accused not only by the opposition but also members of his own party of not taking the traditions of Parliament seriously.

Spotlight on Klip River with 18 days to go

Mr Rusty Hearder, Ladysmith giftshop owner: 'I get many blacks in my shop and they're very polite and pleasant.'



Mr Bonny York, Ladysmith gunshop owner: 'The by-election will give the Government guidelines.'

'Just you write the nice things'

30YA 10/M 30/8/86

By Stuart Flitton, Political Reporter

THE National Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party regard the Klip River Parliamentary by-election as having national political significance, but some potential voters think the by-election is for their local town council.

Several people I spoke to this week in the constituency, which stretches from Glencoe to Estcourt and Bergville to Weenen, were either very badly informed or uninterested.

Mrs Jane Amos and her neighbour, Mr Madelein Fourie, of Colenso, thought the by-election was for the town council.

'I will only vote when it is compulsory - every five years,' Mrs Amos said

Others expressed similar sentiments as Mrs Jenny Henderson of Ladysmith who said she was not really interested in politics although she was interested in what was happening in the country.

'My husband would probably say the by-election is important. I'm not going to vote,' Mrs Henderson said.

Ladysmith gift shop owner, Mr Rusty Hearder, represented another common view when he said the the NP should be supported because President Botha was doing a good job.

'Maree is a good chap. I don't go for the radicalism of the HNP. The NP policy is the old UP policy. You have to move with the times.'

Mrs Pat St Clair of Ladysmith expressed this view a little more bluntly.

'The by-election is important because it will show everybody's behind the Government and not those other lunatics,' she said

Mr Benny Olivier, secretary of a black town council near Glencoe, said he had not yet decided which way to vote because he was concerned about white schools and opposed to them being opened.

'I'm not opposed to equal rights - lift blacks up to our standards, but whites must not be lowered to theirs,' he said.

Mr Alan Lang (23), a Glencoe businessman, had been to an HNP meeting and was very impressed.

'They have the future well planned. You just need the majority of people to vote for them The blacks get everything for nothing and so should we,' he said.

Mrs Nettie Coetzee of Estcourt had been impressed by an NP meeting.

'I didn't realise how important the by-election was. Jacko Maree spoke. He is a good candidate,' she said.

The various public meetings by the candidates, Mr Jacko Maree of the NP and Mr Chris Wolmarans of the HNP, have been free of conflict except in the farming town of Weenen where several HNP supporters heckled and asked pointed questions of Mr Adriaan Vlok, Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Defence.

Mr Vlok seemed to enjoy the banter audience and at the end of the meeting the farmers and their wives unanimously passed a motion of confidence in the NP.

As I left the meeting one of the giant farmers grabbed my arm and spun me around.

'Just you write the nice things, see,' he said

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

Mr J F Joubert, Ladysmith railways worker: 'Take away the railways people from Ladysmith and what have you got? They'll all vote Nationalist.'

Mr P J Oosthuizen (72), from Ladysmith: 'I intend to vote but I don't go to meetings. I've been to too many in my time.'

Estcourt pensioner L Pereksles: 'I am not going to vote and neither is my wife. It's not important, they all just look after themselves.'

PW's pay may soon increase

STAR 30/8/86

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Legislation is on the cards to pave the way for a salary increase for President P W Botha following recent substantial increases for Members of Parliament and Cabinet Ministers.

President Botha, who earns R109 000 a year tax free, has not had an increase since he changed hats in September 1984 when he "retired" as Prime Minister with a R300 000 tax free golden handshake. He became President hours afterwards.

At the moment Mr Botha earns R5 000 a year less than the most junior member of his Cabinet — but then he does not get taxed.

The Schlebusch Committee, which examined salary structures for public representatives, has recommended that the President should be given R160 000 a year tax free.

Mr Botha did not get a salary increase at the same time as other MPs and Cabinet Ministers last month.

His salary, unlike the others which can be increased by proclamation in the Government Gazette, can only be approved "by resolution of Parliament".

And this hurdle, contained in the constitution, the Government apparently wants removed, according to Parliamentary sources.

This would put the President in the same position as the rest of the public representatives.

Ministers' salaries went up 54 percent this year to R114 930, while MPs had increases of 35 percent, taking them up to R58 050.

Unlike the President, their income is taxed.

The increases were widely condemned, particularly by public servants, and the Transport Services Union.

The Schlebusch Committee, which was appointed by the Government to get an outside opinion, recommended a total income of R144 000 for Ministers and almost R60 000 for MP's.

SA GOVERNMENT
& POLITICS

1986

SEP — OCT

PW calls meeting to break impasse in Parliament

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha today intervened in the impasse between the Government and Opposition parties in the Assembly by calling a meeting of all party leaders.

After complaining that the Government was treating Parliament with contempt the Opposition parties scrapped co-operation between their whips and those of the Government.

They also decided on token participation only in debates, a step which threatens to shorten the second part of this year's session of Parliament.

REPRESENTATIVES

Opposition representatives invited to the meeting in Mr Botha's office in Parliament are Mr Colin Eglin, Leader of the Opposition, Mr Brian Bamford, chief whip of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, Mr Jan Hoon, the CP chief whip, Mr Vause Raw, senior member of the New Republic Party, the NRP chief whip, Mr Brian Page and Mr Louis Stofberg, lone Herstigte Nasionale Party member.

National Party representatives will be Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Leader of the House and Mr Nico Pretorius, chief whip of the National Party.

Mr Botha is said to be sensitive to criticism that the Government has been contemptuous of Parliament.

He is expected to try at today's meeting to resolve the deadlock.

UNWILLING

The Opposition has complained that the Government is unwilling to debate current events in the present session in spite of there being little of substance on the order paper.

It has also accused the Government of trying to stretch out the session by scrapping night sessions.

The fact that Opposition whips were not notified of a decision to scrap last Wednesday night's session led to the final breakdown in communication between the Government and the Opposition.

Meanwhile Mr Eglin said today that the PFP had again asked the Speaker, Mr J W Greeff, for a debate on the situation in Soweto.

The Speaker turned down a similar request last week.

Mr Harry Schwarz, the PFP's chief financial spokesman, will today give notice of a motion asking for a select committee as part of a joint committee of the three Houses of Parliament to look into the question of sanctions and boycotts and steps that could be taken to counter them.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

AWB warned about its plan to form farmers' 'brandwag'

Pretoria Bureau

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has warned the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) not to compete with the SADF in the Eastern Transvaal.

The AWB has announced plans to form its own "brandwag" to protect farmers in the Eastern Transvaal from attacks by the ANC.

There has been a series of landmine explosions in the area in recent months and farmers have become increasingly angry.

The AWB says many are putting aside their political differences and joining the "brandwag".

Members are being taught how to shoot and react in emergencies. They are being encouraged to maintain radio contact.

General Malan said he and Manpower Minister Mr Piet du Plessis, who is also the MP for Lydenburg, had discussed the matter and were aware of what was going on.

He said the Eastern Transvaal and Far Northern Transvaal commandos were constantly giving attention to how farmers could be helped to protect themselves.

45 arrested during Winterveld swoop

GA-RANKUWA — About 45 people were arrested in Winterveld on Sunday morning when the Bophuthatswana police and Defence Force personnel surrounded the area and searched houses.

Police spokesman Colonel Dave George said they were looking for stolen property, cars and dangerous weapons.

A portable TV, a BMX bicycle and communist-related literature were confiscated.

Colonel George added that the sweep was carried out "to protect the legitimate, peace-loving citizens of Winterveld who are being made to suffer because of the actions of the small minority of the people in the area".

He said it was felt it was time the police and army took the initiative and did something constructive. — Sapa.

Truckdriver dies in collision in thick mist

A truckdriver was killed when he drove into the back of another truck in thick mist in Leondale, Germiston, at 6.20 am today. Firemen struggled for almost two hours to free his body.

● Wynand Fourie (2), of Glen Marais, Kempton Park, drowned in a swimming pool on Friday. — East Rand Bureau.

Funeral of pupil shot in Soweto is peaceful

The Nghunghunyane High School pupil shot dead by police in Chiawelo, Soweto, last week was buried at the Avalon Cemetery yesterday.

The funeral of Mr Mackson Mbulelo Gaga (22), of Senaoane, was peaceful. Mr Gaga died during an incident at the school last week in which several other pupils were seriously injured.

Treurnicht warns blacks

JOHANNESBURG. — The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, warned black militants at the weekend that seeking revolution was "playing with fire".

Speaking at a rally on Pretoria's Church Square on Saturday, he said that if necessary more military forces should be deployed to put down "the forces of revolution".

Dr Treurnicht cautioned blacks against threatening revolution. "They are playing with fire," he said.

Estimates of the crowd at the rally varied between 1 500 and 2 500, but reporters said attendance was confused by downtown shoppers.

Dr Treurnicht demanded that President P W Botha re-establish an all-white Parliament by abandoning the tricameral system.

Dismissing the notion of racial integration, he said whites had a right to national recognition. — UPI

1/9/86

PW's pay may soon go up

1/9/86

SOVETMV

304A

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Constitution

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56 pc of urban whites support idea of Bill of Rights

3547 2/9/86 STAR

Some 56 percent of urban white South Africans would support the inclusion and entrenchment of a Bill of Rights in the South African constitution.

This is the finding of an Omnichek poll involving face-to-face interviews by Research Surveys among 800 women and 500 men in the last six weeks.

The poll result was announced soon after a call by the South African Law Commission for "reasoned suggestions in writing" from the public on the feasibility of enacting a Bill of Rights.

The poll asked: "If you understand a Bill of Rights to mean freedom of speech, religion and movement, and the protection of the interests of minorities would you support this being entrenched in the constitution of a new South Africa?"

Research Surveys director Mr John Rice said that despite the time difference in posing questions there was a striking similarity in responses which bore out the accuracy of the poll as a barometer of political thinking among whites. This correlation was reflected consistently throughout the sample, with English-speaking men and women revealing quite independently that they were less conservative than their Afrikaans-speaking counterparts towards the idea.

The negative and noncommittal aspects of the poll were a surprise and could be attributed to the fluid political situation which lacked clear policy direction and management.

"The big surprise was the reluctance among respondents in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region — 60 percent of the total sample of 1 309 men and women — to commit themselves: 32 percent answered "Don't know" to the question compared with 20 percent who said "No" and only 49 percent who said "Yes". In contrast, there was a 71 percent positive response in both Cape Town and Durban."

GIVEN THUMBS DOWN

In most major centres country-wide, the question was supported by 62 percent of the men and 53 percent of the women respondents.

The idea was given "thumbs down" by 18 percent (20 percent of the men and 16 percent of the women).

A high 26 percent had no views or declined to commit themselves. This standpoint was adopted by 18 percent of men and 31 percent of women.

There was a higher affirmative response among English-speaking respondents, comprising a sample of 667 men and women, than in the Afrikaans community, comprising 642.

Of English-speaking people, 67 percent (men 69 percent and women 66 percent) said "Yes" to the question compared with 45 percent of Afrikaans-speaking (men 54 percent and women 40 percent).

This pattern was repeated in the negative and neutral responses, with 23 percent of Afrikaans-speaking women saying "No" to the question and 37 percent declining to commit themselves

A Bill of Rights had least attraction for people in the 18-24 age group, with only 51 percent saying 'Yes' compared with 23 percent saying "No" and 26 percent "Don't know".

Warmest response to the idea came from people aged 50 or more (64 percent, with 64 percent of men and 63 percent of women saying "Yes").

Similarly, 64 percent of those earning R3 500 or more a month supported the supposition compared with 53 percent in the R2 000 - R3 499 income bracket and 56 percent earning R1 999 or less. — Sapa.

Impasse meeting set for today

PW fails to stop Parliament anger

Own Correspondent

THE personal intervention of President P W Botha yesterday failed to end the partial boycott of Parliament by all Opposition parties.

But Opposition and government whips have agreed to an 11am meeting today to discuss the impasse — although no agenda has been agreed upon.

● P W BOTHA

It is understood Botha is anxious to see the deadlock resolved, even if this means an embarrassing apology from senior National Members.

But Opposition whips were unwilling to speculate last night on what concessions government would have to make for them to call off their protest action.

However, events in Parliament yesterday did little to improve the prospects for compromise between the NP and its parliamentary opponents who have been angered by government attempts to quash relevant debate, and government's wastage of taxpayers' money and MP's time by calling a "farcical" second session of Parliament.

First, the Speaker once again turned down a PFP request for a 2½-hour parliamentary debate on the Soweto crisis.

Then House of Assembly Leader Hendrik Schoeman gave notice he would move today that the House not sit on Wednesday — the day of the NP's OFS congress.

And a motion by PFP Finance spokesman Harry Schwarz to discuss a committee to look into the effect of sanctions and boycotts on SA's economy has been relegated to the bottom of the order paper.

Despite the earlier failures by the PFP to debate Soweto, Helen Suzman, who carried out an on-the-spot investigation in the area last week, yesterday moved a motion expressing shock at the deaths and violence in the township.

The motion calls for a judicial commission of inquiry into the recent events in Soweto, the underlying causes of unrest, and the role played by various authorities and individuals.

this connection; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the town council's reaction?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) (a) and (b) No.

(2) No, complainants are referred to the SA Police.

(3) No, because no cases have been brought to my or my Department's attention.

Occupational Diseases

*15. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:†

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 9 on 27 May 1986, legislation based on recommendations contained in the White Paper on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Compensation for Occupational Diseases will be introduced in Parliament during the current session; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it expected to be introduced;

(2) whether this legislation will be submitted to interested employer and employee organisations beforehand for consideration and comment; if not, why not; if so, to which such organisations?

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) No,

(a) Legislation not ready for introduction yet.

(b) It is intended for next session.

(2) Yes, as wide as possible. As a great number of institutions may have an interest in the proposed legislation, a comprehensive list is at presently being compiled.

Pietersburg: NP meeting

*16. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 9 on 10 June 1986, the police investigation into the events during a meeting of the National Party on 22 May 1986 in a hall in Pietersburg has been completed; if not, why not, if so, what were the findings;

(2) whether the Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police, Far Northern Transvaal Division, received any complaints in connection with these events; if so, what were the particulars of the complaints;

(3) whether the said Divisional Commissioner received any instructions in connection with the vacation of the hall; if so, (a) what was the nature of the instructions and (b) from whom did he receive them?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes, the police docket was handed to the Attorney-General for his decision who declined to prosecute.

(2) All complaints which were received from persons concerned, were put in writing and were incorporated in the docket which was handed to the Attorney-General. Because this official declined to prosecute, I do not deem it in the interest of the public to divulge the particulars of the complaints at this stage.

(3) (a) and (b) Because a departmental investigation concerning the matter is not yet completed and as this aspect forms part of such an investigation, it is not desirable to divulge the particulars at this stage.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, will he allow hon members of the opposition parties access to the report when the departmental investigation in connection with this issue has been completed?

†The MINISTER: No, Mr Chairman, I will not be prepared to do that; it is not practice, and I do not think that it is desirable to do something like that. If I can be of assistance to the hon member by means of a private conversation in this regard, then we can discuss the matter. Further than that I can unfortunately not go.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is it the general accepted policy in the Police Force to use teargas canisters in a hall which is partially closed? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am not sure, but I think that somewhere on the Question Paper there is a question in this regard. I do not have it in front of me, but I will supply the hon member with an answer at the appropriate time.

Pietersburg post office

*17. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Communications:†

(1) Whether any extensions or alterations were recently made at the Pietersburg post office; if so, what was the nature thereof;

(2) whether tenders were invited for this work; if not, why not; if so, (a) who was the successful tenderer and (b) what was the amount of the tender;

(3) whether the tenderer has completed the work; if so, when; if not, why not?

†The MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS:

(1) No;

(2) and (3) fall way.

Mobil Oil SA (Pty) Ltd.

*18. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether he or his Department has (a) taken note of and (b) received complaints or representations about remarks about South Africa's internal affairs alleged to have been made recently by a certain foreign oil company, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purposes of his reply; if so, what is the name of this company;

(2) whether he has reacted or intends reacting to these remarks; if so, (a) when and (b) in what manner; if not, why not;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) Yes.

(b) No.
Mobil Oil SA (Pty) Ltd.

(2) No.

(a) and (b) In the first instance this matter does not resort under me.

(3) No.

Dismissal of social worker

*19. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:†

(1) Whether a certain social worker, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purposes of his reply, was recently dismissed from the service of the South African National Council for Alcoholism; if so,

(2) whether he will furnish the reasons for her dismissal; if not, why not; if

AWB has Brandwags 'country-wide'

BUS DAY 21/4/86

304A

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has already established Brandwags — defence units — countrywide, deputy leader Jan Groenewald said yesterday.

However, he dismissed as a "political move" a warning issued at the weekend by Defence Minister Magnus Malan that the AWB should watch that its Brandwag in the Eastern Transvaal does not clash with the SA Defence Force.

"We have issued the same warning to our people that under no circumstances should they create trouble with the police and SADF.

"The Brandwag is concerned with the safety of people and should be seen as an action group which supports the SAP and SADF," Groenewald said.

Meanwhile, a row is brewing over AWB claims that National Party and Progressive Federal Party members support the Eastern Transvaal Brandwag, which was launched to protect farmers and their crops from alleged ANC presence in Lebowa.

Spokesmen for both parties have strongly denied that any of their members have aligned themselves with AWB "security plans".

Govt, AWB in massive drive to feed whites

STAR 2/9/86 (304)

By Hannes de Wet and Andre du Toit

The Government is providing food aid to an average of 95 000 people a month in a massive fight against poverty among people of all population groups.

And the AWB has launched its own mercy mission to aid needy white children, especially Afrikaners.

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk is involved in similar relief efforts.

Dr Colin Cameron, co-ordinator of the Emergency Feeding Scheme of the Department of National Health and Population Development, said:

"In July, we helped 17 000 families — which amounted to 95 000 people. This is a fair reflection of the monthly average."

Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the AWB, claimed yesterday his movement was the main force behind aid to destitute white families. The primary goal of the AWB initiative was to provide relief to Afrikaner children — although other white children also qualified.

The scheme includes help to people in the drought-stricken areas of the Western Transvaal.

R35 000 SET ASIDE

At Groot Marico, the manager of the local farmers' co-operative, Mr Jaap Coetzee, said farmers from Groot Marico up to Lichtenburg were sending food to the Witwatersrand.

The assistant-secretary of the Commission for Social Services of the NGK, Mrs J H Melle, said that in the first three months this year, R35 000 was budgeted for food to the needy.

"A total of 2 000 people older than 10 years and a thousand under the age of 10 were provided with food," she said.

The general secretary of the AWB, Mr Willem Olivier, said: "During the past few months, there has been a definite increase in poverty in the Transvaal and Free State — and the indications are that the situation will get worse."

According to him, the aid included clothes.

Calling on other organisations and institutions to help, Mr TerreBlanche told *The Star*: "We cannot keep on looking after the country's children alone."

He also made a plea to the Government to introduce a levy on gold and platinum exports.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES

"Due to the current exchange rate, South African gold and platinum are achieving unrealistic prices. The result is that mining houses are making a fortune while more and more people are getting poorer," he claimed.

"A levy on every ounce of gold sold will mean billions of rands that could be used to create job opportunities," Mr TerreBlanche said.

According to a survey conducted by *The Star* on the Witwatersrand and the Transvaal platteland, farmers were donating produce on a regular basis.

"I'm getting 40 dozen eggs a week from Benoni, milk from Heilbron and vegetables from Marble Hall," said Mrs Swannie Swanepoel, who runs a daily soup kitchen for children in Mayfair, Fordsburg, Cottesloe and Jan Hofmeyer.

She said she was feeding 300 children and a number of adults every day.

In the Zeerust district, one of the worst-hit drought areas in Transvaal, AWB members are involved in running soup kitchens.

The Conservative Party is also said to be planning aid.

Parliament and Politics

Botha fails to end House boycott

CAPE TIMES 2/9/86

30 LAP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE personal intervention of President P W Botha yesterday failed to end the partial boycott of Parliament by all opposition parties.

But opposition and government whips have agreed to an 11am meeting today to discuss the impasse.

It is understood Mr Botha is anxious to see the deadlock resolved even if this means an embarrassing apology from senior National Party Members to the opposition.

But opposition whips were unwilling to speculate last night on what concessions the government would have to make for them to call off their protest action.

Soweto

However, events in Parliament yesterday did little to improve the prospects for compromise between the National Party and its parliamentary opponents, who have been angered by government attempts to quash relevant debate and the government's wastage of taxpayers' money and MPs' time by calling a "farcical" second session.

First, the Speaker once again turned down a Progressive Federal Party request for a parliamentary debate on the Soweto crisis.

Then the Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, gave notice that he would move today that the House not sit tomorrow — the day of the NP's OFS congress.

And a motion by the PFP's finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, to discuss the appointment of a committee to look into the effect of sanctions and boycotts on the South African economy has been relegated to the bottom of the order paper.

Inquiry

Despite the earlier failures by the PFP to debate Soweto, Mrs Helen Suzman, who carried out an on-the-spot investigation in the area last week, yesterday moved a motion expressing shock at the death and violence in the township.

The motion calls for a judicial commission of inquiry into the recent events in Soweto, the underlying causes of unrest, and the role played by various authorities and individuals.

PFP members said yesterday that there would be little prospect of any accommodation with the government if the motion was quashed.

Meanwhile, opposition parties yesterday continued their strategy of non-participation in debates on bills they did not oppose.

Despite government attempts at filibustering, speculation continued that the two-week-old extended session could end as early as next week.

How can church back Tutu?

From R FISHER (Claremont):

THE SABC decision not to have live coverage of the Archbishop's enthronement is not surprising. It probably is a political decision, but what is surprising is the continued confidence in Bishop Tutu displayed by the Anglican Church. Bearing in mind that the church will maintain that it is not a political organization, on what grounds does it continue to support Bishop Tutu as its future archbishop?

"Love thy neighbour" is definitely not the slogan of any political party, but it is a cornerstone of the Christian faith. How does the church then justify Bishop Tutu's vehement support for sanctions and his "go-to-hell" condemnation of the West with "love thy neighbour?"

When writing to the Editor . . .

PLEASE be brief, double-space, use only one side of the sheet, sign your name and give your full address.

We must include blacks at the highest level

Cape Times 2/9/86

From Mr W M SUTTON, President's Council (Cape Town):

MR HULLEY has labelled as fatuous nonsense my proposal for a house of deputies of 60 members for urban blacks. The comment aptly fits Mr Hulley's understanding of the proposal.

The nearest estimate for blacks living outside the homelands, with whom my proposal deals, is eight million people.

We are reliably told that half the black population of South Africa is under the age of 15. By proceeding up the pyramid of blacks to 18 years, the eight million becomes something less than four million, of whom many are still interested in the homelands and their rights there. This applies especially to recent migrants, who are such a feature of the urban scene.

The truth is that Mr Hulley has no idea of the numbers of potential voters in black urban areas, or even in the non-homeland areas.

Bill Sutton

I have made an educated guess, but there are obvious problems such as how one determines the age of youths when registration of births is at best sketchy.

The problems involved in compiling a voters roll in black urban areas are daunting but they must be faced and 60 is a reasonable figure under the above circumstances.

The figure has a further significance in that the ratio between groups in the Parliament then becomes 4:2:1½:1. This means that in the election of the president, the white House of Assembly is no longer the sole disposer of presidential power.

In terms of NRP policy the leaders of the majority parties in the four chambers will be in the cabinet and the presidency will rotate among them, one year a white, the next a coloured, a black and an Indian president in turn.

What greater evidence could Mr Hulley and the outside world want that the power establishment is including blacks at all levels of decision-taking, including the vital area of the budget, where real sharing can take place?

Our proposal for the homelands is a convention such as in Brussels, homeland ministers to meet in a council, especially to discuss financial matters of mutual interest.

I am a great believer in dialogue between opposition parties, so there can be a better understanding of the alternatives offered.

Perhaps Mr Hulley will tell me whether the federal policy of his party includes the ratios mentioned for Natal — 80 Zulus, 10 Indians, eight whites and two coloureds in a House of 100?

Perhaps he will also tell me and the voters in Pinelands he was addressing, what the ratios will look like in the other regions under his plan, and the ratios in the federal Parliament.

The proposals of my party are a bridge over troubled waters to take us from the old republic to the new republic.

Without blacks in Parliament to take joint decisions with other groups, no other constitution can be legitimate.

Any change from the present structure of Parliament on a group basis can only result in a return to Westminster and a majority system.

If such a decision ever has to be taken, at least let it be taken in Parliament where all the relevant groups are represented.

Always children who suffer

From L HENDRICKS (Crawford):

ONLY now have I read Chris Barnard's column of August 4. I would like to put a few questions.

Why did he not remind the government when they started with their apartheid legislation of Christ's warning to those who harm little children? I don't remember hearing his voice raised in such indignation over the Group Areas Act which uprooted thousands including many, many such little ones from their homes.

Job reservations, another of apartheid's evil legislations, with its disparity in wages (cheap labour) was, in another way, taking bread out of little ones' mouths, not to mention the homelands policy where thousands were repatriated to an existence of near starvation. Again many little ones suffered.

It is apartheid that must take the responsibility for sanctions. And, if as the government now claims, apartheid is indeed sick and dying out, it is suffering a rather long and painful death. We all know his view on that matter, so I suggest he gives the government a few tips on his favourite subject, euthanasia, and bring it mercifully and quickly to its end.

100 years ago

From the Cape Times September 2 1886:

THE third annual dinner of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes was held at the Whittington Hotel, Darling Street last night

Coetsee says AWB and ANC have same aims

Political Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Minister of Justice yesterday compared the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) to the African National Congress, saying both organisations were trying to make South Africa ungovernable.

Addressing the National Party's Free State Congress in Bloemfontein, Mr Coetsee delivered a strong attack on right-wing parties, accusing them of trying to divide the country in difficult times.

He said the AWB aimed to "free" certain areas from State rule and administer these regions on the basis of separatism.

"Who else can be responsible for this other than that chief actor, producer and scriptwriter — Eugene TerreBlanche?

"It is very funny but also dangerous."

He said rule by the AWB would be similar to that of a country governed by the ANC "and the Communists".

ANC SLOGAN

Mr Coetsee said the ANC had planned to make South African ungovernable, but these goals had been thwarted by the actions of the Government and the security forces.

He said the slogan of Mr TerreBlanche of "let my People go" was identical to the title of an autobiography written by ANC member Dr Albert Luthuli.

Referring to a recent threatening telex sent by the AWB to the ANC in Lusaka, Mr Coetsee said the right-wing organisation was trying to create security structures independent of the Government.

"These actions by the AWB can only lead to divisions over the security situation — and the only parties that stand to gain are the revolutionary anarchists and terrorists."

He hit out at the Conservative Party for allowing its members to join the AWB.

He called on CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to cut ties with the AWB.

Mr Coetsee said the Government's constitutional reforms had succeeded in extending democracy.

SA is Africa's leader, PW tells Free State congress

304A 3/9/86

STAR

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN — The State President, Mr Botha, has called on the non-aligned nations gathered in Harare to turn their backs on the "exploitive" Eastern and Western powers and recognise South Africa's leadership role in Africa.

He told the National Party's Free State congress in Bloemfontein last night that Africa had been betrayed by the major powers: "I hope that in Harare thay take heed of my warnings. Unless they are prepared to accept the facts Africa will go down the drain.

"The world's raging against 'apartheid' is pretence and will not further South African reform or make the problems of Africa disappear," he said.

He repeated his offer to talk with African and Western leaders to try to resolve the region's economic and development problems: "Africa must be freed of the economic and ideological changes which have shackled the people of this plundered continent for so long. A new Africa should be built on the ruins of five centuries of colonialism and exploitation."

Referring to the "wind of change" speech by ex-British Prime Minister Mr Harold Macmillan in 1960, Mr Botha said: "In a sense he was correct, but he was addressing the wrong audience on the wrong issues."

He said Africa was threatened with economic and political disaster: "The wind of change has become an African storm threatening the very survival of nations of the continent."

Mr Botha said British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe had also referred to the wind of change, saying it had "become a tempest". "Like Macmillan, Sir Geoffrey was correct only to a certain degree but for the wrong reasons. He said the European powers had plundered Africa, carving it into artificial states and exploiting its people and resources.

"Africa today is a continent betrayed by those who held its future in trust. The time has come for a new wind in Africa — a wind to blow away the legacies of the past and bring new hope to Africa.

NATIONS CANNOT AFFORD SANCTIONS

"South Africa has much to offer to change Africa's misery into an opportunity for survival."

Mr Botha said it was incomprehensible that the West was turning its back on South Africa when it was the only country with the key to solving the continent's problems.

Referring to sanctions, he said: "The countries of Southern Africa do not really wish to impose sanctions against South Africa because they know they cannot afford it.

"They are being urged on from outside Africa to pretend they are pressuring the Commonwealth and the West for sanctions."

The truth was that the communists wanted an anti-Western South African government and the West was not willing or able to oppose that aim.

SA has key to peace says State President

Political Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN — The South African Government realised that it held the key to peace and development in the sub-continent, the State President, Mr P Botha, told the Free State's National Party congress last night.

He said that both the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and the US Secretary of State, Mr George Schultz, had recognised the country's importance.

"The Government and the people of South Africa fully agree with this admission of fact and expression of hope by Mr Schultz."

The Government accepted that world powers had an interest in the region.

"If their aim should be to assist friends and allies in a meaningful way to ensure stability, peace and development, we could have no objection."

His offer of co-operation to resolve the region's problems had been "strangely" received in some Western quarters.

Britain had been negative while President Ronald Reagan's initial positive reaction had been repudiated by the American State Department.

"Let us build rather than destroy. Africa must stand up from its suffering.

"In many fields, South Africa offers the key through which the wealth and resources of our region can be unlocked."

Joint debate plan 'holds no danger of domination'

BLOEMFONTEIN — Joint parliamentary debate involving all three Houses "holds no danger of domination", the State President Mr P W Botha said last night.

Addressing the Free State national congress, Mr Botha said some people were trying "to make political mischief" out of the proposal for joint debates.

"This is not a new principle, it is rather the extended application of an already existing principle."

He said last week's report on standing committees and joint debate contained proposals which meant that South Africa was moving further away from the British Westminster system.

Nats in rare climbdown on whip row

3/9/86

STAR

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party conceded almost every major demand of the opposition parties in this week's parliamentary crisis.

As a result the Assembly reverts to the normal manner of debating and co-operation between the parties from today, and the extended session of Parliament is to come to a halt on Friday.

All parties recognised yesterday that it was President Botha's personal intervention that enabled the Assembly to be put back on track.

Yet the cost to the National Party in terms of loss of face and prestige has been high.

In exchange for the opposition parties agreeing to reinstate their co-operation for the smooth functioning of Parliament, the Government, in a rare climbdown, has:

- Made a full and public apology for its handling of the dispute over scrapping evening sittings.
- Granted the Progressive Federal Party's request for a special two-and-a-half-hour debate on the unrest in Soweto.
- Agreed to a PFP call for the appointment of a select committee to form part of a joint committee to evaluate sanctions and the steps necessary to counter them.
- Agreed to an almost immediate adjournment of Parliament until next year.

The crisis in Parliament was triggered last week when the Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, moved that sitting hours on Monday and Wednesday evenings be scrapped because Parliament had too little work to do.

The immediate issue was that, in violation of long-standing convention, Government whips had not given warning of the motion to opposition whips.

The wider and more important repercussion was opposition anger that Parliament had been convened for an extended session under what opposition MPs said wwere false pretences.

Pipeline

President Botha himself had said, necessary reform legislation, including the National Council Bill, had to be passed. Yet no such legislation was before Parliament, and none appeared to be in the pipeline.

The PFP was particularly angry because two requests to discuss Soweto had been turned down by the Speaker, Mr Johann Greeff.

PFP spokesmen complained bitterly that Parliament did not have sufficient work to do, yet was not allowed to debate important issues affecting the national interest. The session had become a farce.

The Government's attitude in this regard and its inability to present the promised reform legislation pointed to its increasing contempt for Parliament, said MPs in all opposition parties.

This line of criticism apparently touched a raw nerve and it soon became apparent that President Botha was particularly sensitive to it.

Differences

When Mr Schoeman failed to patch up the differences between the parties, Mr Botha called a meeting of leaders and chief whips yesterday.

If there were any apologies to be made, he promised, they would be. He said he was once Leader of the House and realised only too well how important it was to enjoy the co-operation of the whips, as well as to respect Parliament's traditions, conventions, rules and orders.

Opposition leaders and whips said afterwards that they were impressed at the way Mr Botha had handled the meeting and had agreed to meet among themselves in a fresh attempt to hammer out an agreement.

The result was the Government's apology and other concessions.

The saga has, however, not ended there. PFP chief whip Mr Brian Bamford told the Assembly yesterday that it was too early to say what lessons had been learned from the bust-up. The dust first had to settle.

ABC of politics mooted for schools

Political Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Government is to investigate the feasibility of teaching the basics of politics to senior high school pupils.

Announcing this at the National Party's Free State Congress yesterday, the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Petrus Clase, said most young people were ignorant about how governments function.

He said he would ask the Committee of Heads of Education to investigate the possibility of introducing senior high school pupils to the subject.

Mr Clase stressed that party politics would be kept out of the curriculum, and that only theory would be taught.

Delegates also supported a motion calling for black languages to be taught at white schools. Mr Clase told the congress that the Government accepted this principle and that a black language was taught to most white primary school pupils at a senior level.

'R20m for farcical session'

Cape Times 3/9/86 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PFP last night slated the abortive three-week second session of Parliament as a disgraceful example of "monumental government incompetence" that had wasted over R20-million in taxpayers' money.

This followed the government's decision to defuse the week-long parliamentary crisis by backing down to white Opposition parties, apologising for misleading the House and finally agreeing to a debate on Soweto before Parliament adjourns on Friday.

The Leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, ended the partial boycott of Parliament by apologising to party whips for misinforming Parliament.

He also withdrew his motion calling off today's sitting and reinstating in its place a debate on Soweto called for by Mrs Helen Suzman.

Two-and-a-half hours have been set aside for the debate.

Yesterday's dramatic developments amount to a victory for Opposition parties, who banded together to protest at government attempts to turn the current session into an unnecessary and expensive "farce".

Last night the PFP's spokesman on economic advisory services, Major Reuben Sive, said the second three-week session of Parliament was "an absolute disgrace" and a "complete waste of taxpayers' money".

Major Sive estimated it had cost at least an additional R1-million a day to keep Parliament running during the "completely wasted" three-week session once all the expenses of reconvening MPs, civil servants, catering services and journalists in Cape Town was taken into account.

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said in an interview last night that the government

To page 2

Cape Times 3/9/86 (304A)

From page 1

backdown was a clear signal that the PFP and other parties were not prepared to "sit back with arms folded in the face of monumental government incompetence, bungling and the wastage of taxpayers' money".

Mr Eglin said the "wheels had come off" the government's entire constitutional development programme, including its attempts to reach an accommodation with blacks and its bid to establish racially separate local authorities.

The PFP leader said Mr Chris Heunis's grand plan to entrench apartheid through "own affairs" legislation had "come unstuck" and this was one of the major reasons why Parliament had had no meaninglful legislation to deal with during the extended session.

There was definitely a case for a second of session of Parliament each year, but there was no point to this when the government confined business to "trivial matters" and prevented Opposition parties from debating important issues.

● Mr Eglin yesterday gave notice that he would move today that the House of Assembly annul the proclamations declaring and regulating the state of emergency.

He would propose the annulment of the proclamations and regulations issued in the Government Gazette on June 12 — the first day of the emergency, and on a number of subsequent dates — in terms of Section 3 (6) of the Public Safety Act.

Govt apologises for breaking time-honoured convention

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In a major back-down, the Government yesterday apologised in the House of Assembly to opposition parties for having broken a time-honoured convention between whips.

It also acceded to a request by the PFP for a special debate on last week's violence and deaths in Soweto.

Opposition parties accepted the apology and agreed to resume the co-operation of the party whips.

This means the session will be able to proceed normally until its probable adjournment on Friday.

The Leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, the Minister of Transport Affairs, said in a statement yesterday that following a meeting of the chief whips of all the parties, they would endeavour to adjourn on Friday evening.

Normal proceedings would resume and the Government had decided to allow a debate on Soweto, he said.

The special 2½-hour debate is to take place in the Assembly at 4pm today.It will be introduced by the long-standing PFP human rights campaigner, Mrs Helen Suzman, who herself visited the scene last week to collect evidence. At least 21 people died and scores were injured.

Mr Schoeman apologised to the House for opposition whips not having been informed beforehand last Wednesday that he was to move its early adjournment on that day.

The chief Opposition whip, Mr Brian Bamford, said the PFP accepted the apology in the spirit in which it had been made.

The CP's chief whip, Mr Jan Hoon, said: "It is a big man who can apologise when he has made a mistake."

And in a statement last night, the chief whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, pointed out that although the target date for the adjournment of the House of Assembly was now Friday, it had to be borne in mind that "parliamentary work will nevertheless continue".

ND. 3/9/86 (304A)

AWB dismisses Malan warning

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has dismissed as a "political move" a warning by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, that the AWB should be careful its Brandwag in the Eastern Transvaal did not clash with the South African Defence Force.

"We have issued the same warning to our people that under no circumstances should they create trouble with the police and SADF. The Brandwag is concerned with the safety of people and should be seen as an action group which supports the SAP and SADF," the AWB's deputy leader, Mr Jan Groenewald, said.

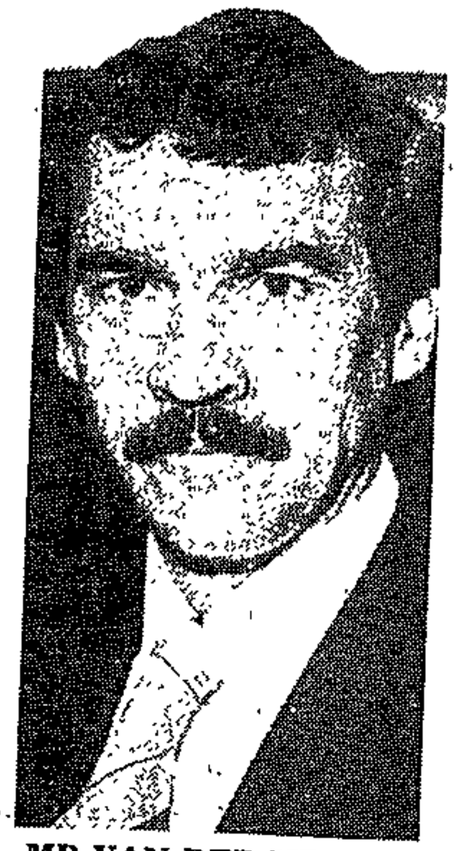
He refused to say in which other areas the AWB had formed Brandwags.

National Party and Progressive Federal Party members have denied an AWB claim that they support the Eastern Transvaal Brandwag, which was launched to protect farmers and their crops from alleged African National Congress presence in Lebowa.

Spokesmen for both parties say it is not true any of their members have aligned themselves with AWB "security plans".

The Eastern Transvaal Brandwag organiser, Mr Johan Wessels said about 300 Lydenburg people and about 35 in Steelpoort — most of them whom are "involved" with the SADF — have been recruited.

GEN MALAN



MR VAN DER MERWE

The Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, who is also the MP for Lydenburg, said it was illegal for SAP or SADF members to join the AWB.

He said he was not aware any NP members had joined the Brandwag and suggested the AWB was "trying to cash in politically on previous fear and previous instablility" in the area.

"We had trouble and brought in the police and army. The situation there is now normal," he said. "The problem is the AWB is not brave and has gone to the utmost extreme with electrical devices, alarms and whatever," Mr Du Plessis said.

The PFP's spokesman on law and order, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, dismissed as "absolute rubbish" claims that PFP members supported the idea of a "private army" which he warned, could be extremely dangerous.

"It is possible, in terms of the Internal Security Act, for the government to act against the Brandwags. If this goes ahead on any significant scale and the government does nothing they will be playing with fire."

Botha says strife not black-white

BADEN-BADEN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, declared in a television interview yesterday that strife in South Africa was between communists and democrats, not the black and white races.

In a combative 45-minute interview with two ARD network correspondents in South Africa, Mr Botha also said he believed South Africa could weather punitive economic sanctions. Mr Botha denounced the ANC as "a front organisation for the communists." He said he had invited ANC leaders, who live outside South Africa, to engage in talks with him with only one condition — that they renounce violence as a means of political change.

"The principle of one man, one vote has long been accepted in South Africa. But if you mean by one man, one vote a system where the majority will dominate the other minorities in South Africa, then the reply is no," said Mr Botha.

Mr Botha contended South Africa could withstand economic sanctions. "Eventually I believe we will be stronger economically than when we went into it (sanctions)," he asserted.

Asked about the possibility of freeing Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Botha reiterated:

"I will not free anyone from prison who hasn't pledged to me first that he will not use weapons of violence against the state."

Asked whether rejection of the ANC prevented meaningful dialogue with black opposition leaders, Mr Botha said: "The most popular black leaders are conferring with me personally" every day. — Sapa-AP

ANC holds key to negotiation, Pik tells Japan

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A matching commitment to abandon violence by the African National Congress (ANC) and other parties in return for action required of the South African Government to start negotiation offered prospects for progress, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has told the Japanese Government.

The action required of the South African Government which Mr Botha referred to was the release of Nelson Mandela and other "political" prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and other political parties, and to enter into peaceful dialogue.

Mr Botha met Japan's Foreign Minister, Mr Tadashi Kuranari, in Tokyo yesterday.

He is on a tour of four countries in the Far East, including Taiwan and Hong Kong.

According to sources close to the visiting party the South African delegation has been well received by the Japanese Government.

There has been minimal public protest about the visit.

A meeting between Mr Botha and the head of a major company trading in South Africa was marked by a demonstration of 11 people today.

According to a working document released by the Department of Foreign Affairs in Cape Town today, Mr Botha told Mr Kuranari it remained only for the adversary groups to be persuaded to abandon violence and commit themselves to peaceful negotiations.

Mr Botha also made a powerful argument against sanctions, which he said would cause incalculable harm to the social, economic and political advancement of all the countries of the southern African region.

Sanctions were counter-productive because the instigators of violence and intimidation believed the outside world was doing their work for them and they therefore had no need to come to the negotiating

4/9/88

SOWR 304A

TerreBlanche tells Malan: It's your fault if farmers feel unsafe

By Hannes de Wet

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, should blame himself — and not the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging — if Eastern Transvaal farmers were not happy with security arrangements in their area, AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said yesterday.

He was responding to General Malan's warning to the AWB not to compete with the SADF in Eastern Transvaal.

The AWB recently announced that it had formed its own "brandwag" in the area to protect farmers from terrorist attacks.

Mr TerreBlanche said the aim of the "brandwag" was not to replace or to compete with the police or the Defence Force.

Reports that "brandwag" members at Steelpoort have been issued with R-1 rifles by the SADF were rejected by Mr Willem Knoetze, chairman of the local branch of the National Party.

LOCAL COMMANDO MEMBERS

"It is true that some AWB members are in possession of R-1 rifles but they have been issued with the rifles because they are members of the local commando.

"Quite a few AWB members are actually commissioned officers or members of our commando. It was in that capacity that they received R-1 rifles," Mr Knoetze said.

Mr TerreBlanche said: "If the farmers of Eastern Transvaal feel threatened or are not happy with General Malan's arrangements, the Minister must blame himself — and not the AWB.

"We would have preferred not having to form a brandwag. But we must be prepared. Every citizen has the right to defend himself. Does Mr Malan want to take that right away?"

Cape Times 4/9/86 30444

edited by Godfrey Heynes.

Clear leadership needed — Steyn

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Assistant Financial Editor

THE executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, J H Steyn, last night called on both black and white political leaders to end uncertainty by giving a clear lead "towards the goal of a just, non-racial, democratic SA."

Speaking at the "mini-annual meeting" of the Urban Foundation in the Western Cape, Steyn said young people were concerned about their future in SA.

"Understandably perturbed at the high levels of instability, many of them are anxiously examining the merits of emigration.

"Some of them have already left, taking with them the precious knowledge and skill which our educational system has afforded them.

"I would appeal to them to consider their decision very carefully because all of us, black and white South Africans, need them to help us through what I regard as the trough of transition.

"Therefore, while I have an understanding of the realities of both black and white politics and the political constituencies which comprise that body politic, leadership — both black and white — must recognize the enormous threat to our common future posed by pandering to white fears on one hand, or to a reckless and violent pursuit of the black liberation struggle on the other."

Steyn said it was now imperative "that both black and white leadership should articulate clear goals and should identify strategies through which those goals can be achieved.

He said he believed South Africans were beginning to tire of the exploitation of their fears, and there was evidence of increasing black discontent at the unacceptable levels of violence in their communities.

Real security lay in the speedy development of a race-free democracy.

"We need leadership, both black and white, to give us a vision of the future which does not rely for its viability on unacceptable, oppressive measures on the one hand or brutal violence on the other.

"We have it in our hands to prevent further polarization and racial division.

"We can create a new SA of real stature and significance on the common value base which the overwhelming majority of South Africans share and cherish."

Steyn said the abolition of the Group Areas Act was one of the foundation's aims.

It was also anxious to "move very rapidly down-market" in the field of housing.

He appealed to banks, building societies, financial institutions and life offices to help provide housing finance for the very poor so that they could own their homes.

He pointed out that additional building work would mean more jobs and the development of skills.

Strong moves for PFP unity with the NRP

30.4A

WEEKLY MAIL 5/9/86

By BARRY STREEK
Cape Town

STRONG moves for unity between the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party are likely after the low-key by-elections in Claremont and Pinelands this week.

After the Pinelands result came out, leaders and candidates of both parties openly talked of ending irrelevant PFP/NRP scraps.

With growing election fever, and the realisation that it will largely be dominated by the government and the far-right, the pressures for unity are bound to increase.

Although the voters in Pinelands, where the poll was 55,3 percent, and Claremont, where the poll was just over 30 percent, were considerably disinterested, the results were a somewhat better victory for the PFP than even party loyalists hoped for.

The NRP's last-minute maverick candidate, Anthony Leisegang, lost his deposit in Claremont and the PFP's Jasper Walsh pushed up the party's majority in Pinelands to 1 804, compared to Dr Alex Boraine's 1 555 in 1981.

For a buoyant PFP leader, Colin Eglin, the results showed the party had fought the setbacks of the resignations of former leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Boraine earlier in the year. The PFP was "back in business in a big way," he said.

But despite the optimism, unity was the dominant theme of the post-election analyses.

The new MP for Claremont, Jan van Eck said: "Ever since 1974 I have been fighting the Nationalists, but this has been my most frustrating political experience because I was fighting against nothing."

Walsh said voters were despairing about the future of South Africa and felt the by-elections were irrelevant to these concerns.

Eglin said the opposition parties had to come together under the PFP. The opposition voters were tired of inter-opposition squabbling, he added.

The Cape leader of the NRP, Pat Rogers, said he thought the results were very significant because they had exposed the distrust and dislike of the government.

The moderate forces had to decide on the best way to fight the government and a closing of the gap between the opposition forces, as had taken place at the Natal indaba, was necessary.

The NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, said: "I think we have got a job to find a real alternative to what the government is doing."

Van Eck felt the NRP should deservedly disappear now.

The reaction of candidates in the by-elections and the comments of party leaders indicate that moves for unity are imminent.

The NRP, now down to five public representatives, is unlikely to give up without a fight, particularly from its conservative, rabidly anti-PFP wing.

But Rogers, the Cape leader, and Derek Watterson, the Natal leader, are likely to take the lead in merger negotiations.

It seems unlikely that former party leader Vause Raw could ever contemplate being in the same party as the likes of Helen Suzman.

Election may see reshuffle in Cabinet

5/9/86 · 304A BUS DAY

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

THE promised white general election could also lead to a major Cabinet reshuffle.

Transport Minister Hendrik Schoeman and Post and Telecommunications Minister Lapa Munnik are expected to announce their retirement, while controversial Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel has recently been criticised by the Afrikaans Press and is said to be out of favour with President P W Botha.

Only Botha knows when an election is going to take place. But whether it is going to be in November this year or April next year, politicians of all shades agree it could be a critical event for SA.

According to senior NP sources, not even the Cabinet knows exactly what the State President has in mind with the election, and many of them don't agree an election would be a good idea.

Botha again hinted an election might take place soon when he told a heckler in Bloemfontein on Tuesday night there would be an election "before you are dry behind your ears".

Botha, some observers believe, could also decide — depending on which way the election went — the time had come for him to resign.

That, in turn, could bring the already bitter power struggle in the Cabinet into the open. National Education Minister and Transvaal leader of the NP, F W de Klerk is seen widely as the forerunner at the moment, with Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis and Co-operation and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen also in the running.

It seems certain, even at this early stage, that the PFP could be ousted as Official Opposition by the Conservative

● To Page 2.

Election speculation mounting

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● From Page 1

Party, with the NP losing many seats to the CP-HNP alliance.

The NP and PFP, however, could gain a few seats now held by the New Republic Party. NRP leader Bill Sutton said yesterday his party could even decide to disband after the defeat in the Claremont and Pinelands by-elections; and it is expected that, at least, Sutton and MPs Ralph Hardingham, Derrick Watterson and Pat Rogers may soon join the PFP. Many other NRP representatives and supporters could join the NP.

5/9/86 304A FIN MAIL

Getting to know the President

West German television reporters Thomas Kruchem and Gero von Boehm, commissioned by major network Algemeine Rundfunkanstalten Deutschland (ARD), interviewed State President P W Botha in Cape Town this week. An exclusive transcript of their wide-ranging discussion was made available to the *FM*. Introducing the interview, ARD, whose staff correspondent was expelled from SA a few weeks ago, presents a picture of SA "in a state of siege and confronted with economic sanctions." It asks: "Where is the country going? — into a state of civil war, or are compromises still possible?" The answers remain unclear.

ARD: Does it affect you at all, being treated increasingly as an outcast by the world?

Botha: Well, I would not say that I feel an outcast, but I would say that I am treated unfairly. I don't say that I feel an outcast, I have so much to do in southern Africa and in Africa that these affairs keep me quite busy. We belong in Africa, but I think the Western world could, in its own interests, treat us more decently, I would say, and with fewer double standards.

You just said you have to do so many things in southern Africa, but are you not closing the door of the laager and fighting from there?

No, I am in a sense in a laager and everyone of us who lives in one specific country is in the laager of his own country. But we have a laager with open doors, open gates and we move forward through these gates into Africa. There is not a single day in Cape Town or in Pretoria where we don't receive delegations and representatives from people in Africa.

Looking at your country, there is a very strong polarisation in SA of those who want change and those who want to preserve apartheid by all means — where is your position?

I don't think you are right saying that there is a confrontation or polarisation between those who want to preserve that which belongs to the past, and those who want reform. I would say that most people in SA want reform. We are a living, lively community; we are a young community of peoples and most South Africans know that we must reform, we must develop. A small minority of people cling to the far past, yes, but they are a small minority.

Now our task is to follow the policy which will make it possible for SA to develop in such a way that the multicultural society will exist, will have co-existence, peaceful co-existence, without domination of each other. And secondly, we have a highly developed First World economy and a Third World economy in the same country. We must bridge this gap, we must harmonise the First World economy and the Third World economy.

How?

For example — first of all by reform in the socio-economic field, because it is no use speaking of reform politically unless you have socio-economic reform too. You must uplift people, you must house people better, you must train people, you must create jobs for people and by creating these jobs and training them to fill these jobs, you create outlets for people. Then you must also create structures in members of the multicultural society to consult with each other on common matters, but they will also have the right to deal with specific matters concerning their own affairs.

Does this really mean sharing of power?

Yes, to a certain extent, it means sharing of power where you have common interests, and devolution of power and division of power where it concerns the specific multicultural society itself.

Sharing of power should be the basis of every reform, one might say.

Because there are common interests, yes.

We hear people say the reforms are not going fast enough. Then there is the question that most of the popular black leaders are banned or imprisoned and therefore a large part of the black population will not be represented in institutions created in the reform process.

Oh no, the question implies certain statements which are not true. Most black leaders are not in jail.

The most popular black leaders, I said.

No, that is not true either — the most popular and reliable and responsible black leaders are conferring with my government — with me personally — from day to day.

Reliable for whom?

For their own people.

And for you.

For the peace of SA. Let me take you back for a while, into the history of our country. SA went through a history of colonialism. For many hundreds of years, since 1652, SA was under the colonial yoke of the Netherlands. In 1804, SA became a colony of Great Britain and only 50 years ago did we achieve independence by constitutional means. From 1899 to 1902, the Afrikaner people fought a war for freedom against overwhelming British forces. We lost that war and in the period 1932-1934, we became independent by constitutional methods.

Until then, under the British colonial system, black people had no political rights, not at all. They had no say in the affairs of the country, they were actually living under bad, Third World economic conditions. Only after we became independent, as a nation, in 1932-1934 did we actually tackle the problem of the relationship between the white people, the black people, the coloured people and the Indian people living in this country.

Apart from these four groups which I have mentioned, you must remember that the black people of SA are also divided between different multicultural groups. You have the Xhosas, you have the Zulus, you have the

'The principle of one man one vote has long been accepted in SA. It all depends in which structures you want to apply it.'

'It is not true that we make a difference in the standards as far as education goes. We apply scientific methods in our education system . . .'

Yes, we are making it possible for them to confer with us round the table politically, economically and otherwise. We have to quote a few instances. Let me first start with what we have done economically. We have established a Southern African Development Bank (SADB) and on the board of governors sit members of different black nations, government representatives, and for the board of directors they nominate their own representatives. The SADB, during the last 12 months, contributed more than R2,5m on development schemes in various parts of southern Africa.

We have established a Small Business Development Corporation on whose board members of other groups also sit, not only white, so we are encouraging the development of small businesses which is of the utmost importance.

Sir, if you tried this ...

Let me finish. Thirdly, in the field of education, we have five universities where most of the rectors or principals are black people. We have more than 7 000 schools where black teachers teach black children in various subjects, and there is a steady development taking place in the improvement of education.

We have four independent states: Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC), who meet with us annually on matters of common concern. Usually I attend those meetings myself. We have a few, half a dozen, national self-governing states whose governments are elected by black voters to govern themselves. We meet with them. And now we have established, we propose establishing, a National Council for which we have drawn up a Bill to be introduced into parliament whereby we will broaden democracy by the representation of all the groups in SA. This is the matter for deliberation and negotiation at present.

Will the aim of all these activities be the principle of one man one vote?

The principle of one man one vote has long been accepted in SA. It all depends in which structures you want to apply it. You have a principle of one man one vote in West Germany too, but you have member states of the Federation of Germany. You have one man one vote in Switzerland under different structures; you have one man one vote in different structures in the US; but if you mean by one man one vote a system where the majority will dominate the other minorities in SA, then the reply is no.

But Mr Mandela requires one man one vote.

I know.

He will care for protection of the minority.

Let us leave Mr Mandela, he is in jail. I don't think that he is everyday speaking on behalf of the ANC. I think the ANC is more dominated by the Communist Party today. They don't stand for one man one vote; they stand for the taking over of power under a dictatorship.

You seem to be more afraid of communism than of the power of black people. Why that?

Well, first because the fight in SA is not between white and black, it is a fight between democratic institutions and communist dictatorship.

But where actually is the communist threat? Doesn't SA have a very strong army?

Just across the border.

Where? Is Mozambique a threat?

In Angola there is a civil war between people who stand for democratic institutions, and communist dictatorship. In Zambia, there is a one-party state protecting and harbouring terrorists across the border and into SA, to kill innocent people. In Zimbabwe, they are on their way, as they tell the world, to form a one-party socialist state and we know what they mean by their socialism. It is sheer Marxism, apparently; and in Mozambique there is a civil war.

'Not only blacks are arrested under the State of Emergency. There are arrests that have been made of all population groups. That is my first reply.'

'Because you must lead them to higher standards of civilisation. You must lead them to higher standards of responsibility, you must lead them to higher standards of housing and whatever else.'

But do these countries pose a threat to SA?

No, but the communists and the terrorists harboured in these countries cause a threat to SA.

Even to SA with its very strong army, even with its State President who has been a defence politician?

Yes, yes, and I'll tell you why. The terrorists across the border cross by night, or they slip in by night, and they kill black people in the townships and they start intimidating people and they create most unpleasant conditions for school children, with the result that only during the last couple of months as many as 1 500 people were killed in SA. Half of these were killed by black people through black people.

I would like to ask you one question. Doesn't the South African government in a way prepare the ground for communism by having different education for black and white, by having a Group Areas Act and race classification?

No, no, you are now mixing the few matters which should not be mixed. That is a slogan, don't talk about things that don't belong. Let us talk about education first. It is not true that we make a difference in the standards as far as education goes. We apply scientific methods in our education system. We have an overall national department coordinating all education in SA and on the coordination bodies we have white, black, coloured and Indian people as responsible education leaders.

But why have separate education?

Because you cannot teach a Xhosa in Zulu, it is as simple as that. And you can't teach an Afrikaner in Xhosa.

Why can't people voluntarily, by their own choice, decide to which school they would like to go?

Eventually, in our universities there is a tendency to open up more and more. Most of our universities allow the different groups to attend them, but in the initial stages of education it is scientifically proved that it is the best to treat the children in their cultural milieu.

Also white and black people separately?

Also white and black separately.

Why? Where is the real cultural difference?

There is a cultural difference.

But they live in one country.

They live in one country, yes, but I am an Afrikaans-speaking South African. We have English-medium schools in SA, we have double-medium schools in SA and we have Afrikaans-medium schools, but in our universities the tendency is that, when the child is ripe, to allow more lenient conditions of entry.

Let us turn to an issue which is, in a way, connected with it: to the Group Areas Act. Why can't people just chose to live where they would like; and if the Afrikaner wants to live with another Afrikaner, he does so.

The Group Areas Act has nothing to do with that.

No, it's a different issue, but it's a key issue.

If you want us to discuss the Group Areas Act we can go into it. The Group Areas Act is the result of a historical development

Let me please finish my reply. Thirdly, the State of Emergency can be instituted the moment the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the government to ensure the safety of the public. Now we have 20m people in this country, more than 20m. More than 20m. And we acted against more or less 8 000 people, some of them have been released already again, others have been arrested. Some of them will be taken to court, others will be protected against giving evidence. But eventually we will deal with these people in a fair and a decent way.

But many, or some of these people at least, have been tortured. Are the police under control?

No, that's not correct.

But you can read it even in your own newspapers in SA, and my question is ...

No, that's not correct. We have a system where a man is arrested and kept under these circumstances. The judges of the court investigate the conditions under which they live and they report back to the minister from time to time. So, it's not correct to say 'they have been tortured.' In any country, you will find that there will be exceptions, and these exceptions can be brought before court and the court will deal with them.

There have been quite a few exceptions, and my question was, is ...

Not by the court, that proves we have an independent judiciary.

Are the police still under control in SA?

Yes, yes, very much so. One of the best police forces in the world.

Every night people are shot in the townships. You know that?

But that's not fair.

How do you feel about that?

That's a deliberate lie, whoever says it.

But it is reported by SA.

Yes, but we have had a lot of lies reported about SA.

No, inside SA. This information is released by your Bureau for Information, is it not?

But no, that's not correct. I deny that police shoot people without reason.

No, that's not what I said. I was just describing the situation in the townships.

We shoot only when people seriously threaten the lives of other people in SA The police are under strong instructions, they are a well disciplined force, and only two days ago I received a report from one township in which they say that the soldiers and the police who are there — the young men — are becoming more and more friendly in that township. Now how can that be so if we are such merciless people?

But still, the official death toll from the day you declared the State of Emergency has been about 250 people. Compare that with a country like Northern Ireland.

No, no, that's not true.

That's really much isn't it?

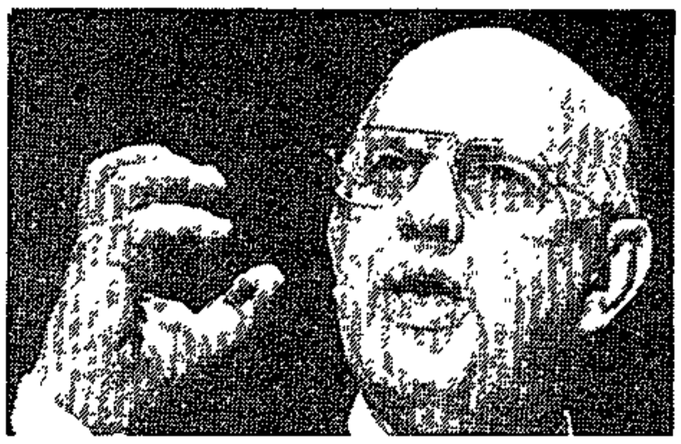
That's not true. Up to August 26, 1 697 people were killed and more than half of them were killed not by police or by soldiers. More than half of them were killed by revolutionary forces against black people, blacks against blacks.

We must protect these black people against these revolutionary forces.

That's true, but what about the other half. You as State President are responsible for the other half, aren't you?

Yes, I am responsible, because we shoot terrorists wherever they threaten the safety of the public.

> *'I don't think you are right saying that there is a confrontation or polarisation between those who want to preserve that which belongs to the past, and those who want reform. I would say that most people in SA want reform. We are a living, lively community; we are a young community of peoples and most South Africans know that we must reform, we must develop. A small minority of people cling to the far past, yes, but they are a small minority.'*



There are still severe restrictions of press freedom in this country, and even though the death toll may be reported under the State of Emergency, there are restrictions of press freedom. And not only the South African press, but also for the foreign correspondents, as you know.

No, no, we have a Bureau for Information and if the press is prepared to co-operate properly with the authorities they can get all the information which is necessary to publish. What we did is we stopped television in the townships, because it was brought to our notice that some television people started problems, and probably just in the townships, just for the sake of making villains.

In this connection ...

And that is what we stopped.

In this connection, you have sent home the correspondent of German television ARD.

We sent home five journalists out of more or less 200. I think there are 193 foreign correspondents in our country and we only sent home five.

What are the conditions under which ...

You must obey the laws of the country.

Would a correspondent of German television ARD be able again to work in SA?

If they are prepared to obey the laws in SA, they are welcome.

'Obey' is a word which we often hear from more totalitarian systems.

No, no, every country has its laws. Every democratic country will not allow journalists who won't obey the laws of that country. Not even West Germany. West Germany will not tolerate people who don't obey the laws of that country.

Mr President, at the National ...

I know West Germany, I've travelled right through Europe and I've seen some of your leftist organisations. I know West Germany. I've travelled right through it. I've seen some of your leftist organisations act. I've seen what police could do with them.

And then you should know that we have freedom of the press.

I saw personally what the German police did to leftist groups in Germany who demonstrated. So I'm not to be bluffed on this.

Mr President, at the National Party's congress in Durban, you said that you will not only survive economic sanctions, but that you will emerge even stronger on the other side of the sanctions. What did you mean by that?

Well,if you give me the opportunity, I'll explain.

Very little time unfortunately, so please a short answer.

It's not the first time that SA will have experienced sanctions. We have had to deal with voluntary and mandatory sanctions in the military field for years. We broke the sanctions and we came out stronger than we were before the sanctions were started. And that's what I meant.

SA is economically a strong country. SA has most of the strategic minerals in the world. SA produces food which can be of use to Africa and the West. SA has a strong trade with most Western countries and cannot be denied its potential; and SA will maintain its position and will fight sanctions in a decent responsible way, and eventually, I believe we will be stronger economically than we went into it.

But aren't you afraid that it's the end of your government? SA might be in a state of civil war.

No. As a matter of fact, I think that the chance of a civil war is becoming less and less. ■

Tswanas, you have the Sotho. So we have a variety of peoples or nations in this vast area whom we must accommodate.

But still, when one travels around SA one notices that some groupings are very popular. For example, the African National Congress (ANC). Our question is, why don't you give these people, these leaders, the chance to prove that they can participate politically in this country without violence, without terrorism?

The ANC is a group of people, mainly Xhosas, controlled by the Communist Party with its headquarters in London and to prove to you that what I say is correct, I am going to quote to you what the Communist Party itself said earlier this year in the document which they distributed among the Communist members in London.

But had you not better quote the ANC, rather than what the SACP said?

No, no, no, it is all the same — listen here. In this document, the Communist Party says: 'It is also necessary to reflect on the profile of the Party in the liberation alliance whose public head is correctly the ANC, the question which needs to be addressed is to what extent has it become accepted as a permanent feature of the alliance that a party is not a participant as a party.' In other words, the ANC is a front of the Communist Party, controlled by the communists.

If you would go ahead and talk to the ANC leaders, you could ask what they think about statements like that. These people never had the chance to state their position in talks with you.

If I tell you that out of 30 members of the ANC head committee, 19 are acknowledged Communist members.

Eleven left.

Eleven so-called ANC who are not communists, but the majority are members of the Communist Party.

But there are some moderate ANC people to whom you should talk first, maybe then they could get you into talks with the others.

Right.

You have never tried it.

That is why I have invited them to come to SA — not to sit across the border and let Russia provide them with arms to assault innocent people across the border — but come to SA and have talks with us around the table. I only made one condition, and that is, I said, I will talk to any leader who is prepared to talk on constitutional lines with me and in a peaceful way, but I am not prepared to talk to people who are not prepared to abandon violence as a means to achieve political ends.

One of the best known leaders of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, has been in prison for nearly 25 years now. Why don't you release him and the others who are in prison with him and give him the chance to be one of those who participates peacefully?

Let me first of all say that I don't imprison people and allow people to leave jail. We have a system of judicial justice in this country.

But is it not the right of the State President to grant amnesty or mercy?

No. Let me explain to you, Mr Mandela was found guilty by a high court of very serious misdeeds. He was jailed for life because of what he and his comrades intended doing in SA. The court case is there to be studied by any intelligent person. I was approached a while ago about whether I would consider the release of Mr Mandela. I said I would of course be sympathetic towards such a release, provided Mr Mandela undertakes to abandon violence to achieve his political ends. He wrote me a letter, signed by him, in which he said he is not prepared to accept.

'I deny that police shoot people without reason.'

'No, no, we have a Bureau for Information and if the press is prepared to co-operate properly with the authorities they can get all the information which is necessary to publish.'

But that is a very blunt precondition; to abandon violence you should also speak about the definition of violence.

I cannot speak to people who carry arms and who threaten the State.

But if people are not allowed to participate, their only chance may be violence.

But all people in SA are participating in discussions and negotiations.

But not in political power.

Also politically, yes.

Coming back to Mr Mandela, he has been in prison for more than 24 years without carrying arms, why do you not give him the chance to see today's world, to see the change in SA and perhaps then turn to another way to take part in the process.

We have a judicial body that will have to consider his case before it makes recommendations to me. I cannot just say by decree that I will let him go. SA is a democratically governed state and it is a civilised state; and I am not going to liberate people from jail who are not prepared to tell me beforehand that they won't take up arms against the state.

But you are a politician, Mr Botha, and you have to calculate certain factors. How about Mr Mandela as a unifying element which you really could use?

Will you please reply to my question? If I put it to you, name me one single head of state who would discuss political matters with members who find themselves in jail? Would the head of state in Germany discuss with the Bader-Meinhof people? Would he discuss with them political solutions for Germany?

But in a State of Emergency, that might even be possible.

But the State of Emergency has been declared only a few weeks.

But do you really compare Mr Mandela with the Bader-Meinhof people in Germany?

He is a terrorist.

Mandela is acknowledged by a lot of people, not only from overseas, but also within this country, as their leader — one has to see that as a political fact. Don't you feel it is a type of obligation to talk with him?

Isn't it more a question that some media are propagating Mr Mandela, instead of accepting that we have elected leaders, responsible leaders in SA, who can speak to government and who are actually negotiating with us, politically, economically and otherwise.

But Mr Botha, do they have legitimacy within the black population?

Yes, they have legitimacy. Name only one, name only one. What is wrong with Mr Buthelezi? He is the leader of the strong Zulu people in SA and elected by them: a responsible, acknowledged leader of his people.

But now you are looking into the urban areas. Well, all those people whom we met there, many accept Buthelezi, but they also ask for the release of Mr Mandela and for him to take part in the political process.

Why? Mr Mandela is a Xhosa Did you know that? He is considered a black. He is not considered by the Zulus as a Zulu — he is a Xhosa.

You want to unify the country. Therefore you need several black leaders.

You cannot unify the country by telling the Zulus to become Xhosas, and the Xhosas to become Zulus — they are different peoples, just as the Germans and the French are different.

But shouldn't they talk to each other at the same time?

which took place in this country. Even under British rule, blacks were not allowed to live among whites, and blacks were protected in their own areas set apart for them. Under British rule, Indians were not allowed to live wherever they chose.

Do we have to repeat the mistakes of the past?

No, I am only now painting to you the background of our problems and when the Group Areas Act was passed we said that we will grant the right to blacks to own land and we have completed that system only a few months ago in which blacks in urban areas will have property rights and titles, ar' coloureds will have property rights and titles and Indians and whites will have it.

We believe that in a multicultural society, like that of SA, we must have this system to protect the different groups because you have more wealthy groups and you have less wealthy groups and it is a socio-economic problem that we are dealing with. But in any case, we have changed the Group Areas Act on many occasions in the past where we have found that it did not work properly and now we have referred it to the President's Council for a proper investigation and we are awaiting the report of the President's Council on the matter. But the basis remains that we want to retain the principle to allow special communities to protect their own cultural way of life in their own environment.

But that also works in other societies; people just live where they like.

Of course, in highly developed societies it does.

It works in Asian countries.

In homogeneous countries, yes.

Is Malaysia a homogeneous country?

We are not in a homogeneous country. I referred to the fact that we have different communities in this country, with vast differences in their development. Some of them, the majority of them, belong to a Third World country.

But why don't you have the trust in the people?

Because you must lead them to higher standards of civilisation. You must lead them to higher standards of responsibility, you must lead them to higher standards of housing and whatever else.

That is your opinion. You did not consult them.

It is not, this is the considered opinion after we have had negotiations with many other leaders in SA.

Can't people be responsible for themselves, don't you have the trust in the people?

That is right. That is what we intend doing with the Group Areas Act.

According to what you now say, the Group Areas Act will be scrapped sometime soon.

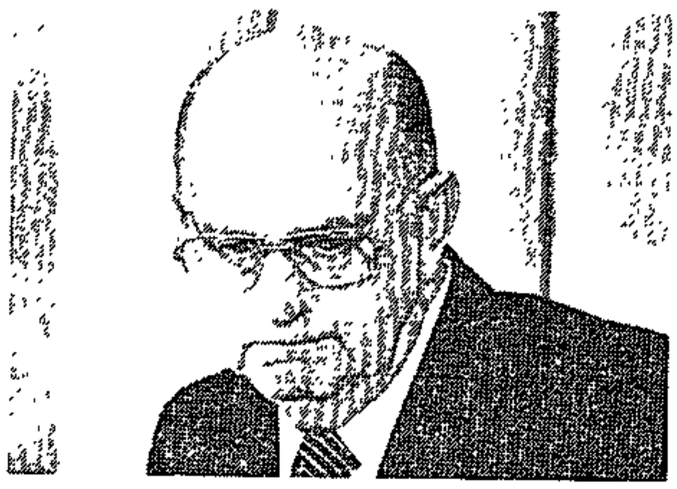
No, it will not be scrapped. It will be amended. As I said, it has been amended on many occasions in the past.

Like the passport laws. Just recently you abolished the pass laws, but ...

The British started the pass laws, not the Afrikaner. The Afrikaner is now being held responsible for a system that was instituted in the previous century.

OK, you abolished pass laws, but what about the 7m people who would live within the borders of the four so-called independent homelands, will these people also get South African citizenship? Will they be able to move freely in SA?

You are generalising again. So easy to say: what about the 7m people living in the homelands. It is absolute nonsense to say that, because traditionally and historically the Xhosas lived in a certain area in SA and the Transkei today has more than 2m people.



'I cannot just say by decree that I will let him (Mandela) *go. SA is a democratically governed state and it is a civilised state; and I am not going to liberate people from jail who are not prepared to tell me beforehand that they won't take up arms against the State.'*

But are they not South Africans?

Wait, wait, the Transkei is an independent country.

You have just said SA.

I said the Transkei is an independent country. Before it became independent it was part of SA, but it preferred to become independent and it had elections in this regard and it elected its own government, its own president. It has more people in the Transkei than you have in Luxembourg, yet Luxembourg can be independent, but Transkei should not be independent. What nonsense, and the same so far as the Vendas are concerned and the same with the Ciskei. They had a referendum before they became independent. Why couldn't they?

And that is why I said that this is a geographically vast country with big variety and one must think about SA not as a homogeneous country consisting only of black and white people. It simply is not true.

Do you consider the people who live on a regular basis in the so-called TBVC countries to be South Africans?

No, no, I look upon the independent states as fully independent states in their own right. The national states are not independent yet, and I accept they have South African citizens, yes. We have arranged for that in our legislation and in our joint discussions.

Well, on June 12, Mr President, you declared a State of Emergency for the second time in a year, and at present there are at least 8 500 people in detention. Are you not afraid that a growing part of the black population may look upon the State as an enemy now?

Not only blacks are arrested under the State of Emergency. There are arrests that have been made of all population groups. That is my first reply. Secondly, on March 4 earlier this year I lifted a partial State of Emergency which existed in certain districts. We instituted a State of Emergency in less than 13% of all our magisterial districts. I don't know whether you know what a magisterial district is? A magisterial district is only a small portion of a larger portion governed by a magistrate in a sense that he is the judicial head of that area.

That is a very interesting side of the administration, but the fact that is known in Germany is that 8 500 people are arrested.

I'm coming to that. But you Germans don't know anything about SA and that's why I'm giving you the facts. Firstly, we declared the State of Emergency in only 13% of the country's magisterial districts and then I left it, left the State of Emergency. Then the terrorists flocked across the border again, and they started creating problems for us, especially in the townships and then we decided, after proper discussion with black leaders, with representatives of black communities and, I want to stress this, with people who came to this building to see me from the townships and who requested me to safeguard them against the unnecessary perpetration of cruel deeds by terrorists.

Then I decided I would declare a State of Emergency right throughout the country. Now there must be reasons for a State of Emergency, and I'm going to quote it to you, what the law says. I didn't do it by decree. Parliament made it possible for the State President to declare a State of Emergency under certain circumstances and the circumstances are described in the legislation and that legislation says that any action or threatened action by any person or body or persons can lead to the declaration of a State of Emergency. Circumstances have arisen in SA which seriously threatens the safety of the public.

But does this justify having 8 500 people in detention without appearing before court?

(304A) DD 5/9/86

Reform: still hope in these hard times

Political Perspective

by Andre du Toit

Whatever doubts there may be about the government's reformist policies and rhetoric — and there has never been any lack of sceptics — reformist hopes are showing a surprising resilience in these hard times.

With the national state of emergency still fully enforced, and with the storm clouds gathering on the sanctions front, there are once again speculative reports that major changes may be in the pipeline concerning the Group Areas Act.

No matter that President P. W. Botha has repeatedly stated in the most categorical way that the principle of the Group Areas Act is a non-negotiable foundation of ethnic self-determination, there is a continual series of hints and leaks from official sources that major changes may be under way. Thus the Cape Times of August 22, citing "senior National Party sources", published a report that "the Group Areas Act, due to be scrapped next year, is going to be replaced with legislation whereby town planning measures will be used to determine which areas should be racially exclusive and which should be open".

It is almost as if there is no state of emergency or any prospects of a siege economy. Reformist hopes and speculations persist as if nothing had happened or changed.

But a great deal has changed in our political environment, and in truth the prospects for reform can no longer be as brave and innocent as they used to be.

Let us consider the observations of the man who has on occasion been reputed to be the intellectual inspiration of the government's "hidden agenda" of reform by stealth, the Harvard political scientist, Samuel P. Huntington.

In 1981 Huntington delivered the keynote address at the conference of the South African Political Science Association in which he outlined, on the basis of an impressive knowledge of comparative studies of the processes of political change and reform in developing countries, what strategy the government might follow if it wanted to bring about fundamental change in South Africa.

This paper has often been invoked to allay the doubts of those who could not see the evidence for, or the logic of, the government's purported reformist measures. Professor Huntington has just paid a return visit to South Africa after five years. In talks with staff members of the three Western Cape universities he shared some of his observations and conclusions. A transcript will appear in the forthcoming winter issue of the journal Die Suid-Afrikaan.

It makes for absorbing reading. First Professor Huntington ticks off the actual performance of the government over the past five years against the strategic objectives outlined in his paper. In each case he finds that official policies did not measure up to his guidelines, or actually amounted to just the contrary.

Thus the government did not take care to lower expectations while delivering in real terms, but actually raised expectations and then failed to live up to what was promised. It did not combine a Fabian strategy of gradualism with blitzkrieg tactics on individual issues but instead proceeded through a laborious process of commissions of inquiry and legislative enactment, giving ample time for the opposition forces to be mobilised . . . and so on.

Huntington concludes that if in 1981 reform from above by the government was at least conceivable, this is now no longer possible. The political situation has changed too drastically. He was particularly impressed with the extent to which every aspect of life has now become politicised.

Students, teachers, unions, business have all become intensely politicised. In the black community the most ordinary everyday acts are charged with tremendous political consequences: whether to send your child to school, whether to pay your rent, at which store you should buy your daily necessities etc. In this charged and volatile atmosphere of protest and unrest the government must of necessity rely on the repressive functions of the security agencies. But once "law and order" has been restored, it cannot simply revert to "reform" where it left off. The government may well find that in various ways it has become the prisoner of the security agencies on which it had to rely.

Huntington does not mention medicine and health care among his various examples of the politicisation of everyday life and of abortive "reforms". But he could well have done just that, as appears from a number of articles dealing with these themes in the same issue of Die Suid-Afrikaan.

At first sight the concerns of medicine and health care would seem to be quite removed from politics. In South Africa, however, that is no longer the case. One has only to open the clinical pages of the South African Medical Journal to find anguished editorials responding to international charges that doctors in South Africa are colluding with apartheid or with the maltreatment of political prisoners, and to read intense controversies in the correspondence pages regarding the precise moral and civic duties of doctors in time of civil disorder.

It is no longer just a few exceptional and highly committed individuals who take up these issues, as in the earlier case of the "Biko doctors" or Dr Wendy Orr. The moral and political issues are now being forced on the medical profession generally.

Nor have the health care services been left undisturbed by the processes of "reform". In terms of the new tricameral constitution health care, along with education, was designated to be administered in terms of "own affairs". In practice this would have meant that, for example, the hospital services previously run by the various provincial administrations would be parcelled out to the various ministers councils of the Houses of Assembly, Representatives and Delegates and their respective "own affairs" bureaucracies.

Instead of the further dismantling of existing apartheid structures, we could thus look forward to the return of outmoded "petty apartheid" with a vengeance, be it under the new constitutional sign of "own affairs".

To the medical profession and health care administrators these constitutional proposals did not spell reform, but the further fragmentation of an already fragmented health care system, as well as increasing costs and less efficiency and co-ordination. The proposed "reforms" were vigorously resisted. Thus all the deans of medical faculties and the heads of all teaching hospitals united in a common stand opposing the implementation of "own affairs" bureaucracies within their domains.

Evidently the government could not simply ignore or override such strong resistance from within the health care services. On the other hand health care, along with education, is one of the two main pillars giving some measure of substance to the "own affairs" dimension of the new consitution.

Without health care, not much would be left for the ministers councils to administer. The result was a long drawn-out stalemate in which nobody knew just what would happen to the administration of health care services.

At long last, in the course of August, the official national health plan for South Africa was launched. Surely this would bring clarity and resolve the many uncertainties. In the speech by the Minister of Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk, and in the official publicity all the emphasis was on the provision of a comprehensive, rational and integrated system in which all aspects of health care, preventative as well as curative, would be co-ordinated in terms of policy and control.

All the fears of fragmented bureaucracies had been proved wrong — or were they? If one began to spell the fine print, it soon appeared that the constitutional notion of "own affairs" administrations had by no means been dispensed with. True, this was specified to include the first three levels of health services only, and not in crucial matters of the various hospitalisation services. These would be administered as delegated services by the provincial administrations who would also act "as agents for other authorities" (i.e. the "own affairs" ministers councils).

Just what this will mean in practical terms is at present still far from clear. Possibly the end result may not be that much different from current practices (meaning that partially desegregated hospital services in the Cape will be left undisturbed, as will the much more segregated hospital services in the Transvaal).

In the final analysis the prolonged struggle over the proposed "reform" of the health care services will thus at best have achieved only a minimal impact on the status quo. But it will certainly have brought about a much greater politicisation of a whole range of issues to do with health care.

And meanwhile many of the most pressing and real needs of national health cannot be properly attended to. Perhaps we can as well do without this kind of "reform", especially in a time of national crisis.

All opinions expressed on this page — excepting the leading article (Editorial Opinion) — are those of the individual writers and do not necessarily reflect the views of the newspaper.

PFP victories start of power bid — Hulley

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party (PFP)victories in Wednesday's by-elections in the Cape should be seen as the beginning of a new thrust for power, the party's Cape provincial leader, Mr Roger Hulley, said yesterday.

In a statement issued here, he also called on the New Republic Party (NRP) to re-assess its role in politics and to seek common ground with the PFP.

Mr Hulley said the defeat of the NRP in Wednesday's by-elections proved the party was "finished" as a separate force.

However, if the NRP leadership were prepared "to bury the hatchet on the past and seek common ground with the PFP, they could still be part of the constructive united opposition force which is developing around the PFP".

He said the swing to the PFP in the by-elections was gratifying. The voters had proved the number of whites opposed to apartheid was growing "and this is a vital message of hope and optimism".

The party had achieved a "very significant" swing in Pinelands by pushing up its majority in a lower percentage poll, compared to the 1981 general election.

The PFP's share of the vote moved up from 55 per cent to 60 per cent of the total vote, "a major swing of 10 per cent".

The win in Claremont "clearly demonstrated" the PFP's "overwhelming" strength in the area, he said.

MR HULLEY

Mr Hulley said the results showed the PFP was "firmly back on the growth path . . . after the setbacks earlier this year".

"These results must be seen as the beginning of the party's new strategy to thrust for power."

Meanwhile, the NRP is to take a hard look at its future after its defeats — and some of the party's five MPs may join the PFP.

Talks between the PFP and some NRP MPs are continuing and they may lead to the demise of the NRP.

The results were:

Claremont: Mr Jan van Eck (PFP) 4 689, Mr Anthony Leisegang (NRP) 885 — PFP majority 3 804. Percentage poll 32,1.

Previous election: Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert (PFP) Unopposed.

Pinelands: Mr Jasper Walsh (PFP) 5 422, Mr Norman Barrett (NRP) 3 618 — PFP majority 1 804. Percentage poll 55,3. Spoilt papers 48.

Previous election: Dr A. Boraine (PFP) 6 590, Mr D. de V Graaff (NRP) 5 035 — PFP majority 1 555. Percentage poll 82,19. — Sapa

Sanctions used for votes

10/9/86 304A CP

Own Correspondent SMSL

LADYSMITH — The sanctions threat is being used by the Government as a votes-grabbing ploy, says Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Addressing about 150 people at a Klip River by-election meeting here last night, Dr Treurnicht said the sanctions issue was deliberately being used to stampede people into voting for the National Party in the belief that if the right wing came into power, the country would be further isolated.

Although the Conservative Party has not fielded a candidate in the by-election, Dr Treurnicht urged his supporters to vote for the Herstigte Nasionale Party candidate, Mr Chris Wolmarans, to "stamp out the Botha Government".

If the Government won the next general election, he said, it would then push ahead with handing over of power to blacks and claim it now had a mandate from the people to do so.

However, these sanctions fears would never work. "When you put peoples' backs against the wall, you get the best out of them. Sanctions will hurt but they will never bring us to our knees."

(Report by Graham Spence, 85 Field Street, Durban).

EVENING POST, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBE

8/9/86

Sutton seeks mandate for merger talks

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The New Republic Party leader, Mr Bill Sutton, is likely to obtain a mandate from the party's federal executive tonight to enter into talks with Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, with a view to the formation of a bigger Opposition to the left of the National Party.

This follows the NRP's crushing defeat to the PFP in Wednesday's Claremont and Pinelands parliamentary by-elections.

Mr Sutton said yesterday about tonight's meeting: "If we have to take tough decisions, we will do so."

He said he accepted the verdict of the voters.

And he felt it was important that the Conservative Party not be seen to be the main opposition to the NP.

Mr Sutton is known to be in favour of a stronger opposition to the NP, putting pressure on it to move faster with reform.

Such a stronger opposition would also present a more attractive alternative to "new Nats" disillusioned with too slow a reform pace.

PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday he was willing to continue to talk to individual members of the NRP.

In his reaction yesterday, the PFP's Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulley, said that in the light of the results it was high time the NRP re-assessed its role and future.

But he added that although as a separate force it was finished, "if their leadership were now prepared to bury the hatchet and seek common ground with the PFP, they could still be part of the constructive, united opposition force which is developing around the PFP".

The PFP leadership would therefore clearly seem to be leaving itself open to talks with a view to a possible merger, rather than demanding that it will only consider individual applications from ex-members of the NRP.

Were a merger to take place, PFP sources have indicated that there will be no problem in accommodating four of the five NRP MPs — Mr Pat Rogers (King William's Town), Mr Ralph Hardingham (Mooi River), Mr Derrick Watterson (Umbilo) and Mr Brian Page (Umhlanga) — and Mr Sutton, a President's Councillor.

Veteran MP for Durban Point, Mr Vause Raw, may remain on as an independent until the next general election, when it is thought likely he will retire from politics.

He is unlikely to join the National Party.

The strong on-going speculation about an early general election will put added pressure on the NRP's federal executive today to reach firm decisions on the party's future.

The NRP's federal congress is set for October 17 and 18 and the PFP's for November 21 and 22.

Observers point out that a merger under the PFP banner — rather than the NRP disbanding and individual members then joining the PFP — would have the advantage of thousands of NRP supporters throughout the country not being left directionless and homeless.

Legal advice sought on anti-SA video

10/9/86 (304A) Eve Post

LONDON — The South African Embassy here has denounced an anti-apartheid video produced by Britain's Trades Union Congress and is taking legal advice about it being distributed and screened.

The video, shown at the organisation's national congress last week, urged sanctions and a consumer boycott of SA goods, using comparisons between health care for whites and blacks as a basis for its campaign.

It says there is one white doctor for every 330 whites and one black doctor for every 19 000 blacks and compares an infant mortality rate of 14 for every 1 000 whites and 250 for every 1 000 blacks.

It also says the average white lives past 70 while the average black does not reach 60.

The embassy described it as "a gross distortion" and said the doctor-patient ratios could only have been based on the assumption that white doctors only treated whites and that black doctors only treated blacks.

"This it totally untrue. South African medicine, generally, is far advanced. Facilities like those at Baragwanath Hospital, near Soweto, are unsurpassed, and thousands of blacks from other parts of Africa come to the Republic's hospitals each year."

The embassy said the doctor-to-population ratio for SA quoted by the World Health Organisation, was 1:1 540, which compared favourably with Western Europe (1:528) Botswana (1:10 476), Angola (1:15 404), Zambia (1:16 290) and Lesotho (1:20 570). — Sapa

Support sought for Indaba proposals

Cape Times 10/9/86 (30 cm)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Moves to garner support for the proposals of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba among all communities in the two regions are under way.

A group, calling itself the Indaba Support Group, has been launched under the chairmanship of Mr Dirk Kemp, who has served as an adviser to the South African Sugar Association delegation at the Indaba.

The group, Mr Kemp said, believed a referendum would be held in the regions to test the proposals of the Indaba.

"We want to make sure the public is fully aware of what is being proposed in order to get as much support as possible."

He said yesterday the aim of the support group was to increase awareness of what the Indaba was doing and to contribute towards an understanding of decisions reached.

At this stage the group is centering its efforts on the KwaZulu-Natal proposed Bill of Rights which was released recently.

Since its release reponse to the Bill of Rights had been overwhelming, Mr Kemp said.

Copies for distribution

Already 42 000 copies of the English version, 15 000 copies of the Afrikaans version and 10 000 copies of the Zulu version of the Bill of Rights had been requested for distribution to organizations and individuals in the two regions.

Mr Kemp said the support group consisted of about 50 people of all races representing a spectrum of political opinion with strong representation from the business community.

The group has committees in Durban, Maritzburg, Zululand and the North and South coasts.

It is already holding low-key meetings at which the concept of the Bill of Rights — which seeks among other things to guarantee equal protection of the law without regard to race and enshrine the right to own and occupy property anywhere — is coming under discussion.

Mr Kemp said it was hoped at a later stage that businesses would allow them to explain the implications of the proposals to employees.

At the moment the group is being funded by donations from individual businessmen and Indaba supporters, but Mr Kemp has not ruled out the possibility of their seeking support from major corporations in the future.

CP-HNP union possible: Dr T

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — There was much common ground between the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and a union of the two parties was possible, the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in Ladysmith last night.

Speaking at a Klip River by-election meeting attended by about 150 people, Dr Treurnicht said discussions were being held by CP and HNP leaders about the few points about which they disagreed.

He gave no indication of when the two parties might unite but said union was the goal of both.

Referring to the abortive Seychelles coup, Dr Treurnicht said the matter was raised in the cabinet on the day on which Colonel Mike Hoare's mercenaries arrived in Durban in a commandeered Air India aircraft.

"President Botha, who was then Prime Minister, said, 'if it (the coup) had been a success you all would have applauded.' You can make of that what you will but (the late) President Vorster said to me, 'do you think a soldier of such a rank would have done that (the coup) without the chief of the defence force knowing, without the Minister of Defence knowing and without the Prime Minister knowing.'"

Dr Treurnicht said a CP-HNP government would restore the Mixed Marriage Act and laws against sex across the colour line.

He said if the government's policy of giving equal rights and opportunities to everyone were followed there would be a black majority in Parliament and a black State President.

"The SABC seems to be presenting Chief Gatsha Buthelezi as a candidate for the presidency."

Dr Treurnicht said it was political nonsense to ask blacks to help draft a new constitution in the National Statutory Council when many blacks had their own homelands with their own constitutions and parliaments.

He said the government was using the threat of sanctions to rally people around it in a forthcoming general election and would then claim a mandate to bring blacks into central government.

The HNP candidate in the by-election, Mr Chris Wolmarans, said the situation in South Africa was similar to pre-independence Zimbabwe with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi like Rev Abel Muzorewa, and Nelson Mandela like Mr Robert Mugabe.

Most think one man, one vote unlikely

11/9/86. THELMA TUCH

FIFTY percent of white urban adults think one-man-one-vote will not be introduced in SA in the future, according to a Market Research Africa study.

Forty-seven percent think it will be introduced, while 3% are undecided.

Attitudes are strongly related to age, with younger people more inclined to believe one-man-one-vote will be implemented. On average, 1997 was given as the year when this would be a reality.

A total of 1 000 urban adults were interviewed in March this year, using area-stratified, probability-sampling to ensure representativeness.

ARGUS 11/9/86

3044

AFRICA

Whites told: Don't be an alien in Africa

The Argus Africa News Service, JOHANNESBURG

FAILURE by white South Africans to accept, and understand, their African identity could put them in danger of becoming aliens in their own land.

This warning was sounded by Mr Neil van Heerden, Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, in a recent address at Pretoria University.

White South Africans often gave dubious acknowledgment to their African identity (Afrika-skap), he said. He wondered how many had given serious thought to the question or considered its full implications.

He did not wish to deny the European and Western heritage of white civilisation in South Africa. "But if it separates us from the indisputable realities of the world in which we live in Africa, then we run the danger of becoming aliens in our own land."

He asked whether South Africans should not do more to make their acceptance of their African identity complete. "We have indeed become one with our physical environment, but what of our human environment ?"

Was not the unrest in the country due partly to the incompleteness of the whites' identification with this environment?

Their best opportunity for survival, and therefore their biggest challenge, lay in achieving the greatest possible harmony across community boundaries so that a dispensation could be created that would be accepted by the majority.

While protecting and extending their own values, whites must also know and respect the values of the different black communities, just as they expected the blacks to respect theirs. Greater knowledge of each other, and deeper empathy, would lead to better understanding and wider respect.

He asked whether whites read black newspapers and magazines, visited black residential areas, asked themselves how blacks spent their holidays, or thought about whether they would get pensions in their old age.

The coin had another side, however, and what applied to whites applied equally to blacks.

"Rather than becoming fixed in negative stereotypes of each other — which often amount to nothing less than naked racism — we must search for that which we have in common."

He called for whites to abandon racism not because the outside world demanded it, but because this was for them an investment in the future.

Whites must appreciate the yearning of blacks for political participation.

With its own house based on strong foundations, South Afica would be in a position successfully to carry out its regional responsibilities in the sub-continent.

"And for this very reason it is important that our African identification be complete, for we are now an inseparable part of Africa."

SWA Nats to resist integration

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The National Party of South West Africa yesterday wound up it 45th Congress in Windhoek with a firm commitment to resist what it called "forced integration".

Party leader Mr Kosie Pretorius said the NP would not hesitate to go to court to seek protection under the Declaration of Fundamental Rights if it thought its rights were being infringed.

It was confirmed that his party representatives in the Transitional Government had started a Supreme Court action against their Cabinet colleagues.

Mr Pretorius said the National Party would rather try to defend its position through negotiation and reconciliation, but if "pressurised" it would seek legal relief.

The theme of Congress was "The implications of the new political dispensation in South West Africa, as far as it affects the self-determination right of groups".

Mr Pretorius said the 150 delegates supported a continuing effort to promote the policy of "group autonomy" in schools, agriculture and finance.

Whites split over vote

(304) NM 11/9/86

JOHANNESBURG— White urban adults are almost completely split down the middle as to whether a 'one man, one vote' system will be introduced in South Africa in the near future, according to a recent poll.

Results of the poll, conducted among 1 000 urban white adults by Market Research Africa during March and released yesterday, show that 50% do not want one man, one vote, 47% do, and 3% are undecided.

The poll concluded that attitudes were stongly related to age — 56% of younger people between the ages of 16 and 24 wanted one man, one vote, as opposed to only 35% of those over 50.

In the 25-to-34 age group, 52% were in favour, while in the 25-to-49 group, 50% wanted the vote to be extended to all.

It was also noted that there was a slight difference in attitudes between English and Afrikaans speakers. Forty-six percent of Afrikaners envisaged one man, one vote, while the figure rose to 49% for English-speakers. — (Sapa)

NP CONGRESS

'Remove all race bars'

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

IT WAS widely accepted that the constitutional solution for SA should be based on the group concept, but the strong resistance to that concept among blacks would have to be broken down first to make it possible, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis told the National Party Transvaal congress.

He said: "It will not help if we devised the ideal system and other communities did not accept it. Solutions cannot be dictated. Many people see the group concept and definition as synonymous with discrimination."

Heunis said the only way to eradicate the negative connotations to the concept would be to get rid of all racial and group discrimination and to promote equal opportunities. Only when the sting of discrimination had been taken out of the group definition could self determination of groups gain some acceptability in the broader community.

He warned against the "Nkrumah syndrome" and said the idea in SA that once blacks had full political power, everything else would follow, was a superficial and dangerous one.

History showed that the gaining of political power could only have strong destabilising influences on a community if economic and community development were not addressed at the same time. An imbalance between the content and pace of development on the different levels of life could be dangerous.

Heunis said the preconditions for any new constitutional dispensation would be fairness, acceptability to all communities, functionality and democracy.

Education and Training Minister Gerrit Viljoen said black pupils in the boycott areas were going to fall behind those in other areas and would never be able to catch up. Radicals would have to be blamed if some communities gained an advantage over others.

Viljoen said his department's new model for career oriented education was more advanced than any other education department and represented a move away from too much emphasis on academic training only.

Whites would have to be careful not to fall behind with this new concept.

World doesn't want end of apartheid, says Botha

304A DD 12/9/86

More reform in South Africa than US achieved in decades

MR BOTHA

HONG KONG — South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, arrived in Hong Kong yesterday after declaring in the Republic of China that his government had done more in six months to remove racial discrimination than the United States did in 20 years.

Arriving for a two-day private visit, Mr Botha was met at Kai Tak International Airport by a representative of the Hong Kong Government. He did not speak to reporters.

He is to hold a news conference today after a lunch for about 100 Hong Kong businessmen, some of whom have trade ties with South Africa.

Hong Kong, an international free port, has imposed no trade sanctions against South Africa.

However, the government banned the import of South African gold coins last month. The ban did not affect the import of such coins through third countries, and Krugerrands and other South African gold coins are still freely traded in Hong Kong.

Last year, Hong Kong imported South African gold coins worth 447 million Hong Kong dollars, sharply down from $(HK)1,11 billion the previous year.

In the first half of this year, Hong Kong exported goods worth $(HK)222 million to South Africa and imported goods worth $(HK)1,33 billion from South Africa.

At a news conference before leaving Taipei, Mr Botha said. "My government is now prepared to move ahead on the basis of the removal of discrimination, but it's the world that does not want it. They threatened us with (economic) sanctions and with punishment.

"It is a challenge, and challenges always make a human being or a nation stronger," he said. "We have removed racial discrimination at a faster rate in six months than the American Government did in 20 years."

Visitors to South Africa could travel widely without seeing any racial unrest, Mr Botha said.

"But, of course, in certain urban areas, in two or three towns, tonight or this morning, there might be some stone-throwing," he added.

A solution to South Africa's apartheid problem "is more a question of time now", said Mr Botha, who spent four days in the Republic of China, meeting President Chiang Ching-kuo and other government officials.

He said he did not ask the Republic of China's government to refrain from joining other countries in imposing economic sanctions.

"I came here not to ask the government to support apartheid," Mr Botha said. "We have decided ourselves to remove apartheid."

But, Mr Botha said, South Africa planned to increase its trade with the Republic of China to recoup some of the losses suffered from the economic sanctions imposed by other countries.

Both countries were anti-communist, Mr Botha said.

"We ought to increase our trade because that interest will follow the pattern of solid, good friendly relations existing between our two countries."

South Africa is one of 23 nations that maintain diplomatic relations with the Republic of China, which is the only Asian country that recognises South Africa.

Trade between the Republic of China and South Africa totalled nearly R900 million last year, favouring South Africa by about R145 million.

Meanwhile, the Republic of China's Executive Yuan, or cabinet, reported in a press release the country was drafting an extradition treaty with South Africa to prevent increasing numbers of economic criminals from fleeing aboard. — Sapa-AP

Mrs Helen Suzman . . . some people highly critical of money spent on fatuous songs and mindless raids.

There is no quick fix for SA — Suzman

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa faced the choice of transition or collision, but there was no "quick fix" to the country's problems, Houghton MP Mrs Helen Suzman said at a Cape Town Press Club lunch yesterday.

She said the "liberation is just around the corner" syndrome which was evident in many township grassroots organisations was an entirely false impression.

This concept was the reason why so many people in South Africa and abroad supported the sanctions campaign.

Mrs Suzman said that, instead of this "quick fix" it was much more likely that the main opposing forces would remain immutably transfixed in a long drawn-out confrontation between a government backed by strong military and police forces and a popular movement backed by mass support and increasingly using IRA-type terrorism.

She remained convinced that Nelson Mandela, the jailed ANC leader, was the key to a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Both Mr Oliver Tambo and Mandela proclaimed their aim was a non-racial democracy.

Mrs Suzman said she believed them, but was extremely dubious about ANC aims if they were not around in the future to impose their authority on the grassroots township organisations which were at present on a "high", encouraged by the world-wide campaign for sanctions, disinvestments, and other punitive measures that would leave South Africa totally isolated.

Mrs Suzman said that in their stand on sanctions, Archbishop Tutu and the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group overlooked one vital factor of South African politics.

This was the middle ground consisting of hundreds of thousands of white South Africans who did have the vote, who abhorred apartheid and to whom must be added countless others who had woken up to the fact that apartheid had brought disaster on South Africa.

Among these newly awakened were influential businessmen, Afrikaans and English-speaking, who were no longer starry-eyed about a "competent" government.

They were highly critical of the men at the top who had spent money like drunken sailors on opera houses, on a fatuous song and on ill-timed and mindless raids on neighbouring states.

There were also discontented members of the Nationalist caucus.

While it was fashionable these days to dismiss Parliament as irrelevant, it was still the most important forum in the country where the Government could be called to account for its actions.

Mrs Suzman said she thought the Progressive Federal Party's aim of increasing its representation in Parliament to 50 or 55 was attainable if the white electorate, instead of being swept away on a wave of pseudo-patriotic emotion, acted in the interests of the country as a whole.

Cabinet Ministers' seats in danger — academic

CAPE TIMES 12/9/86 (304A)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

AT LEAST four Cabinet ministers would lose their seats in Parliament if a general election were held soon, according to Mr Dirk Laurie, a Potchefstroom University lecturer.

They are the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, the most senior member of the Cabinet and MP for Delmas; the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, MP for Lydenburg; the Minister of Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs, Mr Greyling Wentzel, MP for Bethal, and the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Danie Steyn, MP for Wonderboom.

Mr Laurie , who lectures in mathematics, said yesterday that on the basis of by-election results since 1981, the Conservative Party was likely to win 39 seats in a general election, including all the Transvaal platteland seats.

But if the National Party lost all marginal seats, the Conservative Party could win as many as 50 seats in a general election.

If Mr Laurie's predictions are correct, the government is likely to suffer some embarassing setbacks if a general election is held.

Apart from the four ministers, the seats of a number of senior Nationalist MPs, including the Deputy Minister of Development, Mr Ben Wilkens, the Deputy Speaker of Parliament, Mr Willa Hefer, and Mr Hennie Tempel, chairman of the Commission for Co-operation and Development, would be in serious danger.

304A DD 13/9/86

Reform takes time — Pik

HONG KONG — The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday pleaded for time to allow South Africa to dismantle its apartheid policy and warned that trade sanctions would not work.

"I say it (apartheid) is wrong. I say it is morally indefensible," he told a news conference after arriving here for a two-day personal visit following official visits to Japan and the Republic of China.

"I admit it takes time but we have achieved something."

Mr Botha said trade sanctions would not speed the process of change and would hurt blacks as well as whites.

"We are like a zebra. You can't put a bullet through the white stripes and think the animal as a whole will not die."

South Africa transported about half of all the imports and exports of Zaire, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, he said.

The South African economy also employed two million foreign black workers who supported 12 to 15 million relatives.

"We do not believe in sanctions. We believe in free trade," Mr Botha said.

The Foreign Minister denied media speculation that his Far East tour was aimed at finding ways to circumvent trade sanctions imposed by Western countries, saying he made the trip because South Africa had always wanted to diversify its trade.

"Why should South Africa keep on buying from Europe and America if we can buy the same products, which might even be of a higher quality and at a cheaper price, from countries in the Far East?" — Sapa-AP

Cape Times 13/9/80 (304A)

Malan on blacks and democracy

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan does not believe that democracy is a "relevant factor" for the black masses of South Africa.

General Malan also feels that only a limited section of South African blacks are at present interested in political participation.

This emerges from an interview conducted by Professor Hermann Giliomee with General Malan, which appears in the spring edition of Die Suid-Afrikaan magazine, to be published next week.

Asked how important it was to the Defence Force that the government enjoyed political legitimacy, General Malan replied that the "big question" was how many blacks are only concerned about satisfying their material needs.

"There is currently a limited section that is really interested in political participation. I think for the masses in South Africa democracy is not a relevant factor.

"For them it revolves around the satisfaction of their own needs. These needs change with time and are now being exploited by the revolutionaries."

Later in the interview General Malan says the concept of a military regime in South Africa is a "total taboo".

"A military regime is not a solution to our problems — it is an evasion of our problem. A coup is totally un-South African and foreign to our history and philosophy of life.

"If the crisis comes, you must tackle it; you must not evade it. South Africans are the last people that would ever accept a coup, although at times they easily talk lightly about it."

Other points made by General Malan in the interview include:

- The defence force had the resources to deal with simultaneous external and internal threats. "The country has already been involved in onslaughts for the last 20 years and has never received a bloody nose. What defence force in the world has a record like this?"
- That a number of End Conscription Campaign members are foreigners whose loyalties do not lie with South Africa. "Some of them are political agitators and are possibly unconsciously being misused by the ANC."
- "Radicals" have a "big advantage" in their struggle against the government because they do not have to carry any responsibility for their actions.

Natal poll key to rightwing pull

14/9/86 SUN TIMES (304)

Political Correspondent

WITH intense speculation about the possibility of an early general election in coming months, there is sharp focus on Wednesday's Parliamentary by-election in Klip River.

The by-election in the conservative Natal-interior constituency is a straight fight between the National Party and the rightwing of white politics.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party, fielding the challenging candidate, is being backed officially by the Conservative Party.

Political analysts agree that if President Botha decides to call a snap general election, his overriding reason will be to halt the growth of the right wing and demonstrate he has a mandate from whites to push ahead with new constitutional plans.

In this light, the Klip River election could be a useful indication of the growth of rightwing sentiment.

And the parties in the battle of Klip River are aware of this.

A senior HNP official said "hair would fly" this weekend. And HNP workers were in buoyant mood, claiming that victory was possible.

But others regard this as unlikely.

In 1981, the Nats trounced the HNP in Klip River by 4 000 votes.

Since then, however, the CP has broken away from the Nats. And the HNP says it is confident of gaining 3 000 votes from farmers and railway workers.

A significant rise in the anti-Nat tally on Wednesday could spur Mr Botha to a general election announcement.

The most likely platform for such an announcement would be the National Party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria on Friday.

Speculation on other matters of importance likely to be raised at the congress has been dampened — if not drowned — by three lack-lustre NP congresses in recent weeks.

Secret Broeder plans to change the face of SA

SUNTIMES. (304A)

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE 14/9/86

THE influential Broederbond has produced a remarkable secret document spelling out the bottom lines for Afrikaner political and cultural survival.

And they are significantly more enlightened than those currently espoused by the National Party.

The document ranks in importance among the National Party's own "U-turn" pamphlet of 1985, and the Human Sciences Research Council report on group relations of 12 months ago.

Among the key proposals are:

- Representatives from all power groupings in the country — including, by implication, the African National Congress — should devise a new constitution for South Africa.
- A free market system and private ownership for whites should be implemented next to a socialist system for blacks.
- "Group autonomy" must be protected, but there must be more recognition of the principle of voluntary political association as opposed to enforced group affiliation — a move presaged by the milestone HSRC report a year ago.
- Group Areas should be retained for the present (for no other reason than that their immediate scrapping would make whites feel threatened), but "grey areas" should be immediately introduced.
- A future government can have a majority of black members — and possibly even a State President who is not white.

The Broederbond — now under the chairmanship of the verligte Professor Pieter de Lange — has emerged purified of its rightwing elements after years of bitter infighting.

Vanguard

The latest document (a copy is in the possession of the Sunday Times) places the elite Afrikaner body well in the vanguard of change in the country's

chairmanship of the vanguard — Pieter de Lange — has emerged purified of its rightwing elements after years of bitter infighting.

Vanguard

The latest document (a copy is in the possession of the Sunday Times) places the elite Afrikaner body well in the vanguard of change in the country's mainstream politics. In style and content it is well ahead of conventional thinking within the National Party caucus.

Sources within the Broederbond confirmed this week that there was even pressure within the organisation for the document to be openly released under the organisation's name.

The source indicated that the document was a sincere attempt to establish an Afrikaner "bottom line" without prescribing a detailed constitutional formula.

The document stands well ahead of President Botha, who has insisted it is not party policy that there be a black president (he recently slapped down Foreign Minister Botha on the issue), refuses to negotiate with the ANC except on very onerous terms, adamantly opposes socialism and makes little concession to the principle of voluntary association.

The document, in the form of a working paper and headed "strictly confidential", does not bear the name of the Broederbond, but was circulated by the organisation to its members.

It states that the purpose of the document is to list the most important conditions to be met in future constitutional development to ensure the survival of the Afrikaner.

Non-domination

While the document — in line with the recent NP congress — stresses the importance of group rights and non-domination of any one group by another, it also warns against entrenching control in any one group.

It warns that group boundaries should not exclude other groups with overlapping interests. It says group rights should not be placed above all else and, while recognising the ethnic diversity in South Africa, so-called "open" groups should also be allowed.

Freedom of association, as well as the right not to associate, should be recognised, while group and individual rights can best be served by the non-interference of government.

The document also lays much emphasis on individual human rights — in line with recent NP thinking on a proposed Bill of Rights.

On a future economic system it says that private ownership is important for the continued existence of the Afrikaner and whites, but is not viewed as important by blacks who have experienced capitalism in the past as being unfair to them.

"Next to such a system of private ownership and markets (for whites), a socialist system (for blacks) should be created in which the State owns property and takes economic decisions," the document says.

But it further states that wide support for the concepts of private initiative and the creation of welfare should be generated.

On power sharing with blacks, the Broederbond says that the exclusion of effective participation by blacks in constitutional processes at the highest level is a threat to the survival of whites.

This threat cannot be warded off by maintaining the status quo or by further consolidating power in white hands, it

□ To Page 2 P.T.O

Broeders take a liberal line

S/UN TIMES 14/9/86

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says.

As one of the most important constitutional conditions, the Broederbond suggests that all South Africans, individually and in group connections, should take part at all levels in all processes of decision making.

"This means that in some (constitutional) models the head of state and/or government will not necessarily be white — which actually is not excluded at present — but the position should be such and should be tied to the executive authority in such a way that the power coupled to it cannot be used for group domination," the document says.

"This means there can no longer be a white entrenched government. But there also will not be a black-entrenched or, for example, a Zulu-entrenched government.

Majority

"The majority of government members could well be black, but the system and procedures must work in such a way that all groups can effectively participate and not be dominated by another group."

The document lists as examples of future mechanisms for such a system of government the following:

Decentralisation of power; regional or state governments; own affairs autonomy; proportional or over-representation of minorities; veto rights; consensus decision-making; and the separation of the legislature and the executive.

As undesirable political systems which will not ensure Afrikaner survival, the document lists: the status quo; entrenched majority domination; a socialist or military dictatorship; and partition or qualified franchises.

And, for the first time since 1948, the Broederbond has even considered the possibility of Afrikaner nationalism in an opposition role.

Defections

Finally, the document suggests the inclusion of all relevant groups (by implication, also the ANC) in determining a new constitution. It says that as wide a spectrum of groups as possible should participate.

Broederbond insiders have confirmed that the document developed after the defection of conservative members to the ultra-rightist Afrikaner Volkswag.

"It is not a blueprint. Rather it represents a specific moment in the political development of a group, the Afrikaner," said one source.

But, he added, little opposition if any to the guidelines in the document was expected from members of the Broederbond, or from the Cabinet (most members of the Cabinet are thought to be members of the Broederbond).

The source said the document showed that the Afrikaner was willing to go further with political reform than was usually reflected in statements by members of the Government.

The sources also said there was no certainty that the Government would accept the guidelines in the document, but there was little chance that it could ignore it.

15/9/86 (3 DAY A) The N

Nats urge Natal to oppose 'wild men'

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MR STOFFEL Botha, Natal leader of the National Party and Minister of Home Affairs, yesterday appealed to opposition voters in Klip River to help keep the 'wild men from the far north on the other side of the Drakensberg'.

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

It was important, he said, for supporters of the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party to vote in Wednesday's parliamentary by-election in Klip River to keep the Herstigte Nasionale Party out of Natal.

The HNP and its Right-wing allies were not welcome in Natal and could only drive black and white Natalians 'irrevocably apart'.

It was clear from an interview with Mr Botha that he did not expect opposition voters to become 'overnight Nationalists' but wanted them to vote against the HNP and its Right-wing allies.

It was understandable, he said, that the natural inclination of English-speaking opposition supporters would be to stay at home or go to the polls on Wednesday and spoil their votes instead of choosing between the NP or HNP candidates.

'In normal circumstances one could feel sympathy for these people in their dilemma,' said Mr Botha.

'Effrontery'

'But I suggest these are not normal times and that there are many cogent reasons why all South Africans in Klip River should support the NP candidate,' Mr Jaco Maree.

'Firstly, there is the consideration of denying the HNP a foothold in Natal, the province which has always prided itself in its belief that South Africanism rather than sectional cultural interests should be our first consideration.

'It is sheer effrontery for a party which aims to abolish English as one of our official languages to even put up a candidate in the one predominantly English-speaking province.'

Negotiation

Mr Botha said one only had to study the reply of the HNP's sole MP, Mr Louis Stoffberg, to a question in Parliament when he questioned the patriotism of English-speakers who did not identitfy themselves with their Afrikaans countrymen.

'More whites live in close proximity to their black neighbours in Natal than anywhere else in South Africa,' said Mr Botha.

'Negotiation and good neighbourliness are key requirements in the quest for a peaceful future in Natal.

'Close administrative ties between Natal and KwaZulu are being forged through recent legislation, while even now Natalians of all population groups are exploring the possibility of broadening the common ground between them in an Indaba.

'The white supremicist policies of the HNP will not only fly in the face of these developments, but will drive white and black Natalians irrevocably apart.'

Thirdly, said Mr Botha, international demands had become so outrageous and the clamour for punitive sanctions so hysterical, that the time had come for all patriotic South Africans to join forces.

'Let those who are so blind as to believe token concessions will appease the sanction-mongers blame the Nats for this vicious international campaign, but the vast majoirty of reasonable South Africans are not prepared to buckle under foreign demands,' said Mr Botha.

(Report by O Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban).

Sabra delegates hear exclusive homeland plan

15/9/86 STAR 304A

By Kym Hamilton, Pretoria Bureau

A plan to ensure Afrikaner exclusivity in an independent white Afrikaner state was sketched for delegates at the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (Sabra) congress in Pretoria at the weekend.

Professor Hercules Booysen of the University of South Africa, warned that Afrikaners were caught up in a process of reform which they did not vote for.

The only reform the Afrikaner could support was one which subscribed to the principles of freedom in one's "own" country under an "own" government.

Partition, delegates were told, was the only solution.

The territory would have to be sovereign, unified, have a First World economy and be based on Afrikaner Calvinistic principles and traditions.

It would have to be able provide enough water and agricultural land, but should not be too big for Afrikaners to manage on their own or it would eventually culminate in a multiracial state.

A new design was needed for an Afrikaner nation which would probably never number more than 5 million people and of this, only about 3 million would probably live within the borders of the new state.

Although no map and formal boundaries had been established, Afrikaners could start establishing a core area.

It would be fatal to ignore the development of the rest of South Africa. Provision must be made for other nations to find a home in their own independent territories.

The first step was the recognition that foreign black labour would have no place in the new state. Afrikaners would have learn to do all their own work.

They should unite to ensure they won the next election.

However, if such a victory was not possible, Afrikaners could work together to establish their own state.

They could use property ownership rights to make their land white and buying power to support only those who identified with their aims.

Afrikaners had to start work now establishing their own exclusive territorial areas, living patterns and working enviroments. This would offer some protection should the country fall under black majority rule.

Pretoria 'should be capital of Afrikaner state'

Pretoria Bureau

The new Afrikaner whites-only South Africa would have Pretoria as its capital city.

A delegate at the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs annual congress in the city at the weekend, Mr Dirk Viljoen, said Afrikaners had to be realistic in their expectations for their own territory.

Metropolitan areas such as the Witwatersrand, Cape Peninsula, Durban/Pinetown, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage would have no place in the new state. In these areas racial mixing was already too far advanced.

The new country would be white only, would not rely on black labour in any way and would have to be self-sufficient, he said.

However, the cultural history of the Afrikaner would be taken into consideration when drawing up the boundaries of the new territory.

HNP leader urges return to Verwoerd policies

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Pretoria Bureau

Claims that the late Dr H F Verwoerd's policies had failed were rejected yesterday by delegates at the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs' annual congress in Pretoria.

Delivering a commemoration speech to the former Prime Minister, Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP, called on Afrikaners to enter the power struggle between the races in South Africa.

The fight for a country in keeping with the dreams of Dr Verwoerd would not be won by constitutional innovations and clever talking.

It would only be won by calling on the inner strength of the Afrikaner to fight to keep what was his, said Mr Marais.

Under the rule of Dr Verwoerd, South Africa was a prosperous country, he said.

INSTABILITY

The move away from racial discrimination had led to instability, unleashed revolutionary powers and led the country to such an "ungovernable" situation that a state of emergency had to be declared, he said.

He urged Afrikaners to return to Dr Verwoerd's vision of a policy based on separate development and a whites-only homeland where blacks were temporary sojourners.

Mr Marais said the disintegration of Dr Verwoerd's policy started as far back as 1964 when the present State President, Mr P W Botha and a former Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, embarked on their campaign to undermine Dr Verwoerd's leadership.

It was these two men who first intimated to New Zealand that the presence of a Maori in an All Black rugby touring team would be acceptable, said Mr Marais.

All-white blueprint going ahead

By Kym Hamilton, Pretoria Bureau

The right-wing Bureau for Racial Relations committed itself to drawing up the design for a new country for the Afrikaner nation at its annual congress in Pretoria at the weekend.

In a declaration of intent, chairman Professor Carel Boshoff said the organisation remained dedicated to its policies drawn up in 1952 under the leadership of Dr H F Verwoerd.

Future research would spotlight the desire of the Afrikaner to live freely in his own exclusive territory, Professor Boshoff told less than 100 delegates.

The following guidelines would be used:

- A unified territory;
- Afrikaner history and traditions would be taken into consideration;
- The borders would have to be easily defended;
- The area would have to have a harbour, key minerals, water, agricultural land and established industries;
- The four largest metropolitan areas would be excluded;
- The land would have to be able to support at least 4 million people.

Professor Boshoff said whites other than Afrikaners would be welcome.

SA influence is region's stabiliser says Botha

African economies are going down the drain, he warns

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The process of deterioration in many African countries would quicken without South Africa's stabilising influence, the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, said in Johannesburg last night.

Speaking at the opening of the Gold 100 conference he said many African countries were dying and their economies were "going down the drain".

Mr Botha announced an economic conference to be attended by leading South Africans in Pretoria on November 7. It will be convened under the banner of Forward with Confidence.

Mr Botha said when he spoke of reform it meant reform in the art of government, technical know-how and socio-economic developments, as well as the capability of applying norms of administration.

Constitutional reform, he said, would be meaningless without concurrent socio-economic reform and upliftment.

"South Africa has advanced so far in the process that we cannot afford meaningless exercises prescribed to us by people who are masters in using slogans."

Nationalisation was a haunting spectre and fear was instilled by those bent on economic destruction through ill considered punitive actions against South Africa.

"They with their stupid march of folly against this country are playing into the hands of revolutionary forces and power-drunk cliques, which can only bring misery, poverty and hunger to many millions."

Mr Botha said South Africa would stand firm against chaos and anarchy.

MR BOTHA

He stressed South Africa's responsibility to other countries in the region which were caught up in a desperate struggle for survival.

BUSDAY 16/9/86

JCI chairman calls for universal franchise in SA

ONLY acceptance of a universal franchise for all South Africans would ensure an end to violence and unrest, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) chairman Gordon Waddell said in London yesterday.

And he called for immediate negotiations for the achievement of that goal.

A universal franchise was inevitable despite its rejection by government, Waddell told the shareholders' meeting when delivering JCI's annual report.

He said: "The costs of that rejection will, in human and material terms, be simply enormous and in the end, the sacrifices will have been wasted.

"It surely must be better for all to come to terms with reality and negotiate now so as to avoid a similar path to that followed in the past by the Smith government of Rhodesia as it then was."

Waddell said that while a siege economy might appear beneficial initially, the real

Business Day Reporters

sacrifices required would only become apparent when additional sanctions were imposed, as the quality of life deteriorated and government moved "inexorably to still the remaining voices of dissent in order to try and maintain its writ as far as possible".

The future was so clouded by political and social violence, unrest and the threat of sanctions that it was impossible to forecast JCI's performance for the year ending June 1987.

All Waddell could say was that if present circumstances did not change — "an unlikely event" in his view — all the major contributors to the group excluding coal, interest received and money market operations, should increase their individual profits.

It could therefore be expected that group profits would also increase.

"EWPOINT"

(304A)

AMBASSADOR to Brussels . . . Professor Ranchod.

First black ambassador to Brussels appointed

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

THE Government has appointed Professor Bahdra Ranchod as the first South African ambassador of colour. He has been posted to the Europea Community in Brussels.

The move comes on the eve of a European Community decision on a joint sanctions package against South Africa.

Professor Ranchod, Dean of the Law Faculty at the University of Durban Westville, yesterday dismissed any argument that his appointment could be seen as "Tokenism."

And although he would represent a National Party South African Government his private view was that there would have to be a "new and united South Africa."

He felt he could also contribute a lot to this from Brussels particularly with interest he had in a Bill of Rights for South Africa.

Career

Professor Ranchod has had a remarkable academic career and at 42 is also one of the country's youngest ambassadors.

He sees the post in Brussels as extremely important.

"People don't realise how much co-operation there is between the 12 member countries.

"More and more foreign policy decisions are being taken jointly."

Professor Ranchod said he had only been informed of his appointment yesterday and was still considering all the implications.

Tokenism

Having read for his master and doctorate degrees in law at Cambridge in Britain and Leiden University in the Netherland, Professor Ranchod feels he is well aware of the importance of the European Community.

"Europe is important for us in terms of constitutional development. We can learn a lot from them."

Professor Ranchod, who is also on the board of the SABC, said that there would be people who would make claims of tokenism but this could be expected.

Colour

This would happen whenever a person of colour was appointed for the first time.

"We have got to make a start somewhere."

It all boiled down to "we have either got to work together or fight each other.

Post

"I truly believe in a united and new South Africa and will work for it."

The post had been held for the past few years by Mr Robert Du Plooy, ambassador to France.

Mr Du Plooy will continue as the ambassador to France. Professor Ranchod is married with two children.

Similar views on SA's future

Eve Post 16/7/87 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Except for the "extreme" Pan African Congress (PAC) view, all the major anti-apartheid groupings in the country had "basically" the same view of post-apartheid South Africa, Pick 'n Pay chairman, Mr Raymond Ackerman, said in Cape town yesterday.

Addressing the inaugural meeting of the 100-member Constantia Village country club, Mr Ackerman said the BBC videotaped panel discussion between ANC and PAC representatives, SA ambassador Dr Dennis Worrall, a "black moderate", and himself in London 10 days ago was "a very sobering experience".

"Except for the extreme PAC view, we all agreed we wanted a non-racial, apartheid free South Africa. We want a multi-party state with internationally controlled protection for minority groups," he said.

Everybody, even the PAC, did not want violence.

"The PAC and ANC realise fully that ours is a very complex society. They realise that a sudden switch to another government is not on."

He said the ANC and PAC representatives expressed views that had been more hard-line during the actual videotaping than in private discussions beforehand.

It had been his experience that the private views of white politicians also differed from those they expressed in public.

But despite the "enormous amount of posturing", black and white leaders would have to get down to talking "as sure as night turns into day", he said. — Sapa

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BusDAY. 16/9/86.

304A

PAC view of SA 'extreme'

Own Correspondent

EXCEPT for the "extreme" Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) view, all the major anti-apartheid groupings in the country had "basically" the same view of post-apartheid SA, Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman said yesterday.

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Good Gosh! How absurd!
Who ever heard
Of an elegant drink
Named after a silly
Old bird?

EXOTIC
FRUIT & WINE
COCKTAILS.
Summer Melon. Pineapple.
Lemon 'n Lime.

CCA/1058 A

Mercury Classifieds

HNP's fears of black leadership

Political Reporter

IT IS inevitable there will be a black State President if the National Party is allowed to continue on its present course, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais said in a packed Ladysmith Town Hall last night.

Speaking at a Klip River by-election meeting attended by more than 500 people, Mr Marais said a Conservative Party/HNP government would make a black State President impossible.

Mr Marais challenged the NP Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, to debate with him the fact that the NP candidate, Mr Jacko Maree, is an editor of the political and economic magazine, Die Suid Afrikaan, which Mr Marais said is a forum for radical Leftist views.

'I will donate R1 000 to the NP if he (Mr Botha) is prepared to come up with me on this platform tonight or tomorrow night.

'Jacko Maree is nearer the PFP and UDF than Verwoerd's National Party.'

Mr Marais said the NP was conditioning people to accept a black government and a black State President.

'They have completely destroyed all semblance of future security for whites in South Africa.'

He said KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, would be an interim leader between a white government and an African National Congress government.

Mr Marais said President Botha's statements were treason against Dr D F Malan, Mr J G Strydom, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and the children of South Africa.

He said the NP and PFP were losing support but the Right-wing was gaining in strength.

'Reform means giving the miserable NP a blank cheque to do with what they wish.'

Mr Marais said that on the day of the by-election on Wednesday the NP would be hit so hard that it would feel the effects for months afterwards.

The HNP candidate, Mr Chris Wolmarans, said the Government talked about orderly urbanisation and power sharing but one might as well talk about good sins.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

● See Editorial Opinion and Page 5

Safer shipping

LONDON—The International Maritime Organisation, a 129-member United Nations agency concerned with safety on the high seas, has agreed to measures to make ports and ships safer from terrorist attacks, officials said yesterday. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Housebreaking

NELSON Biyela, 30, charged with eight counts of housebreaking in the Zululand area, appeared briefly in the Empangeni Magistrate's Court yesterday morning.

Three die in Soweto attack

PRETORIA—Three men were killed and 11 injured when a group of Zulus attacked a house in Meadowlands, Soweto, on Sunday night in which the 'comrades' were meeting, the Bureau for Information said in its report yesterday.

Several shots were fired at the house.

Two women and nine men were injured in the incident. The house was set alight after the attack.

The bureau, in its report for the period 6 a m on Sunday to 6 a m yesterday, said six other incidents had been reported in Soweto. These included four incidents of stone-throwing.

Fewer than 20 incidents were reported in the rest of the country.

Natal, the East Rand and the Eastern Province each reported one incident of stone-throwing with damage amounting to R200, R126 and R30 respectively. — (Sapa)

Emergency Day 96

Because of the emergency regulations, the free flow of information relating to unrest is severely restricted. This newspaper will do its utmost to keep readers informed.

Flung from car

JOHANNESBURG—Dr Harry Horwitz, 70, died on Sunday when he was flung into a parked vehicle from the bonnet of his car, which had been stolen moments before. He had jumped on the bonnet to try to stop the thieves but they sped off, colliding with a parked car about 500 m away. — (Sapa)

ON AS LITTLE AS R1000
IG PARTICIPATION BONDS OFFER
15,1% NET
PAID QUARTERLY IN ADVANCE

in terms of the accepted sense cur-

Volkskas believes that the sanctions issue has probably been discounted.

PFP sets out to put new plan into action

BD 16/9/86

Business Day Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party (PFP) has a new quest — to ferret out voters who support its policies but who vote for the National Party (NP).

It believes that with the support of these voters, it can switch from being an effective opposition to the role of an alternative government.

304A

The PFP's new approach began in March. Now, having drawn up several sets of plans, researched them and modified them, it believes it has a plan which — given the volatile political scene — can take it within about five years to becoming part of an alternative government.

The plan, called "Turbocharge" entails the identification of PFP supporters who have voted for the NP. Then, employing marketing techniques used in overseas electioneering, it can win between 50 and 55 seats, the PFP says.

It will put all its resources into winning these seats, and says that while a chunk of about 50 seats will not give it a majority in the House of Assembly, it will give the PFP sufficient clout to enter into alliances with, say, a breakaway of "New Nats" from the NP.

PW plans an economic development conference

STAR 16/9/86

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

The State President, Mr P W Botha, last night announced he would convene an economic conference on November 7 to plan a development strategy for Southern Africa.

Speaking at the Gold 100 banquet in Johannesburg, Mr Botha said the theme of the conference, involving "leading South Africans in the economic and business fields and members of my government", would be "Forward with Confidence".

"The Government remains committed to establishing and maintaining an investment climate," he said.

The conference, to be held in Pretoria, will be the first major meeting between the private and public sectors since the Carlton and Good Hope conferences of the early 1980s.

Addressing the more than 800 banquet guests, Mr Botha hit out at "those radical elements whose leaders hide beyond our borders" who advocated "violence, nationalisation and so-called socialism".

NATIONALISATION

"The haunting spectre of nationalisation is not of our making. It is a fear instilled by those who are at present bent on the destruction of our economic wellbeing by means of ill-considered punitive action against us," he said

Mr Botha said the Government and the vast majority of South Africans were determined to stand up against "these forces and to protect our children".

South Africa also had responsibilities to undeveloped regions.

"We must synchronise our highly developed First World economy with the Third World economy which is part of our heritage," he said.

Mr Botha said South Africa had an acknowledged leadership role to play in Africa.

"In fact, we have a message of hope to a cynical world bereft of much of its goodwill and integrity. A great movement of evolutionary broadening of democracy is being carried out by us"

Referring to the Government's reform programme, he said· "Constitutional reform would be virtually meaningless without concurrent socio-economic reform and upliftment."

There are now more than 5-million voters

304A

Pretoria Correspondent

There are now more than five million registered voters for the three Houses of Parliament.

Latest statistics released by Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha show that at June 30 whites (House of Assembly) had 3 009 700 voters — the first time that white voters topped the three million mark — followed by coloureds (House of Representatives) 1 529 752 voters, and Indians (House of Delegates) 591 454 voters.

This makes a total of 5 130 906 people able to vote in the tricameral system.

The constituency with the largest number of voters is the House of Delegates' Phoenix constituency in Natal, with 40 471. The House of Representatives' seat with the most voters is Outeniqua, with 31 038, while the House of Assembly's North Rand seat has 28 123 voters.

North Rand MP Mr Hans Schoeman died at the weekend.

His constituency included part of Verwoerdburg.

Another seat in the greater Pretoria area, Pretoria East, with 28 096 voters, is the second "heaviest" white seat.

At the other extreme, the House of Representatives' Northern Transvaal constituency has 3 504 voters; Walvis Bay — part of the Green Point constituency in the House of Assembly — 4 461 voters, and the North-West Cape seat in the House of Delegates has 5 201 voters.

On a provincial basis (counting voters in all three Houses), the Cape has 2 155 936 voters, Transvaal 1 813 511, Natal 898 509, and Free State 262 950.

In the House of Assembly, Transvaal has 1 584 617 voters — 52,65 percent of the white electorate in its 76 seats.

The Cape has 836 313 — 27,85 percent of the white voters in its 56 seats — with an average of about 14 970 voters to each constituency.

Natal, with 352 632 voters — 11,72 percent of the white voters in 20 seats — has an average of about 17 632 voters to each constituency.

The Free State has 234 134 white voters — 7,78 percent of the voters in 14 seats — at an average of 16 724 voters to each constituency.

 Argus 17/9/80 (304A)

Proposals for Indaba ready 'within months'

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Final proposals for the Kwazulu/Natal Indaba should be released within a few months, Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence confirmed today.

He said Indaba delegates were making "extremely good progress" and were close to reaching consensus.

"We are not quite there yet. But since the Bill of Rights was issued in July we have examined more than five models for a constitution which fits in with the bill."

Professor Desmond Clarence . . . "extremely good progress" by Indaba delegates.

Aspirations

However, Professor Clarence said that while it was a matter of urgency to get the proposals out, it was important that no decision be taken too quickly.

"We must ensure that nothing is glossed over so that the Government is presented with a good document which satisfies the aspirations and apprehensions of all the people of Natal and Kwazulu."

He said delegates were working on the finer details of proposals which they believed people would accept, coupled with a solution detailed enough to ensure no group was dominated by another.

Prosperity

They would present the Government with a proposed constitution and single legislature which would ensure peace, prosperity and stability in South Africa, he said.

It was hoped the Government would "see the sense" in the suggestions.

It was important that the Bill of Rights be read with the final Indaba proposals.

Movement

"What particularly surprises me is the number of people outside Natal and Kwazulu who have shown interest, sent messages of support or offered assistance. This could set a pattern for other areas of South Africa."

There had been more than 110 000 requests for copies of the Bill of Rights and 50 more were streaming in daily, he said.

Meanwhile a dual-pronged campaign, including the formation of a broadly-based political movement, the Indaba Support Group, has been launched to swing the public behind the Kwazulu/Natal Indaba.

The Support Group has been formed across party and colour lines by a group of interested people under the chairmanship of businessman Mr Dirk Kemp.

Mr Kemp said in an interview that an opinion poll may soon be held to test support for the Indaba-negotiated Bill of Rights.

Meanwhile the Indaba Image Committee, chaired by industrialist Mr Chris Saunders has appointed a consortium to assist in a campaign to publicise the workings of the Indaba.

Psychologists condemn the sale of toy SAP vehicles

By BARBARA ORPEN

CLINICAL psychologists in Port Elizabeth have added their voice to critics who have condemned as "insensitive" the sale of toy Casspirs to the general public at local police stations.

The psychologists, who cannot be named for professional reasons, have expressed fears that the toys might bring "the fear, violence and hatred associated with the South African conflict into the playground".

As replicas of Casspirs used by the security forces to patrol African townships, the toys bear the association of the war in the townships, said one clinical pschologist from UPE.

"My fear is that children, in playing with the Casspirs, will learn to stereotype the black person as the 'violent baddie' against the the 'goody white policeman' who protects whites," he said.

"This will be extremely detrimental to the development of healthy inter-group attitudes."

The psychologist added that with the apparent approval of the toys from parents in society, there was the suggestion that violence and conflict was normal.

Another clinical psychologist said the sale of the toy Casspirs was very insensitive and would offend a large percentage of the population.

"I am opposed to the sale of any toys associated with violence as this desensitises children and makes them more amenable to the concept of violence.

"However, the replica of a Casspir is in particular offensive as it has become of symbol of oppression for many people in the townships," he said.

He said the sale of the toys seemed acceptable in certain sectors of the population, as parents were "wanting to prepare their children for war and for a more violent society".

(304A) (280) DD 17/9/86

Van Eck snarls at sanctions

MR VAN ECK

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Punitive sanctions against South Africa have been attacked as "morally wrong" by the Progressive Federal Party's (PFP) new MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck.

Mr Van Eck said at the launch of a PFP Youth Branch here punitive sanctions were totally unselective.

"They punish both the perpetrators and the recipients of apartheid," he said.

"It is time that those who are planning and executing the sanctions campaign against South Africa stop punishing South Africa.

"If someone deserves to be punished then it is the Nationalist government and its supporters, and not South Africa and the people of South Africa.

"There are more and more cases where black South Africans and other opponents of the apartheid system have been the target of these punitive actions.

"An American university recently refused to accept a black traffic policeman from Cape Town because they no longer accept South Africans in their university.

"Surely this is absurd. Why should this man who all his life suffered under apartheid now be the victim of punitive measures aimed at apartheid?" Mr Van Eck asked.

He said that if punitive action was aimed at the National Party and its supporters, it would result in a small minority of the country — two million out of 22 million people — being identified and isolated.

"This would have a truly positive effect on our society. I believe that the process of real change in South Africa could be given a real boost."

304A

Ranchod's post called tokenism

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The appointment of a University of Durban-Westville law professor, Professor Bhadra Ranchod, as South African Ambassador Extraordinary to the European Community, has been described by an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Frank Meer, as 'tokenism in its most blatant form".

Dr Meer said the appointment placed Professor Ranchod "firmly on the side of apartheid and oppression".

Professor Ranchod is the first Indian to be appointed a South African ambassador.

Dr Meer, however, said: "Not even a pliable Indian can sell apartheid or stave off sanctions. Apartheid is unsellable."

He said Professor Ranchod had always been "closer to the government than to the oppressed."

The university's students representative council said in a statement: "Professor Ranchod will be representing the South African Government and its apartheid policy.

"He is therefore condoning the state of emergency and all its effects."

Professor Ranchod shrugged off the criticism, saying: "I don't intend getting into any kind of wrangle with anyone."

He said those who criticised him had the right to do so, because he believed in freedom of expression.

But he defended himself by saying: "I have consistently supported human rights in South Africa.

"That's where I have placed all my energies over the years.

"I am not looking for a job, money or status. I feel that in South Africa one is either going to support violence or work towards promoting human rights and getting a dispensation which will lead to a more just society."

He said he regarded his appointment as "a challenge to do the best for South Africa".

Commentator primes Nats for tough poll

304

SUNDAY 15/9/86.

Own Correspondent

THE Nationalist Press is priming National Party supporters for a tough general election.

Dawie, the usually well-informed political columnist of Nasionale Pers, told readers yesterday there was no doubt an early election was on the way.

The only thing in doubt was the date, he said, under a headline: The signs are already there — fierce election at the door.

His column, which almost suggests the election campaign has already started, follows persistent speculation that President P W Botha could call an election before the end of the year or very early next year.

November and April are being punted as the most likely months and the Klip River result could hold the key.

Toughest assault would come from the right-wing, said Dawie, pointing to the campaign of the Herstigte Nasionale Party and its allies in KlipRiver.

BUSDAY 18/9/86

Van Rensburg backing for camps angers PFP colleagues

VAN RENSBURG

A MAJOR row has erupted in the Progressive Federal Party about the Department of Education and Training's "re-absorption camps" for young blacks.

Bryanston MP Horace van Rensburg has publicly come out in full support of the camps.

He was immediately attacked by some caucus colleagues.

The row could mean the end of Van Rensburg's political career — at least as a member of the PFP.

Van Rensburg yesterday defended his support for the controversial camps despite sharp criticism by other PFP MPs.

He said they were a "wonderful, positive idea" and he wished it were possible for "all detainees and other black youths, who have suffered trauma and shock in the townships, to have the opportunity to attend facilities of this nature".

Van Rensburg added that he had

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

known about the camps for a long time.

He said the camps were totally voluntary and claims that they were used for brainwashing or recruiting police spies were "dangerous and irresponsible".

Maritzburg North MP Graham Macintosh, closely involved with the PFP's unrest monitoring service, said yesterday: "If Van Rensburg has information on these camps, it seems curious that his caucus colleagues have to receive his information via *The Citizen*.

Several other PFP MPs also attacked Van Rensburg's statements. One said his "days in the PFP are numbered".

MPs contacted by *Business Day* said PFP leader Colin Eglin should react publicly.

Eglin's secretary said yesterday he knew about Van Rensburg's statements and would react to them later.

Houghton MP Helen Suzman and Gardens MP Ken Andrew have been invited by the DET to visit the camp at Roodewal, near Dewetsdorp, today. Last week, a PFP delegation got a hostile reception at the same camp.

Van Rensburg said last night he was an "uncompromising liberal" totally opposed to anarchy. But he has changed from being a "confrontationist politician to one supporting consensus politics".

● See Page 2

Cautious Eglin keeps his options open

(304) WEEKLY MAIL 19/9/86

By SHAUN JOHNSON and ANTON HARBER

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leader Colin Eglin yesterday refused either to condemn or to endorse the controversial DET "youth camps" for ex-detainees.

He faces a storm in party ranks over statements made by his forthright spokesman for national education, Horace van Rensburg.

Other PFP parliamentarians have been reported as saying Van Rensburg's days within the party "are numbered" after he gave his apparently unequivocal backing to the DET camps and the decision to close certain township schools.

In a telephone interview yesterday, Eglin said there were certainly "differences of emphasis" within the party and that was "unfortunate".

He has taken up the matter with Van Rensburg, "but that is not the issue. There is certainly a difference of views, yes, but I am concerned more with what the party's view is.

"Ken Andrew expresses the party's view (on the closing of schools). I will do everything I can to get the party consolidated around that view," he said.

However, Eglin would not give his opinion on the DET camps until a PFP fact-finding delegation to the Roodewal centre had reported to him.

"Van Rensburg says his information is that there is no coercion involved in the camps. Neil (Ross, of the PFP monitoring group) has information that there is coercion.

"We have sent a delegation to probe the camps and I don't want to anticipate their findings," he said.

Eglin called for the camps to be opened to maximum scrutiny. "Whatever the merits or demerits are, there has to be full public exposure of what is happening. The public is entitled to know."

Asked if Van Rensburg had [illegible]ted PFP policy when he [illegible]

●To PAGE 2

of improper conduct [illegible]

Meanwhile in an interview with the Weekly Mail, Van Rensburg has expanded on his reasons for supporting the closure of certain Transvaal schools.

He argued that some schools could no longer operate as they had been critically disrupted by what he calls "revolutionary elements in pursuit of the deplorable aim of making the country ungovernable and replacing it by a 'socialist utopia'."

The MP for Bryanston said educational programmes for affected pupils for 1986 could not be rehabilitated and the teachers and the few pupils attending the schools" should be located elsehwere to save scarce funds. The beleaguered institutions should only be reopened next year.

Van Rensburg described himself as a "classic liberal, believing in the classic freedoms involved in liberalism" who also places great store by "law and order" and is "an implacable opponent of communism in all its forms".

He blames "young terrorists, criminals and thugs who constitute the loose conglomerate called comrades" for intimidating children and parents into a boycott of schools. This has been achieved, he says, through the use of the "necklace" — "possibly the most gruesome, horrific and frightening form of intimidation devised anywhere in the world".

But, he added that today's "deeply distressful" scenario in blacks schools had its roots in a long period of "neglect, lack of sensitivity and lack of communication".

But he believes the government has undergone a complete change of heart. "The government wold sincerely like to improve black education as much as it is humanly possible, and as fast as possible". The "revolutionaries" were not allowing them to do so.

Most whites agree with rate of reform

19/9/90 STAR 304A

Most urban white South Africans agree with the pace of Government reform, a recent Omnichek poll has found.

This finding arises out of a poll involving personal interviews "with a representative sample of 1 309 white urban dwellers — 500 men and 809 women aged 18 years and older", said a statement by Omnichek.

The survey found that 52 percent of urban whites agree with the general thrust and pace of the Government's refrom policy, compared with 22 percent who would agree with the abolition of apartheid and the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, and only 7 percent who say reform should be halted.

QUALIFIED SUPPORT

Omnichek said 19 percent of respondents gave a "don't know" reply.

But the statement also said: "When the poll probed deeper, a significant majority of urban whites gave only qualified support to political changes such as the abolition of pass laws, the introduction of a common non-racial identity document, restoration of citizenship to South African blacks, and the appointment of other races to help run provincial affairs."

Only 40 percent of whites approved of these reforms wholeheartedly.

Respondents were asked which options they favoured in the face of severe economic sanctions and a siege economy.

"The poll showed that halting all political reform and taking the consequences of a siege economy is a viewpoint endorsed by only 4 percent of English-speaking and 12 percent of Afrikaans-speaking urban white South Africans."

About 32 percent of English-speakers favoured the repeal of all discrimination, compared with 11 percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

"However, 56 percent of Afrikaans respondents said they were happy with the Government's present policy and pace of reform, compared with 47 percent of English-speakers."

Slabbert and Boraine to open new institute

(304A)

STAR 19/9/86

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — An Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa) is to be started next year by Dr van Zyl Slabbert, the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, and Dr Alex Boraine, former PFP MP for Pinelands.

Plans for the institute are in an advanced stage after a visit to Scandinavian countries by the two men.

They visited the United States earlier this year, and Dr Slabbert has also been to France.

Their visit to Sweden, Norway and Denmark was at the invitation of the governments of those countries.

Dr Slabbert said yesterday that on the visits, requests for financial support for the institute had been "very encouraging".

Keen interest had been displayed in the idea that a debate in a post-apartheid South Africa and a nonracial democracy should be encouraged, and that particularly whites from different communities should become involved in debating issues with their fellow black South Africans.

Dr Slabbert explained that Idasa was not envisaged as a conventional think-tank, but as an attempt to provide regional and national forums for co-ordinating resources towards opposing apartheid structures, and for establishing a nonracial and democratic alternative for them.

Workshops in various areas were being planned as more funds became available.

It was hoped to get started with the institute early next year.

Dr Slabbett stressed that the institute was not meant to be a competing political group or party and that it had no intention of undercutting any existing democratic political organisation or movement.

H733 171

'New breeze' stirring the Broederbond

ARGUS 19/9/86

304A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The secret Afrikaner Broederbond organisation wants to revamp itself and let a "new breeze" blow through its ranks after a series of internal rows and strenuous efforts by members to avoid contentious issues.

This explanation — from a top Broederbond source — is the latest development in the row raging within the organisation over the circulation of a secret document proposing ANC participation in future constitutional talks.

Right-wing members of the elitist Afrikaner organisation, described by many as the Government's ideological think-tank, now accuse Professor Pieter de Lange, chairman of the Broederbond and rector of the Rand Afrikaans University, of moving to the left of the Government.

The document has been in circulation for some months and was leaked to the Afrikaans Press three weeks ago. According to a source, Professor De Lange approved the publication of the contents of the document in the Afrikaans Press.

The purpose was to stimulate some hard thinking among Broeders who are now expected to reply in writing why they are opposed to or in favour of the suggestions set out in the document.

The document suggests, among other things:

A black majority in Parliament and the possibility of a person becoming president who is not white.

The immediate declaration of so-called "grey areas" and radio and television being asked to promote the concept of mixed residential areas.

The inclusion of political groups in future talks on the country's future whose non-participation would make any talks futile — even if those groups had not yet forsworn violence.

A prominent member of the Broederbond said this week that if this was the course on which the Broederbond had embarked, it might as well disband.

Split in the Studentebond

The Argus Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The student representative council of the University of the Orange Free State is to disaffiliate from the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

The decision resulted from dissatisfaction with the ASB's "organisational inability and the prominence given to ideologically irreconcilable viewpoints", the SRC said.

At its recent annual congress the ASB faced the worst crisis in its 38 years' existence when several "verligte" executive committee candidates withdrew from elections for the presidencey when it became clear that Mr Bertus Nel from Potchefstroom University would be the new president.

JUSTICE

The UOFS SRC said in its motion last night that the ASB was "unable to bring about greater justice in society."

The Student Council of Stellenbosch University recently called on the leadership at all Afrikaans campuses to distance themselves from the "conservative pressure group within the ASB".

The ASB's president, Mr Bertus Nel, could not be reached for comment.

End apartheid say 22 percent of whites: Poll

ARGUS 19/9/86

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — Fifty-two percent of urban whites agree with the pace of the Government's reform policy while 22 percent want the abolition of apartheid and the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, according to an Omnichek poll.

The survey — conducted among 1 309 people in the (PWV) Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex — found respondents to be "most conservative in their views".

On recent reforms, only 32 percent gave their "wholehearted" approval while 30 percent gave "reluctant approval" and 20 percent said they "did not know".

INFLUX CONTROL

The respondents — 500 men and 809 women aged 18 and older — were asked about the abolition of influx control, the introduction of non-racial identity documents, black citizenship and non-racial appointments to help run the provinces.

The poll showed that halting all political reform and taking the consequences of a "siege" economy was a viewpoint endorsed by only four percent of English-speaking and 12 percent of Afrikaans-speaking urban whites.

Thirty-two percent of English-speakers preferred the elimination of apartheid and the repeal of discrimatory legislation against 11 percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

Fifty-six percent of Afrikaners said they were happy with the Government's present policy and pace of reform compared with 47 percent of the English community.

Only 40 percent of whites said they were "optimistic" regarding change in South Africa while 17 percent said they "disapprove". — Sapa.

Opposition gears up for another election

PW COULD EVEN ANNOUNCE A DATE TONIGHT

Klip River ecstacy: A shoulder-high ride for victorious National Party candidate Jaco Maree yesterday
Picture: BILLY PADDOCK, Reuter

By PATRICK LAURENCE

A GENERAL election before the end of the year looked even more likely yesterday after the National Party victory over the Herstige Nasionale Party in the Klip River by-election.

Ever since President P W Botha warned at the NP federal congress last month that an election might be held sooner than expected, political leaders have been bracing themselves for a snap election.

The NP victory in Klip River by more than 3 000 votes shortened the odds in favour of an early election still further. Informed observers believe Botha was waiting for the Klip River result before finally committing himself.

The NP candidate Jaco Maree defeated Chris Wolmarans of the HNP by 3 033 votes. Wolmarans was backed by Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party.

The NP majority was reduced by nearly 900 votes compared to the 1981 election result. But in 1981 the NP had only to fight the HNP, not an HNP-CP coalition. In the circumstances it was a good result for the NP.

Botha certainly thought so. "It is a sign that South Africa is uniting," he said.

Buoyed by the Klip River result, Botha may well announce a general election tonight when he opens the Transvaal NP congress in Pretoria or, failing that, during the Cape NP congress at the end of the month.

A general election was originally due to be held in April, five years after the last general election in 1981. But the introduction of the new constitution in 1984 empowered the government to postpone the election until 1989.

Since then, however, Botha has been goaded by the ultra-rightwing parties, who have charged that he no longer has a legitimate mandate from the white electorate.

Botha is sensitive to the charge. His combative nature made it difficult to ignore sniping remarks that he was afraid to put his policies to the test at the polls.

Equally important, many top NP men believe the time is opportune for an early election.

There has been a surge of support for the NP since the declaration of a State of Emergency on June 12, indicating that whites still tend to rally around the governing party in times of crisis. Moreover threats from the outside world have intensified, with

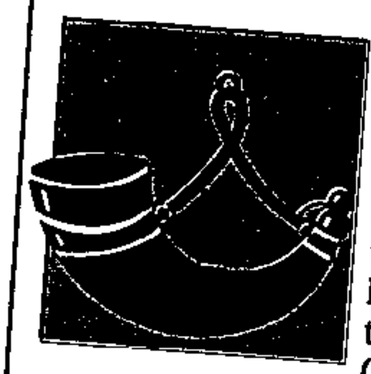
●To PAGE 2

GRIM IRONY OF THE MINE DISASTER: THE SAFETY BOOKLET THAT CAME OUT TWO DAYS

P.T.O.

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

No new Jerusalem



Some blame the unrest and fear of the Right for the lack of fresh reform initiatives from Pretoria. Rather, it appears that the NP has simply run out of ideas.

A fairly reliable rumour, as rumours go, currently touted over potjiekos and Meerlust Rubicon, holds that P W Botha is no longer talking to his two top lieutenants, Gerrit Viljoen and Chris Heunis. It makes some sense: both have failed to deliver the goods.

The state of black education — Viljoen's baby — is appalling. In some areas the comrades (with a little help from their friends) are setting their own syllabuses, which are very far removed from what Viljoen has in mind. In response, Viljoen's department is closing down black schools.

As for Heunis, his rise to stardom was based on his ability to convince P W that his very wonderful constitutional formulae would produce stability. Or perhaps he bored the president into compliance. The Heunis package posits structures such as the National Statutory Council (NSC); the new-look provincial executives which include black members; and regional services councils (RSCs).

The overall aim was to bring black moderates into the "reform process," while simultaneously allowing continued effective white, and therefore National Party, rule to be maintained. The programme has come unglued.

In any case, it is open to question whether co-option of a group of "black moderates" would have produced the desired effect. This is so even if that group had included Mangosuthu Buthelezi — probably the only black leader perceived by government as a moderate who has any popular following among a significant section of the population.

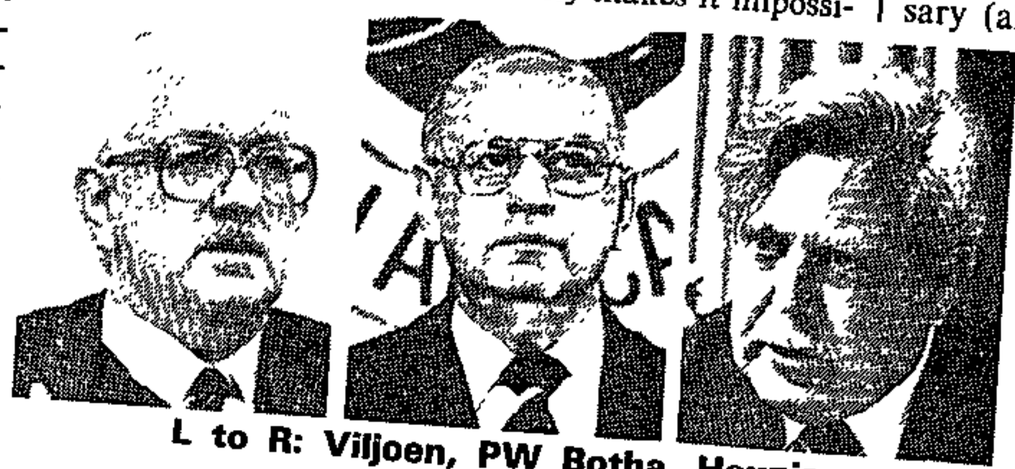
Even this has not occurred. For a start, Buthelezi has set certain preconditions before he will participate. Heunis meanwhile continues to generate fog. Quite recently he claimed that the negotiating process is continuing with the participation of "thousands of blacks."

Is this claim really credible? Who can these people be? At best, the minister must be referring to a few isolated members of the embattled black local authorities, and possibly some of the less credible homeland leaders — Simon Skosana and Kenneth Mopedi, for example. And, of course, the independent African churches could be expected to participate.

There are three national leaders, or organisations, which would give at least some substance to the NSC. The first prize would be Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement. Then there's Nafcoc and the Urban Councils Association of SA.

But all three have made the release of Nelson Mandela a precondition for joining the NSC. Nafcoc, at its recent AGM in Cape Town, went further, saying it would not serve on the NSC until the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) are unbanned — and, the body added, "until government starts negotiating with credible black leaders."

Right now, the release of Mandela seems as far away as ever. P W has set what appear to be impossible preconditions. So, as Wits University political scientist Alf Stadler points out, this effectively makes it impossible for Botha and the moderates to meet.



L to R: Viljoen, PW Botha, Heunis

That is a major reason why this year's second parliamentary session was a shambles — the most important pillar of Heunis's new deal has crumbled. Not even the illusion of real negotiation has survived.

The future of the RSC system is equally uncertain. July 1 was supposed to be its implementation date. But government faces severe opposition on two fronts. According to a government spokesman, 48 of SA's black local authorities have ceased operating. These include the municipalities of many of the country's largest black townships. There is no reason to think they would be able to play their envisioned roles on the RSCs. And among many of those councils still operating there seems to be a reluctance to take the plunge.

On top of that, the question of financing the RSCs is a source of much unhappiness and confusion in the business world.

Why is government unable to tempt even the most conservative black leaders to come to the table? Firstly, black moderates are only too aware that to participate in such a structure without even the minimum precondition (Mandela's release) being met would mean severe loss of credibility — if not worse.

Government, a victim of its own propaganda, appears to believe that it is only intimidation which makes the Left — mainly the United Democratic Front (UDF)-ANC axis — effective. The purpose of the current State of Emergency was to eliminate, or at least bring under control, the "intimidation" factor by removing the leadership of those organisations involved in resistance. This, government calculated, would clear the way for the reform process to continue without interference.

But black moderates (along with foreign powers like the European Community, Geoffrey Howe, and the Commonwealth as reflected in the EPG report) obviously think otherwise. And right now government has no plans whatever for accommodating those groupings in the reform process. To do so would require conceding too much — more than the Cabinet, at least, believes is necessary (although, it is said, the "new Nats" certainly think it will inevitably have to occur).

Government is therefore caught in a cleft stick: it is unwilling to retreat sufficiently to tempt the Left, but in the process has made it extremely difficult for potential moderate black allies to participate.

The upshot has been turmoil in the Nationalist caucus, which Stoffel van der Merwe, Nat MP for Helderkruin, seeks to explain as follows: "What a party is all about is to collect under one umbrella a number of individuals who have more or less the same type of ideal, but even then you sit with a spectrum of opinion. This is true of all parties.

"What happens of course is that if the divergence which is built into any organisation polarises into two or more distinct areas, then you get more tension . . . I do not deny that there are varieties of opinion inside the NP, and it is also true that as decisions become more imminent these tensions tend to become more felt and more pronounced; but having said that, it is my opinion that there are not any intolerable tensions inside the NP at the moment . . ."

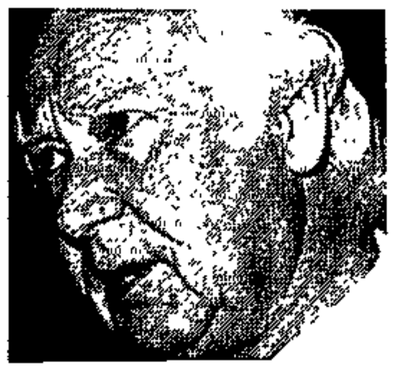
Perhaps not — but a curious stasis has set in at the top, generating a climate in which *skinderstories* abound (is P W *really* not talking to Heunis and Viljoen?). The plain fact is that Pretoria seems incapable of even delivering in full what it promises.

Almost every reform is accompanied by some new form of control, and becomes the source of yet another controversy. For example, we all know what happened to P W's promise to restore citizenship to those black South Africans who lost it when the TBVC

states attained "independence." It turns out that only about 25% of these people are entitled to the return of their South African citizenship. That, to quote Botha, is reality.

The abolition of the pass laws was a major shift — yet now we have disturbing reports of increasing use of vagrancy laws, in terms of the policy of "orderly urbanisation" which replaced them. In effect, the old Riekert Commission maxim of "*werk en woon*" appears to be guiding policy. And what has happened to P W's promise of freeing the informal sector, which would generate more city jobs than generations of "decentralisation"?

All of which is a classic recipe for confusion in the NP and the country at large. Nic Olivier of the Progressive Federal Party comments: ". . . the NP consists of a conservative section — not quite CP — and also a fairly forward-looking group who accept and realise that there will have to be fairly radical changes, particularly in terms of black participation." The potential for further strife, schisms and defections is certainly there.


PFP's Olivier

Former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert says he has no doubt that a growing number of whites are rejecting NP policy, adding to the turmoil within the party: "What is interesting for me is not so much the quantity of people who have rejected apartheid, but the quality."

There *are* optimists around; their hope is that P W is involved in a process of "reform by stealth" and that he has a "hidden agenda." Well, they're wrong: the broad guidelines outlined by Botha at the opening of parliament this year represented the totality of what was on offer. So far, and no further.

Part of the deal was a new constitution for SA, concocted by the NSC. But the president has made it clear that anything that emerges from the NSC — even assuming it ever meets — will place great emphasis on "group rights" and "power sharing." Many interpret this guideline as merely a modernised form of apartheid, an ox-wagon for the Eighties.

Two other illusions about the conduct of political affairs in SA need to be dispelled. Firstly, it is incorrect to argue that the township violence and the State of Emergency has, in itself, acted as a significant brake on meaningful reform. Government is not so mesmerised by the body count that it is incapable of movement — it's just that it doesn't know where to move to.

Buthelezi

Secondly, P W's lack of progress is often excused by invoking the spectre of the growing rightwing. Yet there isn't all that much evidence to suggest that Botha's programme has been significantly influenced by these fears. The NP doesn't ignore the Right — but it has certainly gone ahead with numerous reforms on which the Right has been able to capitalise fully.

So while the NP clearly has abandoned many of the trappings of old-style apartheid, it finds itself in a cul-de-sac, due to the fact that it is unable to find an acceptable formula sufficiently attractive to any of the credible (and even many who are not) black leaders.

David Welsh, professor of Southern African studies at UCT, comments: "The NP suffers from the 'headless chicken' syndrome. It has lost the initiative and run out of creative ideas for the political and constitutional evolution of SA. It is now capable only of managing in an ineffective way the endemic crisis that has befallen SA.

"A major problem is that in formal terms the NP has come to reject racial discrimination as illegitimate and espouses the rhetoric of liberalism, but it is incapable of expressing the rhetoric in actual constitutional structures because this would mean a substantial dilution of its power."

F W de Klerk

Is P W capable of backing out of this cul-de-sac and coming up with a new and inspired approach that will end violence and bring stability? It would seem not. He exercises tight control over the NP's direction. He has demonstrated a more flexible approach than any of his predecessors; but this has not been enough.

Perhaps this is where the next general election — hinted at by P W and predicted by commentators to occur before the end of the year — will come in.

Much hinges on whether Botha has decided to retire soon thereafter. It is not possible to judge what his successor's approach will be merely by examining his record up to now.

Obviously, of the four possible candidates, Pik Botha is the most verlig. But his chances of making it are minimal. Heunis and Viljoen are seen as more enlightened than F W de Klerk. But it shouldn't be forgotten that both P W and his predecessor were seen — in their previous roles as Minister of Justice and Defence respectively — as among the most hawkish Cabinet members.

Both turned out more verlig than their records suggested. Both were faced with circumstances which made a shift in approach necessary. And the same would apply to P W's successor.

The fact that the NP is likely to lose more seats to the Right in the Transvaal than anywhere else should not be seen as a dominant factor weighing in favour of Viljoen or Heunis rather than NP Transvaal leader De Klerk. It sounds a credible theory, certainly. But as one Afrikaans academic points out it might work the other way, in that caucus members could be convinced that the Cape leadership of the party created the present crisis.

P W has failed because of the "too little, too late" syndrome. It takes a great deal of optimism to believe that the next State President will not do the same. After all, however misguided their attempts to impose sanctions on SA, groups like the EPG and the European Community — together with moderate black leaders — are correct when they say that any proposed solution which ignores the undeniably substantial degree of popular support enjoyed by Nelson Mandela and the ANC is doomed to fail. ■

FILM INDUSTRY

Forthcoming distractions

Inland Revenue's acceptance of financing deals for films has provided SA's finest tax shelter. But now government is considering a new set of rules.

Film productions worth about R100m are currently being touted among South African "investors." If they are all made, Inland Revenue stands to lose about R50m, thanks to a convoluted system of tax write-offs which effectively takes the venture out of venture capital.

Conversely, of course, the country could make millions — perhaps hundreds of millions — if the current crop hits the big time internationally.

But this is unlikely. Sadly, South African tax practice does not encourage film makers to turn out quality pictures because investors who get their sums right can score even if the movie is a box-office flop.

The dodge is well known by now, but what is *not* generally known is that Inland Revenue is tightening up. Not only are the tax basics to be changed, but there are plans to challenge certain investors in court for overstepping the mark.

At issue is the question of so-called "rough

FIN MAIL 19/9/86

PFP (304R)

A strategy for power

For obvious reasons, the Progressive Federal Party's (PFP) latest "Strategy for a New South Africa" has been greeted with little more than polite smiles outside the party.

The strategy is probably the most comprehensive and well thought-out battle plan the PFP has ever had. Basically, it requires a rejuvenation of the PFP and winning over clearly identified potential support groups which will allow the party to double the number of votes it won in the 1981 general election and win about 52 seats in parliament within the next few years.

From that base, the PFP believes it can attract enough disillusioned verligte MPs in the National Party (NP) to hold the majority in parliament and form a new government.

Party leaders stress that the new government need not necessarily be a PFP government — and in fact is unlikely to be — but could be a new alignment of political thought dedicated to genuine negotiation and democracy.

Much of the new strategy is based on careful analysis of recent opinion polls on political support — mainly *Mark en Menings Opnames* published quarterly in *Rapport*. While the polls still indicate strong white voter support for the NP, opinion on key apartheid issues — such as scrapping the Group Areas Act, bringing blacks into government and sharing public facilities — is sharply split. And there are indications that a considerable number of NP supporters are way ahead of their party's thinking on the maintenance of racial discrimination.

Coupled to this, the dissenting voice of white professionals and academics across the language line is growing louder — and even the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk has effectively rejected apartheid as a political ideology. Based on this evidence, the PFP believes it can topple the NP.

As a start, the PFP has to change its image from that of being a party that is in perpetual opposition to one of being a viable alternative government. Party strategists say there are increasing numbers of disillusioned Nationalist supporters who are reluctant to vote for the PFP because they do not see it as an alternative to the NP. This contention, they say, is evidenced by the fact that polls on nearly every key political issue facing SA show NP supporters split with considerable numbers backing PFP thinking in key areas — but not to the point where they would back the party electorally.

Federal Council chairman Ken Andrew believes that if the PFP can achieve the electoral breakthrough it is aiming for within two years, and double the number of seats it has in parliament, its next step will be to win power.

Party leader Colin Eglin says it is clear from the polls that the PFP has great potential for growth, while the NP only has the potential for further fragmentation.

Andrew says PFP leaders are approached daily by senior Nationalists — including a "considerable number" of MPs — who are unhappy with their party's performance. "They are not keen to switch from government to opposition at this stage. But we believe they would be more than willing to switch from the NP to a PFP government. We have to show them we are capable of becoming a government," he says.

Communication with potential supporters is obviously a key to success, but the party believes its new "marketing strategy" is the answer.

An early election will obviously reduce the number of hoped for additional seats. But, in the long term, the PFP is confident it will succeed. It remains to be seen whether it is right. ■

Tvl Nat leader tells party to get ready for election

VOTING ALERT

W/E ARGUS 20/9/86 (304A)

Weekend Argus Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Transvaal National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, today told his party to put itself on an election footing right away.

Speaking at the Transvaal National Party congress in the Pretoria City Hall, Mr de Klerk urged Nationalists to stop speculating about when there would be an election, and to start preparing "from Monday" so that they would be ready when it came.

Mr de Klerk

It was necessary to get a strong mandate for the National Party's reform plans and to be strong in order to meet a "revolutionary onslaught".

From Monday, Nationalists should start preparing so that a "mighty blow" could be struck for the party's reform plan.

Mr de Klerk warned his supporters that the battlefield for a general election would be in the Transvaal and Free State.

Opening the congress last night, the President, Mr P W Botha, seemed to indicate an election would not be held before early next year. However, he could still make an announcement at the Cape Natiomal Party congress in East London on September 29.

The feeling among delegates at the congress today was that the likely date for an election is next April.

In his speech at the congress today, Mr de Klerk joined Mr Botha in committing the National Party to reform.

He said the National Party was in a hurry with reform but it would take place at a sensible pace.

He said the message to black groups was that their prosperity, security and freedom was inextricably bound to that of the whites.

The National Party stood strongly for negotiation on the widest possible basis. It saw reform as a deed of faith, not as a political game of chess.

Mr de Klerk was unanimously re-elected leader of the Transvaal National Party.

He is widely tipped as favourite to succeed Mr Botha as State President.

If the Nats lose seats to the right-wing parties in the Transvaal, Mr de Klerk's presidential chances will receive a major blow.

The President is effectively chosen by the parliamentary caucus of the ruling Nationalists. The fewer Transvaal seats the NP holds, the slimmer Mr de Klerk's chances become.

Get ready for vote!

Nats roll into action for November — or April

21/9/88

SUNDAY 30/9/88

GET ready for an election.

This was the message Transvaal Nationalists went home with from the party's provincial congress in Pretoria last night after Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk told delegates: start working on Monday for an election.

His unequivocal command to party ranks topped weeks of intense speculation that the country was heading for an early general election.

Warning

But Mr de Klerk warned against speculating on the date. However, the congress buzzed with talk of two likely dates — November 26 or April next year — with the camps evenly divided on the two.

November's pundits say the Government, heartened by this week's Klip River by-election victory, wants to nip the right wing's growth rather sooner than later.

It wants to give itself the longest possible mandated term of office to push on with reform. And the sanctions wave is a readymade rallying point for white voter unity.

April's apologists say the Government

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

needs time to sort out the country's chaotic voters' rolls.

Party leader and State President Mr P W Botha left the question dangling tantalisingly in his opening address.

Jibe

A jibe at newspaper speculation on an anticipated announcement by Mr Botha did little to cool delegates' election ardour.

Attention will now focus on his opening of the Cape congress in East London on Monday next week, the last available likely platform for calling a November election.

An election must be announced in a Government Gazette. At least 21 days must elapse before candidates are nominated, and another 35 days must intervene before polling day.

This makes feasible a November election announced on September 29 in East London. The general election of 1977 was announced in September and held in November.

Critical

A critical issue to be resolved with the announcement will be whether the election will be for whites only — or for all the three Houses of Parliament.

The Indian House of Delegates and the coloured House of Representatives are known to be deeply anxious about having to face their voters after a two-year term of office in which they have fallen short of visible success.

If only one house — the white House of Assembly — goes to the polls, its new mandate is constitutionally valid only until the next constitutionallly appointed general election — in 1989.

Scene

Delegates and observers saw Mr Botha's speech to congress as setting the scene for an election campaign.

He recommitted the Government to reform and negotiation and lashed out at foreign interference which, he said, aimed to provoke a hand-over of power in South Africa.

Angry PFP to give rebel Horace the push?

By LESTER VENTER and STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

MAVERICK Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Horace van Rensburg has sunk his chances of keeping a PFP seat in a forthcoming election, according to a top party source.

Senior party members were seething with anger this weekend over Mr van Rensburg's claims that camps for children released from detention were "a wonderful, positive idea" and that the youngsters were not forced to attend.

Yesterday PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said the Department of Education and Training should distance itself completely from the security system.

There was "no way" Mr van Rensburg would be nominated for a seat in the next election, a top party official said.

Mr van Rensburg is said to have made several remarks in the past about opposing the PFP in his seat, Bryanston — presumably on behalf of the National Party.

In an interview with the Sunday Times, he stopped short of denying he might switch parties.

Meanwhile, it has been reported that former master-spy Craig Williamson is to stand as the National Party candidate in the Bryanston constituency in the next election.

Party sources at the Transvaal National Party Congress said yesterday that Mr Williamson had been asked to stand.

The former Security Police head of intelligence admitted he was interested in a political career, but declined to comment further.

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Many Nationalist MPs and office-bearers are convinced President Botha is going to call a general election within the next six months.

Delegates at the Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria at the weekend who were sceptical about an early poll soon had their doubts dispelled when their leader, Mr FW de Klerk, urged constituency organisations to be placed on an election footing from today.

President Botha himself fuelled expectations on Friday night when he told the congress that newspaper speculation

ptember 22 1986 15

ment at the Cape Congress, it must be gazetted and then certain statutory minimum periods must be observed between the setting of the date, and the election itself.

Traditionally, elections are held on a Wednesday, and usually not in December or January.

Taking all this into account, the obvious date, if there is to be an election this year, is November 26.

Proponents of an April date say that Mr Botha would prefer first to table an election mini-Budget in February, then call an election.

304A

Congress reinforces likelihood of election

about an election date amused him.

"If they carry on they might even get it right," he quipped. It all reminded him, he said, of a certain journalist who was once called over by former Prime Minister Dr D F Malan who asked him if he could keep a secret.

"Yes," the journalist nodded enthusiastically.

"Me too," said the Prime Minister.

Mr Botha said that he too could keep a secret.

In the tradition of South African politics it is the prerogative of the leader of the governing party alone to call a general election (except, of course unless the life of Parliament expires after five years when by law there must be a new election).

Traditionally, the leader keeps that decision to himself or to a handful of his closest advisers and colleagues.

The popular theory of when Mr Botha is likely to announce an election at the moment goes like this:

The President has decided to go to the country for a fresh mandate based on the five seminal resolutions passed by last month's National Party federal congress.

This explains why the congress was called in the first place, and why the resolutions were so all-embracing (they dealt with economic policy, constitutional and negotiation guidelines, regional relations, security, and group rights).

Since then the Government has gone into a holding pattern while the four provincial congresses of the National Party, which are the only bodies able to make policy, ratified the five resolutions.

At each of the three congresses held so far, the resolutions have been formally moved and endorsed.

If this theory is correct then President Botha cannot announce an election until the last of the congresses, the Cape congress, has also had a chance to ratify the resolutions.

Once this has happened, he will then announce that the party, having endorsed a detailed policy guideline, is ready to go to the country

So if there is to be an election announcement, Mr Botha will not make it before he closes the Cape Congress on October 1.

Speculation about the date of an election is rife, with just as many Nationalists saying November 26 (or December 3) as those who believe an April date is more likely.

Why do people speculate on precise dates?

It is fairly easy to work these out.

It makes sense for Mr Botha, if he has decided to go for an election, to give opposition parties as little time as possible to organise.

If he makes the announce-

Transvaal Nats rubber-stamp resolutions amid election rumbles

Congress is a non-event

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The Transvaal National Party's annual congress at the weekend had to be one of this year's political non-events.

Delegates and observers breezed through the singularly non-controversial agenda without dissent or much enthusiasm.

Resolutions passed by the federal congress in Durban last month were rubber-stamped with polite applause.

Ministers were relaxed and in a jovial mood, and their responses to questions and speeches on the floor contained no startling announcements.

All this was surprising in view of the fact that a general election is supposed to be pending.

Of the four provincial parties which make up the Nationalists, the Transvaal faces the toughest battle in an election as it is in this part of the country that the Conservative Party is strongest.

Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the fact that a certain degree of optimism has returned to the National Party, and particularly its high command.

Saturday's congress in the Pretoria city hall took place against a backdrop of a number of factors which were in favour of the Government.

There was, for example, a perception that the threat of sanctions had turned out to be largely a lot of hot air.

The Government believes it is winning the battle of the townships and there is evidence that the economy is starting to lift out of one of its worst recessionary periods (the gold price was at its highest level in three years while the rand rose to 45 US cents on the eve of the congress.

Highly favourable

A cherry to top all this was last Wednesday's Klip River parliamentary by-election result, in which the National Party fared better than many of its supporters thought it would.

The Nationalists believe the political climate is highly favourable for it to do well in an election, and many of them feel that President Botha should take advantage of this.

For this reason, election talk was on everyone's lips at the congress, even though Mr Botha tried to dampen expectations by mocking journalists who had been speculating about the date of a poll.

Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk urged the rank and file to go on to an election footing immediately, although somewhat strangely he added that this did not mean that he was suggesting an imminent poll.

In the various lobbes and passages of the city hall the delegates stood huddled in small groups discussing organisation, financing and the many other aspects involved in an election.

There was at least one conspiracy known to this journalist to oust a sitting Johannesburg Nationalist MP in favour of an ambitious former MPC. Doubtless there are other ex-MPCs casting about for seats in Parliament.

Perhaps the reason why the Ministers made no controversial statements was because they were keeping their noses clean in advance of the election.

President Botha set the tone when he opened the congress with a speech which both committed the Government to further reform in all spheres of life (of major importance to his left) and which rejected outright the notion that the Government could ever be forced to negotiate with radicals (naturally, a concern on his right).

Popular view

Mr Botha further developed his theme of defiance of world sanctions by accusing foreign meddlers of delaying the reform programme and inhibiting negotiations. The threat of sanctions would never bring about reform, he said (a popular view which the Government believes will unite the white electorate).

Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange moved quickly, although gently, to slap down a delegate who wanted further censorship on newspapers.

The Minister who has a reputation for insensitivity surprised journalists when he said that from his experience the majority of the country's media people were responsible and were honestly trying to make their contribution towards the future of South Africa.

Constitutional Minister Mr Chris Heunis made a bland speech which amounted to saying an extension of political rights without accompanying social reform and rights would lead to violence.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee spoke in support of a Bill of Rights (which the congress has called for). Deviations from the South African legal heritage of liberty and human rights had been necessitated in the past for ideological and security reasons.

The Minister in charge of black education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, while admitting the grave problems in black schools, said that nonetheless there had been great progress in this field. Only 200 to 250 of the country's 7 000 black schools were affected by the unrest and boycotts, he said.

Mr F W de Klerk ... again stressed his views about the importance of the balance between individual and group rights.

Govt 'will not hesitate'

The Government would not hesitate to take steps against people in the interests of the country and had done so in the past, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said at the weekend.

He was replying at the Transvaal National Party's congress in Pretoria to a question from a delegate on why the Government did not take action against people like the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, who was said to be in favour of sanctions against South Africa.

Mr le Grange said he did not specifically want to refer to the name mentioned, but wanted to emphasise that "the Government is not scared to act against certain people ... it has done so in the past."

Actions and statements of "people like this" were monitored. "If it is deemed necessary by the State Security Council and the Cabinet, then you can rest assured we will not hesitate to act." — Sapa.

Education has advanced despite unrest, says Viljoen

Political Correspondent

Black education had made great strides in recent years in spite of unrest, boycotts and poor discipline in some schools, the Transvaal National Party congress heard at the weekend.

Minister of Education and Training Dr Gerrit Viljoen told the congress that between 200 and 250 of the country's 7 000 black schools were affected by unrest.

Where his department had closed schools, he said, it was not to punish people in unrest areas but because the schools had effectively been closed for weeks and even months. The teachers and resources standing idle in such schools could be better used at schools which were still open.

The Minister said even the best education department anywhere in the world would have been under enormous pressure if it had to cope with the sort of growth expected of his department.

In just eight years the total budget for black education had been increased eightfold. In the same period the number of secondary school pupils had increased from 110 000 to 850 000.

The growth pressures were responsible for the 50 percent failure rate in school-leaving examinations, he said.

Dr Viljoen said his department was trying to upgrade the standard of teaching by using computers and videos.

Every year more than half of the 46 000 teachers employed by the department were involved in improvement courses which ranged from three weeks to a year. In the past two years there had been a 12 percent drop in the number of teachers without matric.

Row over blacks denied by Pik's team

STAR 30/9 22/9/80

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Some of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's entourage had a "noisy and angry" confrontation aboard an airliner over black businessmen in the first class section, according to the London *Sunday Times*.

The incident, vehemently denied by a Foreign Affairs spokesman on the flight, was said to have occurred on a Cathay Pacific flight from Osaka to Taipei on September 7.

The report from Simon Winchester in Hong Kong stressed that Mr Botha was not involved but said:

"According to a report given to security personnel in Hong Kong by the chief purser, one member of the Botha party complained bitterly: 'If we had known you took people like that in first class we would never have flown on your airline'."

APOLOGISED

The report said Mr Botha's colleagues complained noisily that the airline was "disrespectful" to the Foreign Minister and "embarrassed" him by allowing black people into the same first class compartment.

The report said airline staff apologised to the businessmen "but this apparently incensed the Botha team even more and there was a crescendo of comments that ranged from 'send them back to economy' to suggestions that they leave the aircraft (now cruising at 10 000 m)."

The report said witnesses claimed the South Africans were "very loud and abusive" and one approached the businessmen but his way was barred by flight staff.

The Foreign Affairs spokesman said: "We reject with contempt this totally malicious and unfounded fabrication.

"There was no incident whatsoever on that flight."

The Department of Foreign Affairs had told the South African Consul-General in Hong Kong to investigate the report and contact Cathay Pacific about setting the record straight.

Assocom to urge Govt to speed up reform

JOHANNESBURG—The annual congress of the Associated Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) will be asked when its convenes next month (October 21 to 23) to approve a resolution which will urge the Government to hasten the process of reform and speed up reform decisions.

Government will be asked to set a programme and a time-scale for the removal of remaining racially discriminatory measures and to take immediate steps to remove Group Areas Act restrictions which inhibit ownership and occupation of residential land and which restrict commercial and industrial organisationsIn business areas on racial grounds.

Also to be discussed is 'the thorny question of Government expenditure,' which will fall under a motion welcoming the appointment of an independent task group to evaluate all aspects of State spending.

Other major topics for debate include urban crime, the judicial process, the transport problem and the Margo Commission into tax.

The congress will be opened by Dr Denis Worrall, S A ambassador to the United Kingdom.

The customary symposium on the economic outlook will feature speakers like Dr Chris Stals, Director General of Finance= Dr Chris van Wyk, economist and managing direOr of Trust Bank and Dr JN Reddy, Minister of Budgetary and auxiliary services in parliasment's House of Delegates. — (Sapa)

A Bill of Rights, long a major pillar of Progressive Federal Party policy, has suddenly become respectable in National Party circles — but with a provision . . .

Special 'homegrown' Bill of Rights to suit SA

ARGUS 23/9/86

(304A)

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

A BILL of Rights for South Africa would have to find the balance between group and individual rights, and would have to be homegrown to reflect the "special" circumstances of the country.

So says Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

A Bill of Rights has suddenly become respectable in National Party circles, and Mr Coetsee made a lengthy speech at the National Party Transvaal Congress giving it a National Party separate development slant.

Long a major pillar of Progressive Federal Party policy, a Bill of Rights was ridiculed up until last year as a "piece of paper that could easily be torn up, and would never give any guarantees".

Even now there is caution. Mr Coetsee told the congress that there were laws protecting rights in other countries.

For example Section 77 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union read: "In accordance with the interests of the people, and in order to strengthen and develop the socialist system, citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of speech, the Press and of assembly, meeting and street procedures and demonstrations."

No one, he advised, should rush to emmigrate to Russia to find out if this was the case.

IN April, Mr Coetsee referred the question of a Bill of Rights to the Law Commission.

The requirement was a Bill that would reflect the tone and spirit of the country and its people.

There were also the implications a Bill of Rights would have on existing legislation, for example security legislation.

In his speech at the congress, Mr Coetsee rejected international criticisms that the Government was not concerned about protecting human rights.

"The question is not whether — the question is how."

He said the issue of a Bill of Rights should not be regarded as a new phenomenon, or a new discovery, like an exciting gold strike "although our will and ability to adhere to the principle of human rights may have the value of inexhaustible gold deposits.

"The issue of human rights everywhere in the world is dealt with not on a universal basis in every respect, but also against the socio-economic background that prevails in a particular country where a Bill of Rights is operative.

Transvaal National Party Congress

"In the South African context, human rights will have to encompass the needs of groups, and notably minority groups and individuals, and will have to account for the wealth of our multi-cultural societies.

"Successive National Party governments have, in all sincerity, searched for an ideal balance between, and among, the interests of groups and individuals.

"The fact that our black people enjoy, in relation to Africa, the highest standard of living is evidence of our success in this respect.

"We have, however, neither time nor room for complacency and back-slapping, and have to consider our next step."

MR Coetsee said there was a renewed interest in the issue of human rights throughout the country and "there is one thing more powerful than all the armies of the world, and that is an idea whose time has arrived".

He appealed for a "positive" participation in the debate on the issue of group and individual rights.

"Already there are noises against a manifesto of human rights, especially from the radical left because such a manifesto will stand in their way to have our economic dispensation substituted by a socialist/communist kind of economy — also because, rumour has it, they want to settle accounts."

Mr Coetsee felt this tendency could create a dividing line between the radical left and the soft left.

He predicted some well known politicians would have to "discard their role as champions of the radical left or else sink with them".

South Africa was proud of its legal history based on Roman-Dutch law.

Roman Dutch law law was human rights orientated with freedom as a departure point.

On top of this came the high reputation of the judges and magistrates as guardians of basic rights.

CP, HNP nearer to election pact

STAR 23/9/86 (304)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The two right-wing parties, the Conservative and the Herstigte Nasionale, have moved nearer to an election pact after a further round of talks in Pretoria.

Both parties are getting ready for an early election, possibly in November.

Mr Jaap Marais of the HNP said important policy differences had been eliminated and that formulas could be found to accommodate some of the remaining differences.

Dr Andries Treurnicht of the CP confirmed this but said further talks would be necessary.

The big policy difference between the parties is that of the official languages. While the HNP wants Afrikaans only the CP is in favour of Afrikaans as well as English.

There have also been differences in their attitudes on Indians and on the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The HNP is now apparently willing to have some compromise with the CP on a form of self-government for Indians.

The HNP is concerned about the political activities of the AWB which cooperates closely with the CP and whose members belong to both groups.

Emissary still unidentified

23/9/86 30/9/86

BUSDAY

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

GREAT secrecy still surrounds the "senior African emissary" who, according to President P W Botha, was in SA for talks with government and brought a "message of support" from his President.

Botha mentioned the black leader's presence during his address to the Free State National Party Congress to prove his point that not all African states supported sanctions.

The visitor, Botha proudly added, was not from a southern African state, from Francophone Africa or from Malawi.

Diplomats and politicians believe that if that statement was correct, the emissary probably came from Somalia or Morocco, to whom SA has reportedly sold weapons.

There have also been drawn-out negotiations with Somalia about possible landing and fly-over rights for SA Airways.

PFP's Horace wooed by Nats

(304A)
Eve Post
23/9/86

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Overtures were being made to Mr Horace van Rensburg, PFP MP for Bryanston, to quit the party and join the National Party, it was reported today.

One report quoted informed sources in the National Party as saying that feelers were being put out to ascertain if Mr Van Rensburg would join the NP if he was forced to leave the PFP.

Meanwhile, former South African spy and security policeman Mr Craig Williamson has told a Johannesburg newspaper he is available to stand as a National Party candidate in Bryanston — if asked.

Bryanston is held by Mr Van Rensburg.

The report today said that the Transvaal leader of the NP, Mr F W de Klerk, had become personally involved in the approach to Mr Van Rensburg.

The move comes after suggestions that Mr Van Rensburg's position in the PFP is in jeopardy following comments he made to the Press on the camps for former detainees which are in conflict with those of his own party.

Mr Van Rensburg confirmed that he had heard the PFP committee for his Bryanston constitutency had passed a motion of no confidence in him.

Another source said if Mr Van Rensburg decided not to join the NP, he might follow the course taken by Mr Japie Basson and join the President's Council.

DD 24/9/86

PFP unveils new strategy for power

DURBAN — The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) yesterday outlined its new "turbo-charge strategy" to seize power from the National Party (NP).

The only way to bring about a new South Africa was to "get rid of the Nationalist government", the PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said at a news conference here.

The party's strategy for power, he said, included the goal to be, by 1990, a significant and effective part of a non-racial government in a peaceful, free and prosperous South Africa.

"It can be done," he said.

The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, had delivered whatever reform he was able to deliver and now the "wheels" of reform had "come off".

The chairman of the party's federal council, Mr Ken Andrew, said the PFP was confident of winning at least 52 seats in the House of Assembly in a general election and attracting sufficient additional members to command power.

"We will position the PFP in such a way that it is clearly seen as an alternative government. We will seize every opportunity to influence white attitudes and gain increased support for the principles and policies of the party, which will convert to votes," he said.

Meanwhile, it was reported from Cape Town that the two major right-wing parties were on the verge of a united front in an all-out attempt to unseat the NP.

This was confirmed yesterday by the leaders the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), who said policy differences had all but been wiped out in discussions this week.

They were now on an election footing in anticipation of an election announcement by President P. W. Botha at the Cape National Party congress in East London next week. — Sapa-DDC

AWB goes looking for Natal 'rebels'

24/9/86 (304) STAR

DURBAN — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche made his first appearance in the city hall here last night.

In a fiery and emotional speech he told his audience of about 1 200 people that he had come to Natal to "fetch the rebels".

Mr TerreBlanche said he was a Boer, and was prepared to continue the fight started by his forefathers, "even unto the death".

In this fight, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and northern Natal were non-negotiable aspects of any political solution in Southern Africa.

MINORITY RIGHTS

These areas belonged to the "volk", he said.

Attacking the Government's claim that the Afrikaner was a minority in South Africa and power-sharing was essential to preserve minority rights, Mr TerreBlanche said that assertion was false.

He added: "The Boer is the largest single grouping in his traditional home.

"If Buthelezi can have kwaZulu, if Matanzima can have Transkei, if the Swazis can have Swaziland, why can't the Boer have a land over which he alone is baas?"

LAW AND ORDER

Mr TerreBlanche criticised the Government's "papbroekige" attitude toward running the economy and maintaining law and order in the townships.

He said South Africa's police force was the best in the world, but was hamstrung by the cowardly attitude of the Nationalist Government.

In the present depressed economic climate, Mr TerreBlanche said it was "madness" that individual white taxpayers were subsidising giant corporations like Anglo American. — Sapa.

Worrall lets cat out of bag on Steel trip to SA

30 AP

STAR 24/9/86

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South African ambassador Dr Denis Worrall is embroiled in another political controversy in Britain, this time at the Liberal Party's annual conference in Eastbourne.

He has been accused of "undiplomatic behaviour" for divulging details of the Liberal Party leader Mr David Steel's impending visit to South Africa before the official announcement of the trip.

A week after the furore over Dr Worrall's letter to delegates at the SDP conference, and accusations of misconduct levelled at two other South African diplomats attending it, a similar letter from Dr Worrall to the Liberal Party conference has provoked renewed criticism.

The Liberal leader said in a written reply yesterday that it was cheeky of Dr Worrall to send circulars to delegates at the conference, adding: "It is obvious he has learned nothing from the roasting he received at the SDP conference."

"This is undiplomatic behaviour from a diplomat."

A Liberal Party Press officer said Mr Steel was, in fact, waiting for a reply from Dr Worrall to a request to see Nelson Mandela in South Africa before announcing his visit.

He had decided not to announce the trip until he had a clearer idea of his itinerary.

So far, Mr Steel's only engagements are meetings with Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the principal of the University of Cape Town. He is also to give a lecture at UCT.

In his letter to delegates, Dr Worrall says: "Mr Steel's hosts will no doubt take him to Crossroads, but I hope he will insist on going a few miles further to Khayelitsha and take thirty minutes more to see Mitchell's Plain and the reality of urban development.

"And let's hope that the BBC and ITN representatives will go along with him so that you (the delegates) can also see the other side to housing in South Africa."

It was a bad day for Mr Steel as the Liberal Assembly threw the alliance with the SDP into disarray on the crucial question of nuclear defence policy.

After a passionate debate, the Liberals made it plain they valued their traditional anti-nuclear policy more than the need for Alliance unity.

They rejected Mr Steel's appeal to back him and Dr David Owen, the SDP leader, in their quest to agree with the French on a minimum European deterrent.

Changes planned for Zimbabwe government

STAR 24/9/86

HARARE — Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs Minister Dr Eddison Zvobgo today disclosed wide-ranging constitutional changes planned for next year to dismantle the Westminster parliamentary system in the Assembly and the Senate.

The measures include the speedy establishment of an Executive Presidency, the scrapping of racial representation, creation of a unilaterial legislature and making Members of Parliament work full time.

He told the Upper House in response to queries relating to his ministry, raised during the debate on the presidential speech, that the proposed changes were to "demystify and decolonise the present procedural myths" that were borrowed from the British system.

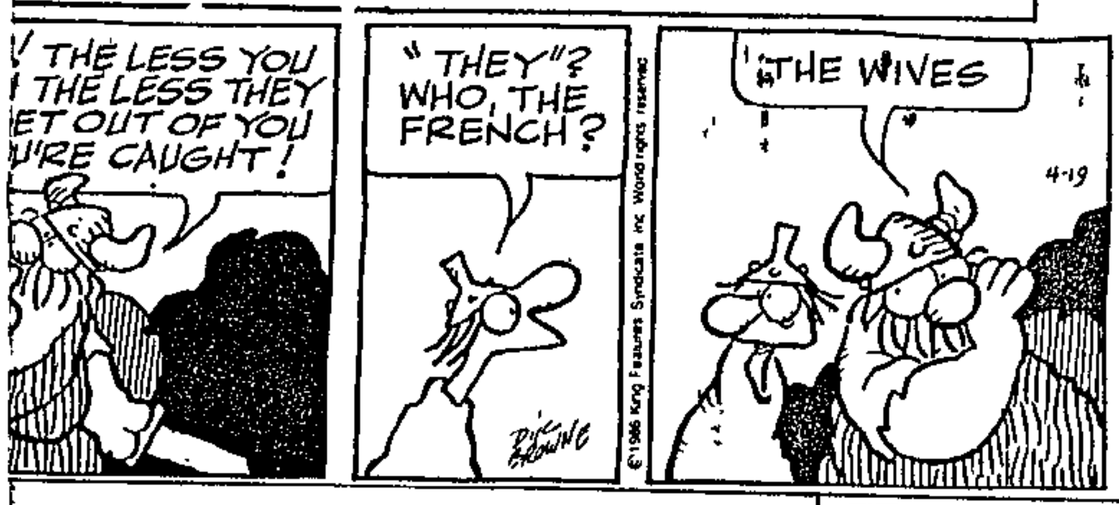
He said: "Why should a speech be defined literally like a speech. Why should we not be able to deliver them in song. The British do not, and so what?" He was met with quips of: "Can we bring our drums to the House."

He said the ruling Zanu (PF) party and its Government thought it prudent to amend the Lancaster House Constitution that ushered in the country's independence in 1980.

Although he would not give fuller details, Dr Zvobgo said the establishment of an Executive Presidency had been mandated during the armed struggle.

He warned that MPs in office on the basis of their race would find themselves out after his Bill which, he said, he was "very anxious" to introduce. — Sapa.

rrible ® By Dik Browne



304A

Pik sums up the Government's dilemma on sanctions

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday summed up the Government's dilemma on sanctions — if it described them as mild the world would push for more measures, but calling them terrible would be bad for politics at home.

Addressing a Press conference in Pretoria to discuss the sanctions package adopted by the United States Congress, Mr Botha said he hoped President Ronald Reagan would find enough support in the Senate to veto the new sanctions Bill.

He said South Africa realised President Reagan was under enormous pressure to agree to more sanctions, "but my President is also under pressure and finds himself confronted with many complicated issues that he must deal with".

When asked on the effects of sanctions, Mr Botha said: "If I say sanctions will not be too harmful our enemies will call for more measures, but if I say they are very harmful then the South African public thinks its terrible."

He said that the United States had no right to dictate to South Africa, particularly when the Government had taken reform steps.

Mr Botha did not give any fresh Government viewpoint on the sanctions issue, but did say that he found some "positive" aspects to the Congress sanctions Bill.

He welcomed the provision for an investigation into the African National Congress and also welcomed the condemnation of violence and the "necklace" method of execution.

When asked the all-important question of sanctions-busting, Mr Botha's reply came as no surprise: "It would be inappropriate to reply, but thank you for the question."

He said Parliament had appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate ways of countering sanctions, and he would give evidence there.

In discussing the effects of sanctions, Mr Botha stressed the loss of mainly black jobs; he said it was not possible at this stage to quantify the cost of sanctions on the economy.

"It's a pity that so many black citizens will be robbed of opportunities if it wasn't for the mad, punitive action being taken across the world."

Mr Botha said he was not surprised that Japan had also agreed to sanctions. During his recent visit he had been warned that "the pressures would be too great and it (Japan) would have to follow the sanctions of other countries".

Asked about the effects of disinvestment on the economy, Mr Botha said there were enough South African companies willing to take over the assets of these foreign companies, but he predicted these companies "will return".

Mr Botha said many of the products and services affected by the Congress Bill were already on the boycott list, such as military equipment, gold coins and the ban on new loans.

Mr Botha said the purpose of the Bill was to end apartheid and to bring about a nonracial

democracy in South Africa.

The South African Government was not opposed to this, but did not accept a one-man, one-vote system.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, had also made it clear he was willing to lift the state of emergency and release jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, providing the organisation renounced violence.

Mr Botha said the Bill also called for a halt to military actions against neighbouring states, but said the Government had never attacked foreign countries.

He said South African security force action had been aimed at "terrorists" who were using violence to achieve their political goals.

Mr Botha said he believed President Reagan was likely to veto the sanctions Bill because he was anxious to have foreign policy returned to the domain of the White House.

"On principle, and regardless of the merits of the issue, I believe the White House will be inclined to veto any legislation that tends to rob the President of foreign policy decisions," Mr Botha said.

Cathay flight log says Pik bristled

25/9/86 STAR 30 AR

HONG KONG — A Hong Kong newspaper yesterday reproduced what it said was an airline flight log stating that South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha personally objected to being seated near two Nigerians on one leg of his Asian trip this month.

The *South China Morning Post* quoted the chief purser on the Cathay Pacific Airways flight as saying in the handwritten document that a Botha aide approached the Nigerians in an extremely hostile manner.

The paper did not say how it obtained the log written by chief purser Mr Raymond Chan during the flight from Osaka in Japan to Taipei on September 7. Hong Kong-based Cathay has declined all comment on the reported incident.

The paper reported two days ago that a Botha aide had asked the flight crew to remove the Nigerians from first class and that he was warned not to harass passengers.

The log reproduced on the front-page of the *Post* said the 12-member South African delegation "apparently did not like the sight of our two black FRCL pax [illegible] class [illegible]

"M[illegible] Botha [illegible] ached [illegible] (chief purser) and demanded to know where were they from and why they were in FRCL."

Mr Chan said he gave the Minister a polite explanation but that Mr Botha then said: "We would never had taken Cathay if we had known you had put these people on board."

The chief purser again responded politely.

"At this moment, (one of) Mr Botha's assistants, Mr Deklirk of row 2H tried to approach our 3HK (the Nigerians) in an extremely hostile manner. He was politely stopped by C/P.

"C/P reminded him any violence in flight would lead to a very serious consequence. He reluctantly went back to his seat."

A spokesman for Mr Pik Botha said today that the Minister had nothing to add to his previous statement on the matter.

'No incident took place on the flight. Everything in this latest report is a lie. We are sickened by this attempt to discredit the Minister,' he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

TerreBlanche a Hitler figure, says historian

304A

STAR 25/9/86

Pretoria Correspondent

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, has modelled himself into a Hitler figure and within a year, if he polishes his speaking technique, he will become a great orator, says English historian and expert on the Hitler regime, Mr David Irving.

The militant right-wing organisation leader has been criticised for adopting insignia similar to that of the Nazi leader.

However, Mr Irving adds: "He is trying hard, but will master Hitler's great speaking techniques only if he pays more attention to the substance of his speeches and Hitler's intonation methods.

"There are more pro-Hitler people in South Africa than I have found anywhere else. The reason is unknown to me," he says.

Mr Irving is a well-known author of books such as "Hitler's War" and "Destruction of Dresden", and his lastest book, which includes a biography of Churchill, is being showered with criticism from publishing houses refusing to print the controversial biography.

He believes the Conservative Party policy is the answer, while he feels the Herstigte Nasionale Party policy under Mr Jaap Marais is not acceptable because of the language barrier against English and the Indian issue. "I have always been a conservative," Mr Irving says, having founded a small political group, Focus, in 1980.

Mr Eugene TerreBlanche

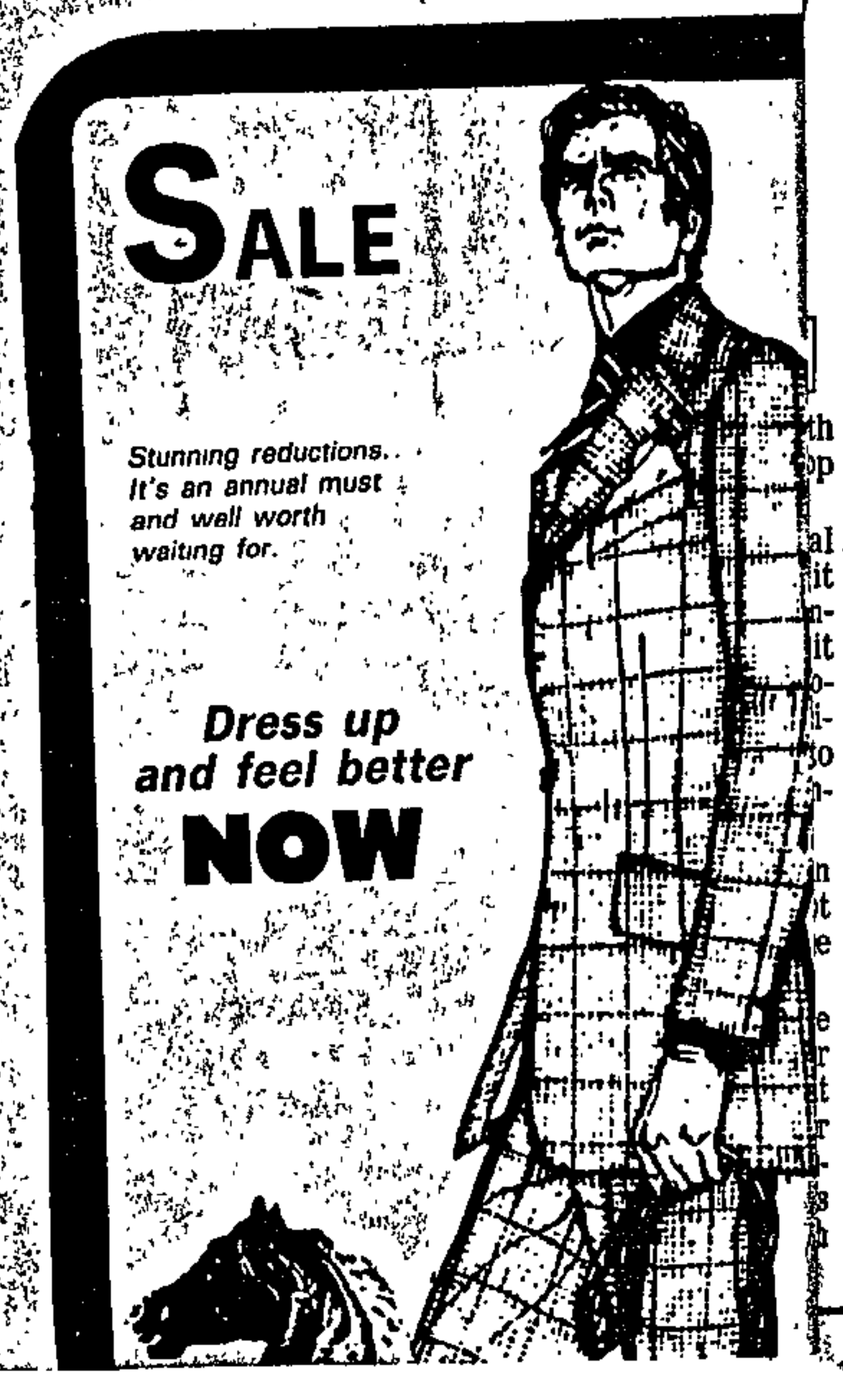
ANC 'not excluded' from power sharing

JOHANNESBURG—The Government was committed to establishing a negotiated new democratic constitutional dispensation based on full power sharing without domination and the African National Congress was not excluded from this process, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said.

The only condition for participation is that violence must be abandoned, he told Rand Afrikaans University students here.

This condition in fact amounted to no more than stating that the ANC or any other party should, like every other South African citizen, abide by the laws of the country.

Saying there was a world of difference between the South Africa of today and 1960, when the ANC had opted for violence claiming there was no other way to get access to political process, Mr Heunis said the argument now that violence was necessary had no validity. — (Sapa)



BUSDAY 25/9/86 304A

Worrall flies in for talks with Botha

HAMISH McINDOE

PRETORIA's ambassador to Britain, Denis Worrall, returned to SA yesterday amid mounting controversy over his leaking this week of the proposed visit here by Liberal Party leader David Steel.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman, describing Worrall's visit as routine, said last night it was at the request of Foreign Minister Pik Botha for consultations.

He declined to be drawn on the exact nature of the talks.

Worrall leaked Steel's visit next month in an open letter canvassing a no-sanctions stance on SA to delegates at the Liberal Party's annual conference.

A similar letter to delegates at last week's Social Democratic Party conference caused a political stir. It resulted in party president Shirley Williams issuing a sharp rebuke to Worrall.

Worrall will address the Springbok Foundation at a function in Johannesburg tonight.

Major UK conference on SA faces the flak

26/9/86

A MAJOR conference on the "Southern African Economy After Apartheid" opens at York University in England next week — and although it was planned before the issue of academic boycotts attracted such widespread international attention, it unwillingly faces the full force of the current controversy.

The four-day conference, which focusses largely on the economic implications of dismantling apartheid, is to be attended by some 100 academics from all over the world, including about 25 South Africans.

Landeg White, Director of the York Centre for Southern African Studies (CSAS), which is hosting the gathering, says the conference is "purely academic. No resolutions will emerge, it is a forum".

He believes it can go ahead without "the kinds of problems which have faced other international conferences which have run into trouble. We are not looking for limelight".

Overseas conferences now almost automatically face difficulties if they include South African-based academics. The African National Congress publicly maintains its hard line on their "absolute isolation", but the organisation has confirmed that it is often asked by various institutions to "screen" academics.

White says the ANC has agreed to send a delegation to the conference as observers, and is "quite confident" that they will attend. In a telex to the Weekly Mail this week, the ANC said "no decision has yet been taken on the York conference".

The CSAS has been in contact with the ANC "recognising the absolute need for such groups to be represented in our discussions", but vehemently rejects any suggestion that the organisation "screened" South African delegates.

"The ANC was not in any way responsible for validating those who are attending, or for keeping anyone away," he says.

White declined to name the South African participants before the conference, but said they represented a broad spectrum of "South Africans who are interested in seeing apartheid go as quickly as possible". There were certainly no government representatives, he said.

He could not confirm the attendance of any Afrikaans-speaking academics, but said there were definitely no staff members of Afrikaans universities.

White rejected out of hand any suggestion that the conference funding was South African-linked.

"This conference is a sincere attempt to address the future of Southern Africa," he said, "and we hope to achieve serious discussion of papers and an identification of research priorities.

"We think it is valuable and are encouraging as little publicity as possible until it is an accomplished fact."

● **The Academic Boycott: See PAGE 12**

Kevan's still a PFP member

By SHAUN JOHNSON

DEL KEVAN, the beleaguered Soweto City Council housing director, is still a member of the Progressive Federal Party — and that's official.

It was recently revealed that Kevan, who first faced a storm of criticism and then a bomb at her home over her perceived role in the White City Jabavu tragedy, resigned from the PFP when she became the object of public attack.

According to PFP regional director Gary Cooney, who received her resignation verbally, "I spoke to her on the telephone at the height of the White City issue — I didn't ask her for her resignation — but she told me she wanted to resign and I could pass it on to the press, which I did. She said she was going to put it in writing."

Cooney then left for East London on business, during which time Kevan changed her mind.

Cooney says she contacted the local PFP executive and said she'd decided there was no reason for her to resign, "and that she'd like to stay on as an ordinary member of the party".

Because no written resignation had been received, the executive accepted this position.

According to Cooney there was no talk of expelling Kevan — but the executive retains the right, as a matter of course, to launch an inquiry if complaints are received from party members.

Kevan was unavailable for comment last night.

Slabbert's back in the political arena

(304A) WEEKLY MAIL 26/9/86

THE BUREAU QUIETLY SCUTTLES THAT MANDELA PHOTO

GUESS WHAT'S BEEN CHANGED IN THE NEW VERSION OF THE ANC BOOKLET PAGE 9

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

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The Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, with Boraine as executive director and Slabbert as director of planning and policy, will open its first offices in Port Elizabeth in November

In the next few months, a head office will open in Cape Town, followed by premises in East London. There are plans for offices in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Durban as soon as enough money is raised.

Boraine and Slabbert are already recruiting staff. Although they would give no names yet, Boraine told the Weekly Mail the institute would have a "very exciting cross-section of staff".

Slabbert said yesterday the institute would aim to focus debate on post-apartheid South Africa and to encourage people, particularly whites, to give attention to democratic alternatives for the country

The institute, funded by overseas foundations and churches, would operate on two levels On a local, or regional level, it would organise workshops and discussions which would isolate the government, "in the sense that there would not be support for state structures and (the workshops) would try and promote discussion about different structures". On a national level, the institute would organise workshops and conferences and publish information and research material.

Slabbert and Boraine slipped from the public eye after they resigned unexpectedly from both parliament and the PFP at the beginning of the year, disillusioned with the new tri-racial constitution as an avenue for change. Since then Slabbert has been teaching at the University of Cape Town and Boraine has been doing consultancy and other work They were fêted by extra-parliamentary organisations for their stand and have made occasional appearances on platforms provided provided by organisations such as the United Democratic Front.

However, there has been much speculation about these two influential leaders, now without a direct constituency and, although choosing the extra-parliamentary path, not

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Familiar symbols? In the very week w his resemblance to Adolf Hitler, the AWB Meanwhile, right, a quietly fuming suppor members of the party that stands for white

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Reports in this issue have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

LINKSFIELD LIBERAL: 8 WORM'S EYE: 10

Van steps back into politics

WEEKLY MAIL 26/9/86

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linking themselves with any particular opposition group.

Slabbert said at the time of his resignation that he would be travelling, discussing ideas with people and canvassing opinions before deciding what path to take. Original reports about plans for an institute indicated they were struggling to find the finance for it.

"Up to now we have been just sounding out the idea with people and organisations. Now we are ready," Boraine said yesterday.

"It was a massive job to get things going. It has been very difficult. There was lots of suspicion, lots of anger and lots of concern. But there is now a groundswell of support for it."

The plan for the Institute has been widely canvassed, including, it is believed, with the ANC in Lusaka.

"We were very encouraged by the general support of organisations inside and outside the country and their response to what we are doing," Boraine said. Most important, however, was that the funds were found.

The institute will be financed by "church and community bodies" in Scandinavia, which Boraine has just visited, and the Rowntree Trust in England. Boraine was also in contact with the Ford Foundation, which has indicated a willingness to assist, a French foundation and German churches. "We tried for a wider base of support, rather than a narrow one. We did not want dependence on one organisation or one country," he said.

He said the emphasis would be on regional organisation. "I think everything is against doing it on a national level; but there are people in regions who have a sense of stalemate. We don't want to give them the answers, but we want to give them resources, do the research and facilitate the answers."

One of the first projects will be the organisation of a major conference in the first six months of next year. It will be held in Port Elizabeth — "because of the desperate situation there" — and will draw together academics, activists, community workers and people involved in the law, the press and other professional areas to discuss "Democracy in South Africa today".

"What happens when apartheid goes? Is there still a chance for democracy in South Africa? Quite a lot of us say we believe in a non-racial democracy, but what does that mean? These are the sorts of questions we want to ask," Boraine said.

'Private sector cannot act as unified force'

Steyn urges business 'alliance for reform'

304A

By Zenaide Vendeiro

Urban Foundation chairman Mr Jan Steyn has called on the business community to form a "reform alliance" to campaign for specific reforms.

Through the formation of an alliance, the business communi)ty could make a dramatic and lasting impact on social and political life, he told a meeting of the Institute of Directors in Johannesburg yesterday.

"Alliances of this nature are far better equipped to sustain a prolonged reform initiative through to a successful conclusion than any effort, no matter how well-intentioned or determined, which is undertaken by a single individual, company or association," he said.

The private sector was no more than a diverse array of competing interests and therefore unable to act as a unified factor in political life.

A reform alliance would have far greater resources to draw on, could dedicate more time and energy to its appointed task and could speak with far greater authority.

TWO AVENUES

Mr Steyn also suggested two avenues of action for individual members of the private sector to become involved in promoting real reform:

- First, there were some aspects of social reform well within the ambit of the private sector. These included more energetic and varied training for black staff, dynamic black management development, provision of housing for black employees and facilitating access of staff to building societies and other sources of financial support on a widespread basis.
- Second, playing a facilitative role for the reform initiative of others. Business could promote participation by blacks in the free enterprise system and provide backing — financial and otherwise — for emerging community groups.

This backing would enable community groups to develop into effective and responsible agents for change at the local level.

"Our country is going through a very troubled time," Mr Steyn said. "Yet this is exactly the moment for those of us who share a vision of South Africa beyond apartheid to demonstrate our concern with renewed determination and conviction.

"By our actions, we can see to it that, when the history of this period of our country's life is finally written, the verdict on the private sector will not be 'they failed in their wider duties at the moment when their country most had need of them'."

Slabbert's back in the political arena

26/9/90 (3044) WEEKLY MAIL

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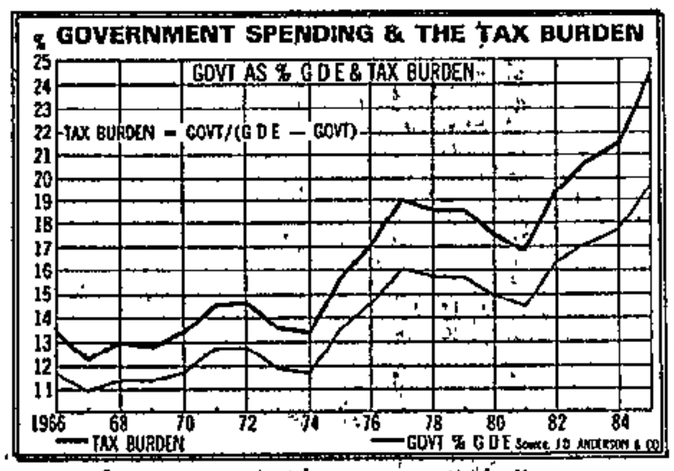

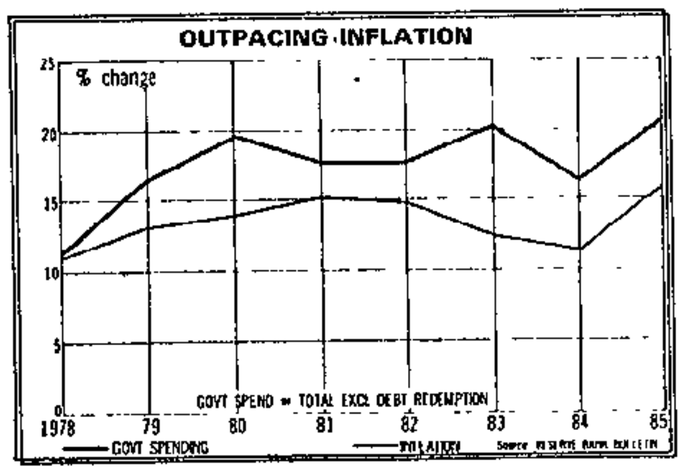

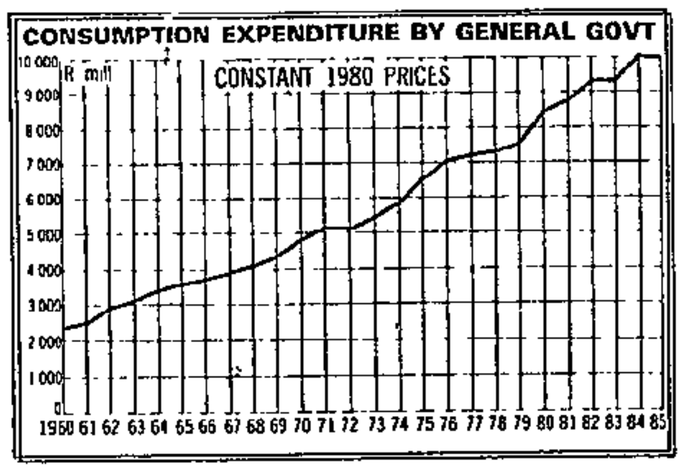

How the public service pushes up SA's inflation

GERALD PROSALENDIS/Economics Editor

26/9/86

MANY ECONOMISTS and officials argue that SA's persistently high inflation rate is the lingering consequences of cost-push pressures which have their origin in the depreciation of the rand.

But SA's continuing high inflation rate is also the price being paid for permissive monetary policy — largely up until 1985 — and years of fiscal profligacy.

And it has been nurtured by an over-regulated economy which lacks competitive depth to absorb and deflect cost increases, many arising from administered prices.

It has been argued, for example, that administered prices — which last year made up more than 30% of the consumer price index — do not respond to market conditions of demand and supply.

The prices of many inputs and outputs to administered prices, and the SA economy in general, are controlled both for reasons of strategic importance and political expediency.

The upstart of this is that many producers do not respond to market demand but rather to production incentives. This means commodities have to be subsidised if they are over-produced, while producers are subsidised if there are shortages. Nor are they subject to competition, an important determinant of efficiency, and thus price level.

Two legacies of government's increasing share of the SA economy, then, are in-built inflationary pressures and punitive tax rates that are chasing the talented out of the country.

High inflation is also linked to government's increasing appropriation, via the tax system, of the productive wealth of the SA economy, which it increasingly uses to pay public servants' wages with no direct productive spinoff.

Recent estimates (excluding the Post Office, Sats and State corporations) show that the public sector employs more than one million people, or 27% of all economically active South Africans outside the agricultural sector.

Consumption expenditure by general government — on salaries and services of a non-capital nature — rose to 17,4% of gross national product last year from 9,2% in 1960.

And because company taxes have not kept pace with the rate of inflation, progressively more of the tax burden to finance this spending has fallen on a small group of individual taxpayers, who now contribute more to the State coffers than gold mines and companies put together.

In this fiscal year, individual taxpayers will contribute R10,2bn to tax revenue — an increase of 20,4%, compared with last year's R8,5bn. This, however, was matched by an average increase in wages of about 10%

Gold mines, on the other hand, are this year expected to contribute R2,8bn, down 7,7% compared with last year, and companies R6,4bn, up 15,1%.

On top of this, the State will collect a further R9,4bn from GST, a large portion of this from individual consumers. And individuals will carry no small part of the burden of the R1,3bn collected from custom duties, the R0,9bn surcharge and R1,8bn excise duty

Each year that government increases its nominal demand for a finite pool of available funds at a rate higher than inflation, government is building in an upward bias to inflation in the economy.

Put more simply — if government increases its spending at a rate the economy cannot accommodate, the result will be a residual rate of inflation.

But, some economists argue, government spending is not inflationary if funded by higher taxation.

Over the last five years government has increased the burden on individual taxpayers, thus lowering their standards of living. Taxpayers have reacted by borrowing more to maintain their standards of living and this has been reflected in a ballooning money market shortage which was, for some time, accommodated by the central bank in an inflationary manner.

Increases in the real terms of wages, and increased government revenue because of higher inflation, have fostered the myth in certain quarters that being protected, or even benefitting from inflation, means that in the long-term society is not damaged by it

But price stability is not an economic luxury — it is basic to social and economic growth.

One of the overriding economic lessons learned by the industrialised world in the past decade has been that getting into high inflation is a lot easier than getting out of it.

Our relatively high inflation rate guarantees that SA's competitiveness is weakened in world markets, and it erodes both the value of the currency and living standards.

However, inflation's most damaging cost is not necessarily economic. With time it subverts government and growth, and inspires the fear that the future will be worse than the past

It feeds on itself, with expectations of further inflation becoming the cause of the activity that leads to that outcome.

Inflation is insidious, precisely for the reason that small increases can be rationalised away as the cost, for example, of higher employment. Also, it is the State — and its employees — who are least affected.

Possibly — despite inflation's ruinous effects — government has a vested interest in it continuing at high levels In a sense, it has become a tool for the redistribution of wealth.

As inflation pushes up nominal taxable incomes, the rate of tax automatically increases and the State receives even more income to distribute to its employees.

It appears, then, that high inflation, rising taxation and undisciplined government spending are inextricably linked. As inflation increases State revenue by pushing individual taxpayers into higher brackets, government is able to spend more, mainly on non-productive wages and salaries, which in turn feeds inflation.

Unless, at the very worst, government freezes both the size and funding of the public service and its grip on the economy, the prospects for lower inflation in SA are dim.

Heunis: ANC not excluded

(304A) D D 26/9/86

JOHANNESBURG — The government was committed to establishing a negotiated new democratic constitutional dispensation based on full power sharing without domination — and the African National Congress was not excluded from this process, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

"The only condition for participation is that violence must be abandoned," he told Rand Afrikaans University students here in a speech dealing with the influence of violence on government reform.

Saying there was a world of difference between the South Africa of today and 1960 — when the ANC had opted for violence claiming there was no other way to get access to political process — Mr Heunis said the argument that violence was now necessary had no validity.

"In fact, by continuing with violence and intimidation, the ANC and other organisations are demonstrating they reject the principles of peaceful negotiation and power-sharing."

Rejecting the argument that the government had been forced to embark on its reform programme as a result of violence, Mr Heunis said violence "has a very negative influence on the reform process, to the detriment of all South Africa's peoples." — Sapa

Why are Nat Party congresses a pale shadow of former years ...

W/E ARGUS 27/9/86

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Days of tough talk are over

From JOHN MAcLENNAN, Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE Government seems to have lost touch with its rank and file. The most its supporters can offer nowadays are timid resolutions asking for assurances that all will be well.

Most congress motions thank everyone — the State President, party functionaries and politically-important wives — for being courageous, confident, and faithful.

Nothing about wasting taxpayers' money, long-term planning, the need for swift and suitable answers, the sanctions war, the police force's continual and costly defeats in its tussles in court, and all the other urgent topics.

The National Party has always claimed, with pride, that its congresses are policy-making forums for the Government and, traditionally, these have provided days of tough talk.

But, at a time that the country has huge problems, the NP encounters only a deep silence from its supporters.

There may be several reasons:

- They are too scared to make suggestions or demand answers from an arrogant executive;
- They don't want to hear the answers;
- The party machine is now being run with such slick and cynical efficiency that no ripples are being allowed to disturb the impression of rock-solid unity.

It's all done with mirrors, much in the way the Soviets show the world their unified and solid facade.

This was the overriding impression gained at last week's Transvaal Congress, an impression reinforced by the agenda for the Cape Congress which opens in East London on Monday.

IN the good old days, congresses used to stretch over several days, and sometimes the same congress had to be accommodated at more than one venue, so discussion could continue simultaneously at separate halls on different resolutions to get through the agenda.

Not these days.

The Transvaal Congress was to last three days, but was cut to a day-long session, and a speech the previous evening by President PW Botha.

There were three or four resolutions which begged congress's weighty consideration, but no one was really willing to address them. One called for the discussion of political rights for all in a way that would preclude group domination. This went to the heart of what the Government wants to achieve.

The thundering voice, the waving finger — but Nat congressess are pale shadows of former years.

But no one, other than the proposer, had a word to offer on the subject.

When the silence continued, Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, was left to make one of those all-encompassing speeches that do not provide new insights.

The closest the congress came to hearing criticism of the Government was when the subject of the new ID books was raised. The question posed for discussion was what the NP was going to do about maintaining separate voters' rolls, residential areas and separate schools.

Interestingly, the motion came from Soutpansberg in the far Northern Transvaal, where the NP is being besieged for answers by the right wing. But again, there was no real discussion.

In East London, the stage is set for a repeat performance this week.

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Mr JAN HOON, MP for Kuruman and chairman of the Conservative Party's Cape Council, calls for offers on a portrait of the party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, which was on sale for R3 000 at the CP's Cape Congress in Port Elizabeth today.

'Nat policy will end white supremacy'

Weekend Post Reporter

WHITE domination would eventually disappear with the Government's policy of powersharing, the leader of the Conservative Party (CP), Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in Port Elizabeth last night.

He addressed about 600 people at the opening of the CP's Cape congress in the Feather Market Hall.

The Government would have to answer one fundamental question from the white electorate if it called a general election. The question was: "How will it prevent a black majority Government in South Africa?".

It has been tipped that Mr P W Botha will call an election either in November or April.

The Government would also have to explain if it intended keeping the Group Areas Act, Mr Treurnicht said.

It's integration that has failed, says Hartzenberg

Weekend Post Reporter

IT was not apartheid but integration that had failed in South Africa, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, said in Port Elizabeth today.

Dr Hartzenberg was addressing the Cape congress of the CP being held at a beachfront hotel.

He said his contention was proved by the fact that self-governing black homelands such as Transkei and Ciskei did not have to deal with unrest which plagued "white South Africa".

Dr Hartzenberg outlined 10 points of CP policy which would form the basis of government if the party came to power.

Referring to its policy on segregation, he said the CP would ensure that it would not be left to a single government department to implement it. All departments would be charged with carrying out the policy, unlike the present situation.

If, for instance, the Department of Transport wanted to build a railway they would have to ensure that it furthered the overall national policy.

He also said blacks would be able to work only in areas nearest their homeland, thus restricting them to the "natural areas from which they came".

The CP would also ensure there would be no building of new black townships or extension of existing black residential areas.

Any future developments would have to take place in the black homelands or the land immediately bordering them.

Referring to local management organisations in existing black areas, he said only indigenous people would be allowed to serve on these. Zulus would handle only matters dealing with their own people and Xhosas would handle Xhosa matters, and each group would retain its identity.

Work permits would be issued to all blacks so that while influx control would be maintained, the old National Party system would be modified.

Citizenship would be the sole right of white South Africans and no other races — including Indians and coloureds who would be granted their own "homelands" — would be allowed to hold citizenship.

Land ownership and political rights would also be the sole prerogative of whites.

Trade unions would only have white members.

Dr Hartzenberg said trade unions were the tools of communism and as could already be seen in South Africa were increasingly being used as a political weapon.

CP policy would preserve the identities of separate races and allow them to relate directly to their own people and country , even while they were working in South Africa.

Dr Hartzenberg said that because many blacks received equal wages to whites, his home could cost as little R1 200 — perhaps two months' salary — while a white had to pay off his home over 20 years.

By scrapping housing subsidies the CP would save South Africa R200 million in the Budget, which would bring the country out of the red and make it economically healthy.

The scrapping of subsidies would also promote decentralisation as industrialists would find it cheaper to establish themselves on the borders of black areas where their workers, through improved transport, could live in the homelands while retaining a job in white South Africa.

The delegates at the congress gave Dr Hartzenberg a standing ovation, and there were requests for his speech to be made available to party members either in the form of a video tape, an information booklet or cassette tape.

Hartzenberg outlines CP 'fatherland' policy

PORT ELIZABETH — The policy and strategy of the Conservative Party — including plans for establishing a "white South African fatherland" — were outlined by the party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, at the Cape congress of the CP in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

Outlining the CP policy which would form the basis of government if the party came to power, Dr Hartzenberg said the party would begin by ensuring that non-whites became citizens of their own "fatherlands".

By improving transportation, it would be possible for the five million blacks currently living on the borders of the national states to live with their families in their own "fatherland" while retaining jobs in white South Africa.

Zoning of blacks to "natural" areas would be introduced to restrict blacks to working in regions close to their own "fatherland", and prevent the random migration of groups into parts of the country not traditionally associated with their particular nation.

RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Existing black townships already provided more accommodation than there were jobs for the residents and the CP would halt all extension or creation of new residential areas.

Civil servants, including police to maintain order and "fight their own battle against communism" in the areas, could be seconded from the relevant "fatherland" but the South African authorities would retain control of all the affairs.

Only whites could be citizens of South Africa and, to control the number of workers from black states in the country, the NP system of influx control would be retained in modified form whereby each worker would be issued with a work permit.

Land ownership, political rights and membership of trade unions — which were a communist tool increasingly being used as a political weapon — would also be the sole prerogative of whites as they alone would be citizens of South Africa.

The final point, Dr Hartzenberg said, would be to halt all subsidies on black housing, thereby saving R200 million from the national Budget and placing South Africa in a healthy economic position once again. — Sapa.

Poll debate to be over tonight?

304A

DD 24/9/86

By ORMANDE POLLOK

EAST LONDON — The election guessing game which started in Durban in August should be over by tonight.

President Botha is scheduled to open the Cape National Party's provincial congress here tonight and by the time he is finished the country should know if it is going to the polls this year or early next year instead of in 1989.

There is no question in the minds of senior Nationalists that there will be an early general election. The only question up to now has been when. A few weeks ago, November 26 was tipped as the most likely date but now some time in April is considered the most probable.

If Mr Botha does not announce the election tonight it will be too late to officially gazette it in time to hold it before December, when end-of-the-year holidays start and people are away from home. This is almost sure to mean that the country will vote in April next year.

Mr Botha is thought to be keen on an election for all three chambers of Parliament and, if he goes for it, there could be a change in the constitution during the next parliamentary session.

As it stands now, the constitution demands there should be an election of all three houses in 1989.

Clearly, if the government goes for an election now it will not want to repeat this expensive and divisive operation again in two years.

The over-riding feeling at present is that Mr Botha will not call an election tonight. He has repeatedly stated that he would call a referendum or general election if the government decided on a fundamental departure from Nationalist policy.

While it has stated it favours black representation at the "highest level" of government there is no legislation yet to make this possible. Legislation to establish the proposed National Council is only due next year and it is thought Mr Botha will wait until then before going to the country.

However, it is possible he could announce his intentions now.

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, has already said the government need not wait until next year as its broadly stated intention to include blacks at the "highest level" was enough on which to fight an election.

SABC accused of 'conditioning' whites to capitulate

304A

N/M 29/4/86

Mercury Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH—The SABC was deliberately trying to 'denationalise' whites in South Africa and 'condition them into capitulation' by disseminating blatant National Party propaganda.

This viewpoint was expressed by Mr Tom Langley, Conservative Party MP for Soutpansberg, when he addressed the party's congress here at the weekend.

Mr Langley, whose position as CP spokesman on Foreign Affairs includes the SABC, said the corporation's attempt to condition whites was a deliberate psychological one aimed at getting integration accepted.

He was speaking on several points of discussion on the agenda which concerned the SABC and its claimed bias towards the NP which sparked lively and outspoken debate among delegates.

The congress was asked for guidance as to whether CP members should refuse to pay TV licences in protest against the 'broadcast of biased National Party propaganda and the calculated attempts to condition whites towards integration by means of multiracial programmes and advertisements'.

Mr Langley replied that, while the CP could not encourage people to break the law by refusing to pay TV licences, he suggested that members should do whatever they felt they had to if they were 'at a stage where you cannot take any more'.

There was no doubt that the SABC was 'his master's voice', Mr Langley said and the only question was: 'Who is the master and who is the voice?'

He accused the SABC of supplying misinformation, saying the corporation often did this by advising the public that the CP would be making a certain announcement, even before the announcement was made, warning them not to believe it.

The increase in the number of American programmes — many of them with multiracial casts — demonstrated how the corporation was trying to 'denationalise and even Americanise' whites.

'Immoral' to switch policy, says Andries

Mercury Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH—It was 'immoral' for a party to continue governing with a specific policy other than the one for which they were voted into power, said Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party.

He said President Botha was committed to institutionalised power-sharing which directly involved blacks in the running of the country and was seeking a mandate to achieve it by making it sound as plausible as possible.

However, Dr Treurnicht warned the CP would unmask him and his party by demonstrating exactly how far they had already moved away from the previously stated policy.

Whites in this country were a civilisation in danger of being swallowed up by Africa and if they relinquished political power without taking due precaution, they would lose everything.

NP policy could not succeed without white South Africans committing 'cultural and moral suicide', he said.

Dr Treurnicht said he did not agree with the idea of a 'Boerestaat', a description used by some Right-wing groups to denote a white South African fatherland.

He had told 'these people' that they spoke of a 'Boerestaat' yet it was 'the boere who are betraying us'. The CP's plan for a white fatherland provided a country where all whites, including the Afrikaners, could remain.

It was a fact that moving away from white sovereignty had not created a politically or economically stable climate as people did 'not trust' a country without political stability.

This, he said, was not created by dividing the power with all the people and creating discord.

Mixing, 'not apartheid', has failed

PORT ELIZABETH—It was not apartheid but integration which had failed in South Africa.

This, said Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg at the congress, was proved by the fact that homelands such as Transkei and Ciskei did not have to deal with unrest which plagued white South Africa.

Outlining policy if the CP came to power, Dr Hartzenberg said blacks would only be able to work in areas nearest their homeland, thus restricting them to the 'natural zones' from which they came.

The CP would also ensure that there would be no building of new black townships or extension of existing black residential areas.

Work permits would be issued to all blacks. Only a black with a work permit would be permitted within the borders of South Africa in order to control the number of 'aliens'.

Citizenship would be the sole right of white South Africans and no other races — including Indians and coloureds who would be granted their own 'homelands' — would be allowed to hold S A citizenship.

Land ownership and political rights would also be the sole prerogative of whites.

Trade unions would only have white members as they alone would be citizens of the country and entitled to them. — (Sapa)

D D 29/9/86

History shows CP is right, says Hartzenberg

(304A)

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The policy and strategy of the Conservative Party (CP) — including plans for establishing a white South African fatherland — were outlined by the party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, here at the weekend.

His fiery speech at the Cape congress of the CP received a standing ovation and taped copies were later made available to delegates at R5 each.

Dr Hartzenberg said voters did not understand National Party policy and the "alternatives" offered by the CP should be explained to them so that, in an election, voters would be able to state clearly they rejected the system of integration.

The policy of the CP was not an academic one "worked out in some office" but the result of 300 years of history, experience and learning.

Detailing his party's ideal of fatherlands — in which Indians, coloureds and different black "nations" would each have their own territory — Dr Hartzenberg said what remained would be a "white South Africa" which had been won, not by stealing, but by hard work and the brains of the white man.

Citing the example of Transkei which could sustain a population of 19 million if only its resources were utilised to full potential, he said South Africa under a black government would only be capable of sustaining eight million people.

The unrest prevalent in South Africa showed integration, and not apartheid, had failed and this was borne out by the fact that there was no unrest in self-governing black states, he said.

If the party came to power it would begin by ensuring non-whites became citizens of their own fatherlands.

Only whites could be citizens of South Africa and, to control the number of workers from black states in the country, the NP system of influx control would be retained in a modified form whereby each worker would be issued with a work permit.

The MP for Soutpansberg, Mr Tom Langley, lambasted the SABC for deliberately trying to "denationalise" whites in South Africa and "condition them into capitulation" by disseminating blatant NP propaganda.

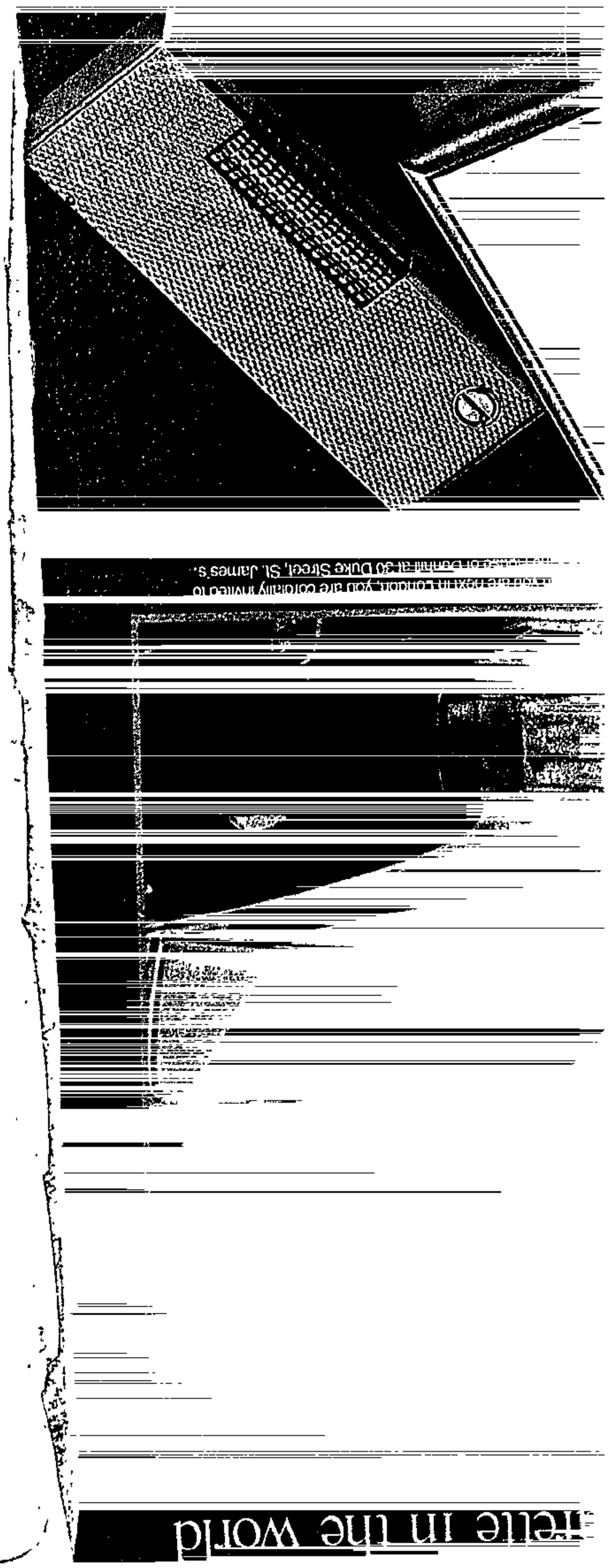
The congress was asked for guidance on whether CP members should refuse to pay TV licences in protest against the "broadcast of biased National Party propaganda and the calculated attempts to condition whites towards integration by means of multiracial programmes and advertisments".

Mr Langely said, while the CP could not encourage people to break the law by refusing to pay TV licences, members should do whatever they felt they had to if they were "at a stage where you cannot take anymore".

There seemed to be little doubt in the minds of delegates at the congress that an announcement of a general election was imminent.

Almost all of the delegates and speakers referred to "the election" and numerous items on the agenda revolved around the speculated event.

During refreshement breaks there was only one topic of conversation and delegates congregated in small groups, planning individual strategies and schedules.



PW rules out 1986 election

DD 30/9/86 (304A)

By ROBIN LARSEN

EAST LONDON — There will be no general election this year.

The announcement last night by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, at the opening of the Cape congress of the National Party here ended seven weeks of speculation.

"When I made my original announcement at the federal congress of the National Party in Durban I merely said that there might be an election 'sooner than most people think'," Mr Botha told the 1 500-plus audience in the Orient Theatre.

"Reports in the media then mentioned certain dates ... but tonight I want to put an end to that speculation: there will be no general election this year.

"The present Parliament's life extends to 1989," he said.

He asked people to make sure their names and new addresses were on the voters' roll and added that it was the State President's prerogative to call an election whenever he wanted "if it is in the country's interests".

"We must reach a stage in South Africa where the voters' roll is so up to date that the state of the roll does not have a decisive influence on the date of a general election or referendum," he added.

In his 75-minute speech, Mr Botha praised President Ronald Reagan's vetoing of a bill imposing economic sanctions on South Africa and slated the visit to South Africa by the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, as a "complete failure".

Mr Botha also announced:

- The planned signing of a treaty between South Africa and Lesotho to go ahead with the R4 000 million Lesotho Highlands Water Project.
- A new economic management system for state expenditure and a five-year plan and 10-year economic forecast.

Mr Botha said that South Africa was from now on going to apply the lesson that "states and nations have interests and not friends" in foreign relations.

"Another important lesson I have learned is that those who are truly committed to freedom and democracy are increasingly being confronted by force and a co-ordinated international campaign to destroy freedom and democracy.

"Those in our own country who continue to attack the government and the forces of stability are destroying the very existence of freedom and democracy in South Africa and once they have succeded they won't have any democracy left to defend," Mr Botha said.

The only thing South Africans really had to be afraid of was the "paralysing effect fear and panic" could have on them.

"We must not allow the fear of others to become our fear, or their panic to become our panic.

"If fear and panic had dominated the lives of our predecessors, what would have happened to our freedom struggle?"

South Africa had encountered few problems "too great to solve".

The country could not "accept a constitutional model that does not fully account for the multi-cultural nature of our society".

"Any such model must of necessity make provision for the protection of minority rights, the prevention of domination of one group over another, and the protection and furthering of the rich cultural diversity in our midst.

"None of us must for a moment be so naive as to think that the demands being made on us in exchange for the aversion of sanctions have anything to do with the extension of black rights and black living conditions."

The government was already engaged on resolving these problems.

"But the faster the pace of our reform, the louder they shout at us." Mr Botha said.

More reports page 5
Editorial opinion P8

Poll now expected early next year

N/M 30/8/88 (304A)

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — South Africa is likely to go to the polls early next year.

President Botha last night ruled out a general election before December, but, without giving a specific date, has left the door wide open for an early election before 1989.

He was opening the Cape National Party congress for the 20th time as provincial leader. Significantly, he asked people to ensure that their names and new addresses were on the voters' roll.

This was immediately interpreted by political observers as a sign that the election which he promised in Durban would come 'sooner than some people think' is still on its way.

It was clear from what he said there could well have been an election now if the voters' roll had been up to scratch.

'We must reach a stage in South Africa where the voters' roll is so up to date that the state of the roll does not have a decisive influence on the date of a general election or referendum,' he said.

November 26 was seen as a possible date for an early election but in the past week something appeared to have taken the heat out of the situation and some time in April has become the most favoured date of political speculators.

To the obvious enjoyment of the close to 2 000 people in the hall, Mr Botha said there had been some interesting specualtion about a general election in the media of late.

However, he wanted to end the speculation.

'I am not planning to call an election this year,' he said.

Slabbert's Democratic Alternative opens in PE

STAR 30/11/86

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The first office of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative, founded by Dr van Zyl Slabbert, is to open here on December 1.

This has been announced by a spokesman for the group, Mr Wayne Mitchell, who said details would be given at a Press conference today by former Progressive Federal Party MP Dr Alex Boraine.

HUB OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Mr Mitchell explained that Port Elizabeth had been chosen as the site for the institute's first office because "the Eastern Cape has always been the hub of South African political activity".

He said offices of the organisation would later be opened in Cape Town, East London, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Durban.

Five-year scheme for SA

BUSDAY 25/9/86

Own Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha has announced a five-year economic plan for SA to ensure the best use of its money.

Speaking at the National Party congress in East London last night, Botha also hit out at countries and people who wanted to see SA's downfall while there was diminishing democracy in the rest of Africa.

He said all countries had to fight their own battles and sort out their own problems and SA intended to do just that. SA's problems, particularly in the economic and financial fields, were smaller than those faced by other countries in the rest of Africa.

There were few who had looked more critically at their finances and financial management in the past five difficult years than the SA government. Planning over a wide front had been undertaken during the past few years.

These years of preparation would bear fruit in next year's Budget.

"Through our new financial management system we will soon be able to make a five-year plan and a 10-year forecast with regard to State expenditure in terms of current expenditure as well as capital expenditure," Botha said.

"To ensure that SA's capital resources are applied in the best possible way, a new set of criteria for decision-making will be instituted shortly.

"These new criteria involve, among other factors, the availability of capital,

● To Page 2

LATEST

NO ELECTION will be held this year, says President P W Botha — and he did not indicate whether SA would go to the polls next year.

Speaking at the NP Cape Congress, the President said he wanted to end speculation on a possible early election. "The term of the present Parliament expires during 1989. It remains the State President's prerogative to have an earlier election if he regards it in the country's interest."

He appealed to voters to ensure they were registered.

PW's five-year plan for SA

BUSDAY 25/9/86

● From Page 1

the income on capital and the provision of State guarantees."

Botha also dealt at length with the concept of diminishing democracy and said there now was "madness" in that those who were trying to defend democracy were being pictured as "oppressors".

"They are being isolated and weakened while those who are bent on the destruction of freedom and Western civilisation are presented as the freedom fighters of the world," said Botha.

When nations who are striving to keep the flame of democracy alive have to adopt measures which do not accord with a utopian end-ideal of democracy and human rights, they are cursed by those who seek their destruction."

South Africans who believed in freedom were sick and tired of the treacherous tricks of subtle supporters of the Left, communism and socialism who try so hard to appear as if they are apostles of peace and defenders of democracy.

304PX

Impasse in SA 'alarms' US envoy

JOHANNESBURG — The alarming aspect of the South African scene now was the evident impasse in moving towards a meaningful political dialogue between the Government and significant, representative blacks.

This was said yesterday by the outgoing United States Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel.

It was inescapably the responsibility of governments to take the lead and to show the necessary statesmanship, he told personel managers in his last official speech after 4½ years in SA.

He said suspicions between the parties involved were so "abysmal" that the assistance of an "honest broker" might be needed to get the process of negotiation started.

Although much had been done to remove discrimination and implement reform during his term, he regretted the Government had not used the opportunity of the last few years — "with friendly governments in Washington, London and Bonn" — to move the reform process forward more self-confidently.

The "promising opportunities" which seemed to open up during the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group's mission had been wasted. It was "hard to see how the present logjam can be broken without the acceptance of the major elements of (their) negotiating concept," he said.

These, Mr Nickel reiterated, were:

- The release of Nelson Mandela and political prisoners.
- The unbanning of the political organisations they represented.
- The lifting of the state of emergency and the release of detainees.
- The firm commitments by all parties to "a process of good faith negotiation in a context in which all parties exercise restraint and desist from violence".

The US had no delusions about the "tremendous difficulties and internal strains" this kind of approach would pose for all the parties, or about the odds for instant success. "What is crucial, however, is that the process must start before the grievances and bitterness engendered by continued escalating violence render it ever more difficult," he said.

The impasse in moving towards meaningful political dialogue worried him first of all as a human being, but also as the representative of a government which saw continued internal conflict in SA as "the most serious threat to US and Western interests". — Sapa

Apartheid end 'not noticed'

JOHANNESBURG — Many people in South Africa's black townships did not seem to have noticed, and people abroad remained unconvinced that South Africa had left the "outmoded system of apartheid" behind.

This was said by the outgoing United States Amabassador to the Republic, Mr Herman Nickel, today.

Speaking at a convention of the Institute of Personnel Management in Johannesburg, he said there was an undeniable process of reform in South Africa.

In spite of this, "the grim fact remains that to this day compulsory group membership and race classification — not free choice and free association — determine where you can live and own property, where your children can go to school, and through which institutions you can exercise political rights, if any".

"Is it any wonder then that South African blacks and people abroad remain unconvinced that South Africa has left the 'outmoded system of apartheid' behind?" — Sapa

Five-year scheme for SA

Own Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha has announced a five-year economic plan for SA to ensure the best use of its money.

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PW's five-year plan for SA

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Business asks for govt co-operation

BUS DAY 30/10/86

STEPHEN ROGERS

THE PRIVATE sector has made urgent representations to government to co-operate in the development of counter measures to combat the sanctions campaign.

In a document sent to the Minister of Trade and Industry last month by a committee comprised of leading members of the export community, government was urged to consult with the private sector on the sanctions issue.

The report estimated that a "compromise" sanctions package — including bans on exports of iron, steel, coal, uranium, and agricultural products — was likely to be introduced by the US, European Community and most Commonwealth countries before year end.

Furthermore, more punitive sanctions — which may affect all SA trade, financial transactions, shipping and aircraft movements — could be mandated under Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter at the start of 1988.

The report suggested that recent estimates that multi-lateral sanctions may result in more than one-million jobs lost and reduced exports of R3,2bn may have seriously underestimated the eventual cost to the SA economy.

It was therefore prudent to act well before these developments to limit their likely effects. As a counter measure, an agressive export marketing campaign was advocated.

Other measures advocated included diversifying exports into alternative markets.

The report also suggested using the dispute settlement and conciliation machinery of GATT to combat countries which use sanctions to gain a trade advantage. However, the effectiveness of that avenue may be limited if sanctions were declared under the UN charter.

No election this year, PW tells congress

304A

STAR 30/9/86

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — President Botha last night squashed speculation that he was to call a snap general election this year.

"There has been interesting speculation about the possible date of an election, but I want to end that now," he told the Cape National Party congress here.

"I am not planning to call an election this year," he said to loud cheers from the audience of about 1 000 in the Orient Theatre on the East London beachfront.

In terms of the constitution, he added, the life of Parliament would expire in 1989. However, it remained the State President's prerogative to call an earlier election if this was considered to be in the country's interest.

Mr Botha said speculation about an early election had arisen from his remarks at last month's National Party federal congress that a poll or referendum to test constitutional breakthroughs was coming sooner than most people realised.

Up-to-date voters' rolls

Now, he said, all he was saying was that everyone should ensure their names and addresses were correctly recorded on the voters' rolls.

The country had to have up-to-date voters' rolls because it could not have the situation where the condition of the voters' rolls determined when an election or referendum could be held, he said.

The major thrust of Mr Botha's speech last night was a call to national unity.

There was a question, he said, which went to the root of the problems. The answer to it would determine whether the country would be a constantly shining bright star or a meteor destined to crash.

Concerted effort

The question was: Were there sufficient numbers of brave, dedicated and balanced, reasonable South Africans who were prepared unselfishly to apply their minds, their hearts and their means in a concerted and magnificent effort to secure, not only the survival, but also a worthwhile life and future for South Africa?

Mr Botha also dealt at length with the international campaign against South Africa.

One thing he had learnt in his long career in politics, he said, was that states and nations had interests, not friends.

"In our diplomatic and foreign relations we must from now on apply that lesson."

South Africa's problems should be seen in perspective. If one looked outwards, one realised that its problems were much smaller than those faced by the rest of Africa and millions of people elsewhere.

304A

Out-of-date rolls stop '86 election

E Post

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — South Africans would have gone to the polls on November 26 if the voters roll had not been so hopelessly out of date.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, told the Cape Congress of the National Party last night that he wished to end speculation of an election this year.

As a result of this statement there is already strong speculation that Mr Botha may go to the country in April next year.

A top source within the National Party indicated today that an election would have been called for November 26 — the date favoured by the State President — if the voters rolls had not been in such a parlous state.

He added that both the Natal leader of the Party, Mr Stoffel Botha, and the Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, had urged the State President not to go to the country at this stage.

It is also understood that Mr Botha wanted to call an election for all three Houses.

If an announcement concerning a general election was absent from Mr Botha's opening address, so was any indication of the future direction of reform, perhaps another indicator that the Government's attempts to persuade credible black leaders to join the proposed National Council have run into major snags.

In fact, rather than any light being thrown on the future, there was the oft repeated committment to a future based on group identity, the protection of minority rights and the recognition of the multicultural nature of South African society.

Mr Botha also devoted much of his speech to the total onslaught against SA and the aim of the Soviet Union as far as control of the country's wealth and the Cape sea route were concerned.

Mr Botha said he could understand how countries behind the Iron Curtain could seek to destroy SA, but strange that many politicians and officials in Western countries were doing exactly the same.

On the question of reform, the State President said that despite efforts made by the Government, which had been put into practice, the country was still being blamed for a lack of progress.

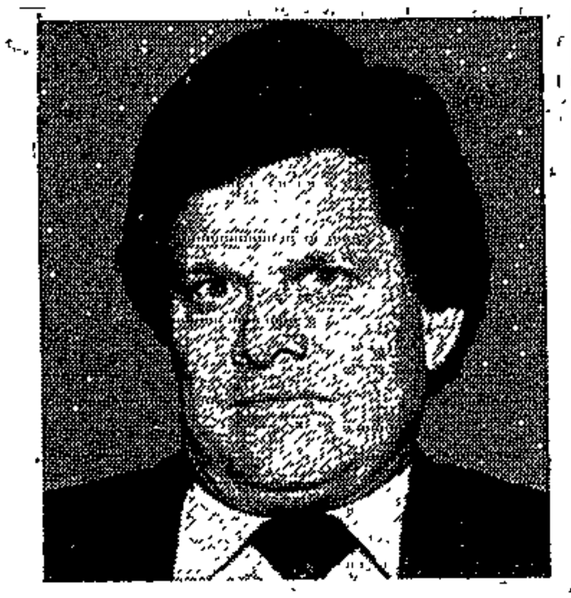
"The truth is that the uncalled-for interference in our domestic affairs is one of the main causes of tension in South Africa."

Looking to the future, Mr Botha said the National Party was an "important instrument" in the struggle that lay ahead.

He added that there were still too many people who "belong with us from inner conviction, but who stand detached from the struggle in which the National Party is involved today".

Mr Botha said there was a "multitude" of people from other language who wanted to maintain the principle of "South Africa first".

"They must realise that the National Party is a party of reunion. It is a party which wants to bring people together- ... and which wants to reach an understanding with other population groups," he said.



Mr Blanche . . . may have to answer a few questions from Pretoria.

304A

NP Youth and AWB in talks on East Rand

30/9/86 STAR

Secret talks have been held on the East Rand between members of the National Party's youth movement and the Boerewag, youth wing of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The talks could lead to many members resigning from the NP and seriously embarrass the NP Member of Parliament for Boksburg, Mr Sakkie Blanche.

AWB spokesman Mr Willie Olivier confirmed today that the meeting had taken place in Boksburg over the weekend and that many members of the NP Youth were expected to abandon the party and join ranks with the AWB.

A National Party spokesman on the East Rand also confirmed that Mr Blanche insisted on attending the meeting.

STEADY STREAM

Mr Olivier said there was a steady stream of NP Youth members joining the AWB, but the East Rand talks were the first time that a whole branch had put out feelers to the AWB.

The meeting was arranged between the local organiser of the NP Youth, Mr Louis le Roux, and a member of the Boerejeug.

According to the National Party, there was merely an exchange of views and no question of a whole branch going over to the AWB.

Mr Olivier said the meeting was not "coincidental" as the NP insisted, but specifically arranged to hold talks.

Members of both the AWB and the NP told *The Star* yesterday that the incident could seriously embarrass Mr Blanche "and he will have some explaining to do in Pretoria".

Tearful PW out as Cape boss

304A

Eve Post 30/9/86

Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — In an emotional scene at the Cape National Party congress today, President P W Botha stepped down as leader of the party in the Cape after 20 years.

He is succeeded as Cape leader by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister, Mr Chris Heunis.

Mr Botha'a resignation is once again likely to set off a bitter war of succession between the four leading pretenders to the office of State President.

In a brief announcement a tearful Mr Botha said he felt the time had come for him to step down.

A spokesman for his office indicated afterwards that pressure of work was very much a contributory factor in his decision.

Mr Botha was elected unopposed as leader of the Cape NP in 1966 here in East London, although a challenge had been expected from the then Minister of Mines and Planning, Mr Jan Haak.

Opening the Cape congress last night, Mr Botha hinted that he might stand down today but this was vehemently denied by his office.

Mr Botha stated that after 20 years as Cape leader "this year is a very special year for me".

Stating that he was very much indebted to the Cape NP he praised the party for being a "part of the team which is fighting the battle for South Africa".

Posts and Telecommunications Minister, Dr L A P A Munnik, was elected a vice-chairman in Mr Heunis's place.

Mrs Marietta Badenhorst, wife of Mr Heunis's Deputy Minister, Mr Piet Badenhorst, was re-elected the other vice-chairman.

Mr Heunis, who could barely constrain his emotions, paid tribute to Mr Botha's long leadership of the Cape party and said God had blessed the NP under him.

Mr Heunis proposed that Mr Botha be elected honorary life leader of the Cape NP.

His proposal was approved with acclamation.

Mr Heunis is the fourth leader in the 71-year-old history of the NP in the Cape. He follows Dr D F Malan, Dr Eben Donges and Mr Botha.

Mr P W BOTHA ... tearful scene

AWB 'not involved' in monument incident

STAR 30/9/86

304A

Pretoria Bureau

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has denied any official involvement in an incident at the Voortrekker Monument at the weekend when three Coloured Stellenbosch students were barred from entering a restaurant.

Secretary of the AWB, Mr Jan Groenewald, said in Pretoria today the owner of the restaurant, Mr Willie Olivier, had acted purely on his own and had not been instructed by the AWB to refuse members of other race groups entry to the restaurant. Mr Groenewald confirmed Mr Olivier was "closely involved" with the AWB.

Mr Olivier's wife, Marga, apparently turned three Coloured students away from the Monument restaurant saying it was "for whites only".

Mr and Mrs Olivier have held ownership of the restaurant, under contract from the Monument Control Council, for the past eight years.

The Administrator of the Transvaal and chairman of the Council, Mr Willem Cruywagen, said the council would look into the matter. He said the Voortrekker Monument was open to all.

No election and 'chaotic' voters' rolls get some blame

STAR 30/9/86

Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — The chaotic state of voters' rolls may have frustrated President Botha's plan to call an early election, politicians speculated today.

Mr Botha told the Cape National Party congress here last night there would be no election this year but he asked every voter to ensure he or she was correctly registered at their present address.

"We must have up-to-date voters' rolls in South Africa. We cannot have a situation where the condition of the voters' rolls determines when we can have an election or a referendum," he said.

The Department of Home Affairs has confirmed that about 35 percent of all registered voters are no longer at addresses shown on voters' rolls, placing an enormous strain on political parties trying to trace voters for election campaigns.

The success of party organisations in this regard can often be decisive in marginal constituencies.

The department is involved in a major marketing programme to encourage people to update the population register with details of their current residential addresses.

Mr Neil Ross, executive director of the Progressive Federal Party, confirmed today that voters' rolls were "in a chaotic state".

However, he believed President Botha could have called an election whenever he chose.

He said the PFP was ready for a general election and would remain so because it was the State President and Cabinet Ministers who started speculation about an election by saying one would be held sooner rather than later.

The PFP was helping to update voters' rolls by encouraging people to give the Department of Home Affairs their current addresses.

Apartheid on the way out, says Howe

From
JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The "evil" system of apartheid was on the way out, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said here yesterday.

He told a conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association the rest of the world had a role to play in encouraging political reform in South Africa.

The conference was attended by Commonwealth parliamentarians from more than 100 national and local legislatures. They spent a full day of their five-day conference debating whether the Commonwealth could survive apartheid.

"I share with all of you the view that apartheid is evil and must go.

"This change will come. The South African people themselves will bring it about.

"But the rest of the world can help to encourage political reform there.

"And we can emphasise our loathing of apartheid and all its works," Sir Geoffrey said.

This had been done in conjunction with Britain's European Community partners. He cited the sanctions which Britain already adhered to.

Sir Geoffrey also stressed the "positive measures" which Britain had taken, including the voting of R50 million in aid to promote the economic independence of the frontline states, the training of 460 black teachers in Britain since 1980 and the R1,5 million Commonwealth scholarship postgraduate training scheme for black South Africans and refugees.

He added clarity was necessary on two important points.

"We oppose violence by either side, and we do not believe one can defeat apartheid by wrecking South Africa's economy.

"A bankrupt South Africa is no legacy for the majority who will one day control it," he said.

While South Africa was of vital concern to the Commonwealth, it was necessary to keep it in perspective in a broader African context.

"There is more to Africa than just the problems in its southernmost nation," he said.

There were "difficult and painful decisions" to be taken on the tragedy of famine in Africa. He welcomed the "general mood of realism" t the recent United Nations special session on Africa earlier this year.

Newsletter on ANC posted back, distributed in SA

CAPE TIMES 1/10/86 (304)

By BARRY STREEK

A NEW publication aimed at discrediting the ANC and exposing its links with the Communist Party has been distributed in South Africa — and it quotes banned documents without official permission.

The special edition of the Aida Parker Newsletter on the African National Congress and South African Communist Party was distributed abroad in July this year.

But because of legal restrictions, the special edition, which was printed in Johannesburg, was not distributed in South Africa.

Now an organization called Democrat Students International (DSI), which says it is based at 111 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington DC, but is unlisted in the latest telephone directory, has sent copies of the special edition back to South Africa.

In a covering note, Ms Colleen Morrow, the DSI director, said: "DSI is distributing copies of his newsletter worldwide, with special attention to those countries whose governments restrict free access to information. South Africa is one of those countries."

□ Last month, the printing of another publication aimed at discrediting the ANC was disclosed, but Ms Parker denied any connection with this publication, which did not contain the names of a publisher, and said her special edition had been published openly.

The police instituted an investigation into the anonymous publication after reports of its printing were published in the Cape Times.

Earlier this year, the Bureau for Information also published a booklet on the ANC, entitled "Talking with the ANC".

□ The South African Media Council is investigating a complaint by the End Conscription Campaign against the Aida Parker Newsletter.

The public hearing is scheduled for October 6.

50 g ball R2
(In a lovely range of colours)
ALSO MANY OTHER SUMMER YARNS
(cbo60636)

FOUNDED 1876 ★

Way is open for PW Botha's rivals

CAPE TIMES 1/10/86 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — President P W Botha yesterday opened the starting gates for the presidential succession stakes by stepping down as Cape leader of the National Party.

Mr Botha's decision to hand over the reins after 20 years is expected to uncap a period of unbridled rivalry in the party as top Nationalists vie for the presidential mantle.

For Mr Botha's reluctant and tearful resignation was seen in NP circles as the first concrete signal that he is preparing to retire as leader of the party and as State President.

Sources at the congress were predicting Mr Botha would leave active politics a few months after the next general election — now being tipped as likely to take place late next year.

However, a number of delegates now favour a referendum on the National Statutory Council next year with an election to be held as scheduled in 1989.

A development certain to fuel the already keen rivalry for Mr Botha's crown was yesterday's election of Mr Chris Heunis — a major pretender to the throne — as new Cape leader.

Mr P W Botha

Mr Heunis

As Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Heunis already controls a huge administrative empire, but his new post will give him the much-needed party-political power base he needs to launch his drive for the presidency.

The other top contenders in the field are the Transvaal leader of the NP and Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Despite the boost to Mr Heunis's chances as a result of his election, most bets for president were yesterday being placed on Mr De Klerk, with Dr Viljoen as a possible compromise candidate.

The surprise election of the Minister of Communications, Dr Lapa Munnik, as chairman of the party in the Cape means that he is unlikely to resign at the next election as was widely predicted.

Meanwhile, most Nationalists were yesterday ascribing President Botha's decision not to opt for a snap election this year to the parlous state of the voters' rolls.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, disclosed that on average about one third of voters were "missing" in white constituencies. In some seats the figure is over 50 percent.

However, it is understood that Mr Botha's decision to put off a general election at a time that would clearly favour the NP as a whole was in response to pressure from Mr De Klerk and senior Transvaal Nationalists in danger of losing their seats to extreme right-wing parties.

Mr De Klerk has indicated privately that he is in favour of a thorough re-delimitation of constituencies that could give the Transvaal up to a dozen new seats.

It is understood that the system of nominated MPs might be scrapped and these 12 seats be given over to the Transvaal, which is currently severely under-represented compared with other provinces.

Under such an arrangement the Cape province would not have to give up any of the 56 seats it currently holds.

(384A) DD 1/10/84

New think-tank to seek democratic alternative for SA

CAPE TOWN — The first regional office of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) is to be opened in Port Elizabeth in November, the executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, announced here yesterday.

The former leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, and Dr Boraine, former Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands, will be engaged full time in Idasa when the headquarters, based in Cape Town, opens in January next year.

More regional offices will be opened when staff and funding become available.

"Idasa is the outcome of a series of discussions with key black and white leaders throughout South Africa as well as outside of South Africa and is committed to a non-racial, democratic South Africa," Dr Boraine said.

The goals of Idasa include:

- To help South Africans who reject apartheid to discover a non-racial, democratic alternative.
- To reassure those who are fearful of a post-apartheid South Africa and involve them in working towards that alternative.
- To mobilise the skills, knowledge and experience of all those who can help the communities in the crisis areas of South Africa.
- To provide national forums and opportunities to enable solutions to South Africa's problems to be sought in confidence and without prejudice.

Idasa was not a movement or a political party, and did not seek to duplicate or usurp the functions of any other democratic organisation, Dr Boraine said.

"It stems from a need for contact and negotiation between those people of good will who have been kept apart for so long that they have lost touch with each other's humanity.

"It seeks to counter the distrust that exists throughout South Africa and to persuade whites in particular not to cling to apartheid because of their fear of an alternative," he said. — Sapa

Advert to delegates angers Ministers

Political Correspondent ARGUS 1/10/86 (306A)

CABINET Ministers have reacted angrily to an Eastern Cape newspaper advertisement addressed to delegates at the National Party congress in East London.

Both Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis attacked the advertisement saying it would damage South Africa's image abroad.

The advertisement on page three of the Daily Dispatch, signed by 77 people, asked Nationalist delegates to consider three questions:

- How could children be held in detention for weeks on end without trial in a civilised country?
- How could community councillors, who had been rejected by the people and who had been unable to live in their constituencies for over a year, be seen as the true representatives of the people?
- How could Mr Heunis turn down the request of the East London City Council and the Duncan Village Residents Association for the incorporation of Duncan Village into East London? Did the people concerned have no say in their own affairs?

De Klerk seen as favourite

BUSDAY 1/10/86 (300 pt)

PW move sparks presidency race

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

THE RACE for the presidency is expected to hot up considerably now that State President P W Botha has stepped down as Cape leader of the National Party and has been succeeded by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

Although Heunis is now also considered to be in the running, Transvaal leader F W de Klerk is still seen by most Nationalists as the favourite, with Education and Training Minister Gerrit Viljoen a few lengths behind him and Foreign Minister Pik Botha the outsider.

A power struggle between the most powerful Cabinet ministers could have a strong influence on government's handling of constitutional reform in the months ahead.

Botha did not make himself available for the leadership at the Cape NP congress yesterday, stating his wide range of responsibilities and the solid organisation and membership of the NP in the province as reasons. He was elected Cape leader in East London 20 years ago.

MPs and delegates at the congress were yesterday hotly discussing the succession stakes and the chances of an election in April next year.

Many feel that a white referendum in November next year on government's new plans for the inclusion of blacks in the central government now seems more likely, and that Botha is likely to step down after that.

The succession stakes could have been one of the reasons why Botha decided against an early election. According to some sources here, it was De Klerk who strongly opposed an early election.

Not only did he want more time to organise his province against the rightwing threat, but he also wanted, according to this theory, the election to take place only after a new delimitation. He apparently used the chaotic state of the voters rolls as his main motivation against an early election.

Botha gave credence to this when he said on Monday night: "We must develop a situation in SA where voters rolls are so up to date that the state of the voters rolls would not influence the date of elections of referendums."

A new delimitation of constituencies would give Transvaal 11 more seats — most of them coming from the Cape. This could strengthen De Klerk's position.

Talks with top leaders in SA and abroad led to Idasa formation

304A

Eve Dist 1/10/86

Post Reporter

THE former leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, will serve as the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa's associate director in charge of policy and strategy.

Former PFP MP Dr Alex Boraine will be Idasa's executive director.

Announcing this at a Press conference in Port Elizabeth yesterday, Dr Boraine said Idasa was the result of a long series of discussions with key leaders from all population groups in SA and with leaders abroad.

"Idasa is committed to a non-racial, democratic South Africa and will seek to make this possible in every way it can," he said.

The institute had a broad base of support and would be funded entirely from outside SA.

Dr ALEX BORAINE

"This will make us absolutely independent," Dr Boraine said.

Six prominent South Africans — "household names" — had agreed to serve on a national board of trustees, but they could not be named at this stage, he said.

Funding for Idasa, which will need about R800 000 a year to cover salaries and other expenditure, would be provided from abroad by such organisations as the Ford Foundation, the Rowntree Trust and foreign government grants.

Dr Boraine and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert recently returned after several months abroad, when they spoke to foreign ministers and church representatives in the Scandanavian countries as well as influential leaders in America and Europe.

While Idasa would be politically oriented, it would not compete with other non-party political organisations, Dr Boraine said.

Idasa's first office will open in Port Elizabeth on November 1.

Mrs Ursula Vogel congratulates her husband Mr Sarel Vogel on his victory in the by-election in Ward 4, Randburg.

PFP weakens NP stronghold

By Janine Simon

The Progressive Federal Party last night slashed the National Party majority from 377 to 69 votes in the NP stronghold of Fontainebleau.

NP candidate Mr Sarel Vogel (46) scored 551 votes to PFP candidate Mrs Gaye Neille's 482. Conservative Party candidate Mr Koos de la Rey drew 181 votes.

In the 1982 general municipal election, the NP candidate, the late Mr Abie Hattingh, defeated the PFP candidate, Mr H Loggenberg, by 377 votes.

With this win the NP retain their majority in the town council where they hold eight seats to the PFP's five.

Mr Vogel said he had been confident of victory and that it was a chance to continue the work he had started in ratepayers' organisations.

"Being on the council puts me in a better position to serve the people of the ward," he said.

The leader of the PFP in the Transvaal, Mr Douglas Gibson, said the party had come "within a hair's breadth of victory.

"The PFP is on the march towards its stated objective of sharing in a new government for South Africa".

He said the CP's "abysmal showing" had proved it was not a force in urban politics and called on the party to withdraw from the forthcoming North Rand by-election.

Mr de la Rey said he believed the party had made its mark — despite the fact it had only three weeks to prepare for the election.

"Anyone who thinks the CP is confined to the platteland is mistaken," he told supporters.

ARGUS 2/10/86 (304A)

Sorting out the PFP's dilemma

by David Braun, Political Staff

HOW does a party persuade people who share its principles and values to vote for it?

In South Africa's extraordinary society it is the answer to this poser that the Progressive Federal Party would dearly like to know.

Research of the white electorate has revealed that potential support for the PFP is at least 30 percent of all voters, in terms of people who associate themselves with the things the party stands for.

This support may rise to as high as 45 percent on some issues, such as the Group Areas Act. Yet only 16 to 18 percent of the voters say they are PFP supporters. The rest support other parties.

If the PFP is to achieve its goal of winning 50 Parliamentary seats in the next election it will have to find a way to persuade the balance of its potential supporters to vote for it.

The PFP has long ago identified the gap between what it calls its 'policy support' and its 'electoral support'.

The man who has helped the party understand the underlying reasons for this, and who has contributed towards a strategy to remedy the situation, is Dr Jan Hofmeyr, a lecturer in the department of religious studies at the University of Cape Town.

Dr Hofmeyr is also a researcher analyst for the PFP. His research has flowed from studies of religious conversions and the relationships between religion and socio-political orientation.

"I discovered that one could not come up with an isolated theory of religious conversion because there is in fact a general process of how people change their minds, and therefore their affiliations and activities," Dr Hofmeyr said in an interview.

"If one understands the process whereby one loses people, then one can also know what is required to re-convert them."

A basic observation from his study of the white electorate the high percentage of what he has termed avoidance orientation.

This has been caused by the great intensification of the country's political activities accompanied with a deepening despair on the part of the average voter that little can be done about it.

The many who tend towards this behaviour are trying to minimise the impact of politics on themselves. They express themselves in this regard by saying either they don't know how they will vote or that they won't vote.

He says available information increasingly indicates that the country's endemic unrest has made people's behaviour more fear-driven.

The PFP is perceived as a party which cannot guarantee stability and therefore it has lost support, particularly among women below the age of 35 (a group that has felt the impact of unrest most severely).

According to available data the National Party on the other hand has an incoherent support base in terms of large pockets of support among groups with greatly varying values. These supporters range from people looking for peace and wanting to see a negotiated solution right across the spectrum to those who feel that violence and tough security action is necessary to suppress insurrection, from those wanting to share the country to those who want it exclusively for themselves.

This is one reason why the NP has to be so unclear about reform.

"On the one hand the Nationalists have to hide the fact that they are unable to reform fast enough from those people who want rapid change.

"On the other they have to obscure what reforms are being made so that those who do not want to change are kept happy.

"The Nats are extremely good politicians in being able to hold their terribly contradictory support base together. They are adroit at using smoke screens to do this, but in the process they have sacrificed the country.

"The PFP can convince pockets of Nationalist supporters who desire change that the Government is in fact unable to deliver reform fast enough. Our only constraint is time, given that SATV is closed to us."

With the PFP's new direct response campaign the message has to get through to the voters. The message that will convince a large chunk of like-minded people to switch to the PFP is the party's ability to persuade voters that it is more likely to be able to form a realistic partnership with significant black leaders with power.

The voters need to be convinced that the National Party is talking only to black leaders who are willing to take part in Government-controlled structures, he says.

"This is not a question of changing people's basic attitudes and values. People have already made up their minds on all the important issues we stand for, such as open schooling and integrated residential areas.

"We must isolate the obstacles which prevent them from voting for us. The fundamental barrier is that we are not trusted with the transition. People think we are going to give the country away.

"People also perceive that we are not able to handle the dynamic that the transition will set in motion because we are perceived to be soft on security."

The PFP strategy then is to find the issue that will convince the 30 percent of the electorate which alreasy supports fundamental PFP values to vote for the party.

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Might alone won't end the unrest, says Le Grange

3064

CAPE TIMES 2/10/86

EAST LONDON. — Townships were in such a decrepit state that it was no wonder police were being stoned, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday.

He also said there would be a revolution if blacks were not given their "place in the sun".

The situation could not be controlled through the security forces alone.

Mr Le Grange was replying to a resolution at the Cape National Party congress calling for an analysis of the reasons for the current unrest and wanting to know what the government was doing to end it.

Mr Le Grange said it was a sweeping request which he would try to handle as briefly as possible.

But, he said, the unrest could not be stopped unless political and socio-economic development went hand in hand.

He said that might alone would not solve the country's problems.

"We have to apply security measures along with social upliftment," he said.

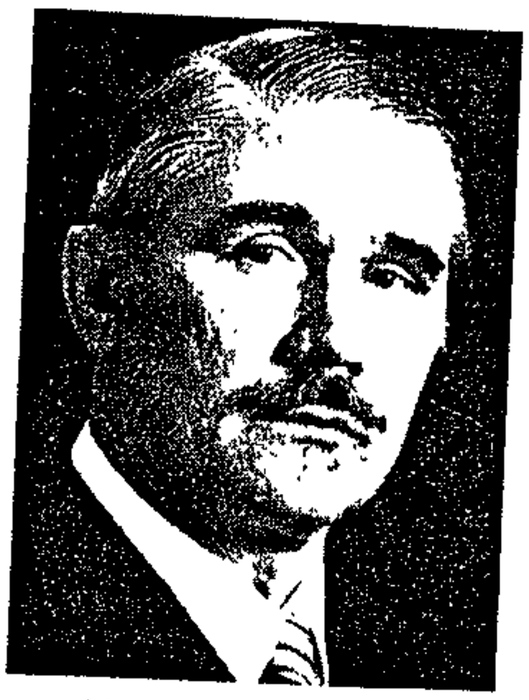
"Black and coloured townships are often so decrepit that it's no wonder they are throwing stones."

Many of them had no water, street lights and refuse removal.

"They come and point out to you their new cars which they have bought on a small salary and say to you it's impossible to drive a car because the streets are washed away and full of stones.

"They have to take buckets and bath-tubs and walk miles because for eight days there has been no water in their township and they have to go and fetch it from far away.

"No wonder people are so resentful that they want to throw stones whenever they see a police or an official or a Putco bus in their area."



Mr Louis le Grange

Mr Le Grange said that in his own town, Potchefstroom, where he was familiar with circumstances, the local black township was a typical example.

It was built 25 years ago and today, although the backyards and gardens were neat, due to a total absence of refuse removal, the pavements were trash heaps.

It often just took a minor effort to rectify the situation.

He said the government had voted millions of rands for the upgrading of townships and training of people.

He believed the unrest would end as soon as a political system which everyone wanted could be achieved.

The National Party's policies had always aimed to the upliftment of people

Barry Streek reports that Mr Ray Swart, MP, said yesterday that the Mr Le Grange's speech was an indictment of his own government.

Mr Swart, chairman of the PFP's parliamentary caucus and spokesman on black affairs, said Mr Le Grange had now finally recognized that social and economic conditions in the townships were the cause of the unrest.

"In view of his late discovery, the government must stop dragging its heels and get cracking with real change to improve the quality of life of the people to whom he refers.

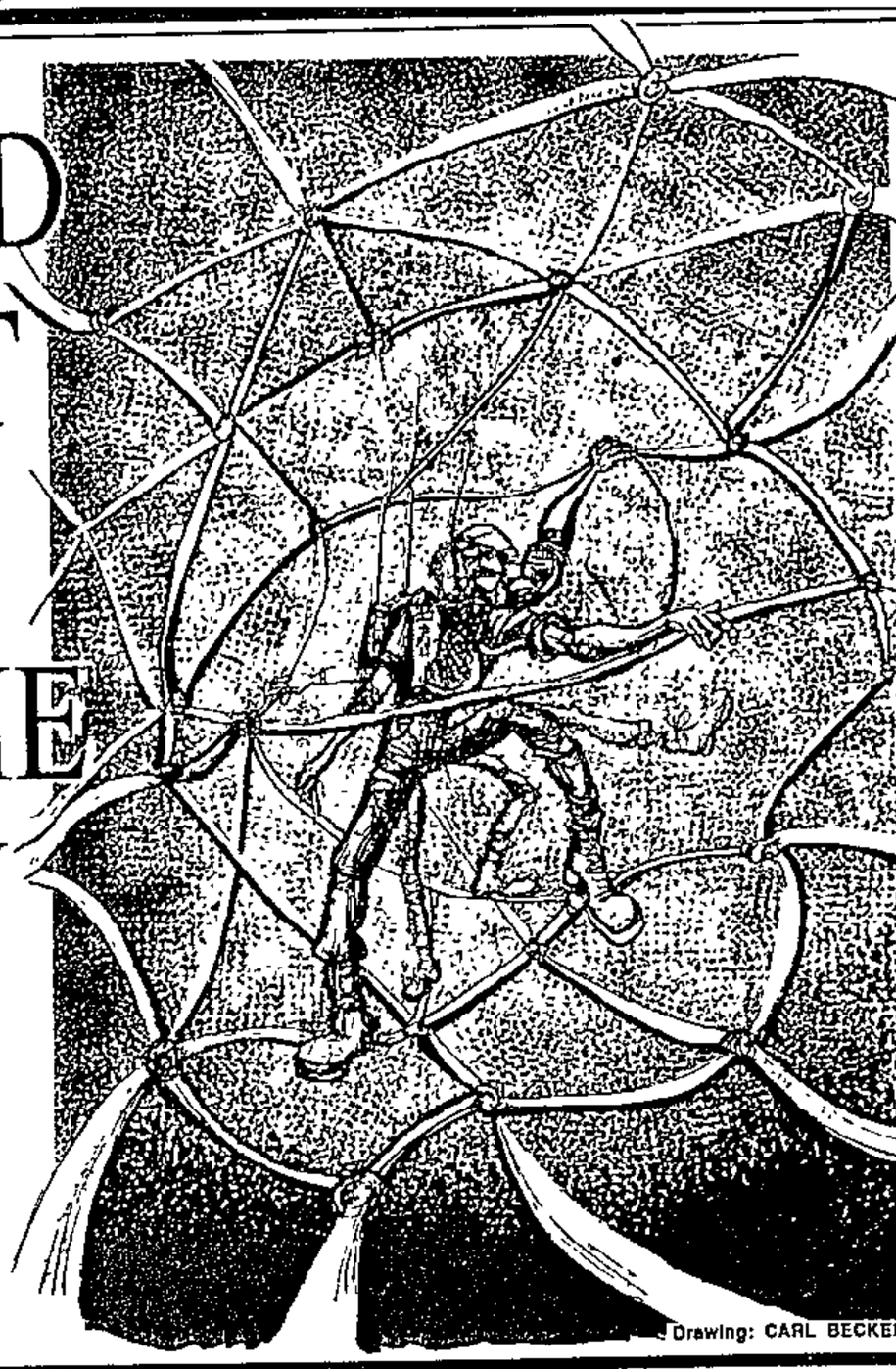
"Certainly, the state of emergency won't achieve this," Mr Swart said. — Political Staff and Sapa

(304A)

THE UNIFORMED WEB THAT SPRAWLS ACROSS THE COUNTRY

A vast, faceless bureaucracy, dominated by the military and defence, quietly co-ordinates government activity at every level. While its activities are 'not secret' according to officials, few details have ever been made public. Here we present the first detailed picture of the 'shadow government' which spreads across the country.

By ANTON HARBER



Drawing: CARL BECKER

A MASSIVE and little-known network of over 500 committees, effectively controlled by the military and police, is coordinating government and state activity at every level of South African life.

The seven-year-old National Security Management System (NSMS) is giving the Security Forces a crucial say in decision-making in every part of the country's governing structure

It has led to the creation of a shadow state structure, a complex and elaborate system that exists alongside normal government bureaucracy and is answerable only to similiar security bodies above it

South Africa's security bosses have said the system is "not a secret", but only the broadest descriptions of the structure — and no substantial details — have previously been published Progressive Federal Party leader Colin Eglin has described the system as "a very sinister political development".

Officials are adamant that the system only deals with security matters Adriaan Vlok, the Deputy Minister of Defence, told parliament earlier this year that the terms of reference of the committees were "to coordinate government action which has an influence on the security situation in their respective areas of responsibility".

But officials have made it clear they consider almost any matter — from the provision of proper schooling to rent and consumer boycotts — as potential security problems and therefore within the jurisdiction of the NSMS.

"The lack of a classroom is not a security matter, but a lack of proper facilities or sufficient facilities can become a security problem Nobody can tell a department they must build a new school. But from the security point of view you can tell them that if you don't there is going to be a problem. It is now your problem to build the school; if you don't it will become my problem and the (security) system's problem. And prevention is better than cure.

"So although a lot of things are not security problems, they can become security problems," a senior official said this week.

The committees plug into decision-making from the highest levels of the state down to local authorities:

- At cabinet level, there is the State Security Council (SSC) which meets twice a week and makes recommendations on national "total strategy" to the cabinet. The SSC heads the NSMS
- At the level of government department heads and cabinet committees, there is a Work Committee of the State Security Council (SSC). This body coordinates the activities of the directors-general of government departments and the chairmen of the other work committees of the Cabinet Committees with regard to security.
- Thirteen Interdepartmental Committees of the SSC brings together representatives of all government departments at a slightly lower level
- At a regional level, there are Joint Management Centres (JMC) At the moment there are 11 of these and they use Defence Force command boundaries, but the plan is to cut the number down to nine to coincide with the country's economic development areas. If this is achieved, the JMCs will plug into the system at the same level as the Executive Committees that are replacing the provincial councils. The JMCs coordinate local strategies to deal with security problems or potential security problems.
- There are 60 sub-JMCs, which exert their influence on the system roughly at the level of the planned Regional Service Councils, although their boundaries do not always coincide.
- At the lowest level, 448 mini-JMCs work at the level of local authorities.

These committees — and up to 1 500 sub-committees — are meeting regularly to discuss local security situations, swop intelligence, develop "total strategies" to deal with problems and coordinate the activities of all government departments in implementing such a strategy

All JMC members are civil servants, rather than elected representatives, all the chairmen and many of the chairmen of the sub- and mini JMCs — are senior military or police officers The only department not participating is Justice

The system was established in 1979 because of problems with the lack of coordination among government departments and competition between the country's different intelligence networks. Under Prime Minister John Vorster, a chaotic situation of overlap and duplication existed The NSMS was designed to counter this.

Since then it has grown steadily until the current situation, when it reaches across the country and has a presence in almost every municipality There is allowance for it to go down even one level lower, to "local management centres", though these have not yet been implemented

The plan grew out of the concept of "total strategy" as a response to what was perceived as the "total onslaught" on South Africa "The philosophy upon which the organisation is based," the State Security Council secretary has said, "is that the Republic is confronted by a multi-dimensional threat — multi-dimensional in the sense that the Republic's enemies attack the constitutional, the economic, the social and the security bases in accordance with a co-ordinated plan or strategy It is the conviction of the government that this threat can only be met and turned back by the application of strategies using, in the same way as the enemy, the four main elements constitutional, economic, social and security"

Investigation of what is being discussed by the JMCs has revealed startling information of how they are intervening in politically sensitive areas

PFP researcher James Selfe claims that the Cape Town Joint Management Centre intervened when there was a problem with a residents' association in Atlantis

"They thought the assocation was creating a revolutionary climate in Atlantis and that it constituted a 'local threat'.

"The JMC was given the task of formulating a counter-strategy It accordingly organised food-parcels for the hungry, soccer tours for the children The communications committee organised pamphlets and newspaper coverage The social, economic and political committee ensured that local politicians in the formal system were seen at the forefront, ie, the ('coloured') management committee was given the credit — but it was simply a front," he said

In an interview this week, two senior members of the State Security Council secretariate, who asked not to be named, gave a similar example: "Say, for instance, the supply of water in a certain area is of great importance and somebody will tell the mini-JMC in the area that if you do not do something about this quickly, then people are going to riot

"The mini-JMC will handle it. It will be brought to the attention of those concerned, the representatives of the local government. So, to prevent the crisis, you will find the army, the police and the JMC will cooperate"

The Weekly Mail revealed earlier this year (WM Aug 1) that the JMC's were coordinating a grand plan to break the nationwide rent boycott A JMC document entitled "Strategy for the collection of arrear rental and service charges" was published, revealing a wide range of strategies involving business, community councils, the ex-development boards and the Security Forces

Officials, however, are adamant that the JMCs do not deal with "politics".

"You must realise we are not talking politics here," one said "We are talking survival

"It has nothing to do with politics It is carrying out the policy of politicians The decision to carry it out is politics, but the carrying out is different I am carrying out the policy of this government because they pay my salary, whether I like it or not"

Every JMC, sub- or mini-JMC has three committees

- The joint intelligence committee (GIK-kom, from the Afrikaans acronym)
- The political, economic and social committee (PES-kom);
- The communications committee (COM-kom)

The intelligence committee, described by SSC officials as "very important", allows police, the military, National Intelligence Service and military intelligence to pool information at a local level.

"You have a national interpretation branch (in

the SCC ... from the ... intelligence, ... implemented ...

"And in ... pooled on a ... will be the ... dissatisfaction. ... a rumour that ... of the lack ... problems, or ... information ... they can give ... rumour

"It is ... don't worry ... country. The ... many stones ... is a shortage ... been blown ... the type of ...

Selfe ... at their ... what meeting ... also keep ... community ...

The po... (PES-kom) ... and the ... SSC officials ... handled ...

"We divide ... If the ... crisis, it ... don't, ... If we don't ... to lead a ... to riot.

"So what ... JMC will ... people ... department.

The ... "will co... JMC wants ... JMC has ... kom will ... through the ...

Selfe, ... system as ... committee ... The many ... the last ...

The State ... theoreti... JMC ... itself. T... ensure that ...

Can they ... example? ... damn risky ... must be ... a ...

The JMC ... can ... make final ...

But the ... power ... rejects a ... SSC or ... take the ... at cabinet ...

The ... ability ... proceed... are de...

"We ... to the ... of view, ... what is ...

THE NETWORK; FROM SOWETO TO DE AAR TO OGIES TO KOEGA TO KOPPIES

THE prime characteristic of the National Security Management System is its facelessness From top to bottom, it is an elaborate set of structures and committees whose members and activities are seldom known.

At the top, is the State Security Council (SSC), one of four cabinet committees but the only one enshrined in law

It is chaired by the State President and its members are the most senior Cabinet Minister, the ministers of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Justice and Police, any other Ministers who may be co-opted, the heads of the Police and Defence Force, the secretaries for Foreign Affairs, Justice and Security Intelligence and any other heads of departments who may be co-opted

It meets fortnightly.

The next level is the working committee of the SSC, composed of heads of most of the government departments and other cabinet committees. It does most of the preparatory work for the SSC, making recommendations to it.

It also meets fortnightly, the day before the SSC meets.

The secretariate of the State Security Council, based in a discreet, unmarked and highly secure building in Pretoria, is the full-time staff of the SSC. It coordinates the security system, passes on cabinet security decisions and coordinates and evaluates the work of all the country's intelligence systems.

It has four branches: strategy, national intelligence interpretation, strategic communications and administration At its head is the secretary, Lt-General PW van der Westhuizen

The next level is a set of inter-departmental committees, made up of representatives of all government departments. When the secretariate wants to develop a strategy for a particular problem, it delegates the matter to the relevant committee.

The titles of the 13 committees give some insight into what the SSC is dealing with: Manpower, Security Forces, Civil Defence, Transport, Security, National Supplies and Resources, Government Funding, National Economy, Telecommunication and Electrical Power Supply, Science and Technology, Community Services, Culture and Political Affairs.

Attempting to ascertain why the SSC should be looking at political affairs, the Progressive Federal Party was given this explanation in parliament. "The political committee provides advice to the secretariate of the SSC on matters pertaining to national security arising from international, interstate and internal political developments The term 'political' has the same meaning as in political science and has no bearing on party political activities"

The next level are the Joint Management Centres (JMCs). Officials said this week there were 11 such JMCs, but a list of 12 was given in parliament in May. They are based in (with the chairmen's names and affiliations in brackets): Durban (Brig JH Pretorius, SADF), Kimberley (Brig JH de Beer, SADF); Pretoria (Brig JPM Moller, SADF), Port Elizabeth (Brig CP vd Westhuizen, SADF), Bloemfontein (Brig WC Meyer, SADF), Outdshoorn (Brig C van Rooyen, SADF), Walvis Bay (Cmdt M van der Riet, SADF); Johannesburg (Brig GHP Murphy, SADF), Cape Town (Brig CA Swart, SAP), Potchefstroom (Brig JJ Bisschoff, SADF), Pietersburg (Maj Gen C Lloyd, SADF): Nelspruit (Maj Gen WHJF Paetzold, SADF)

There were previously four separate JMCs to coordinate policy towards neighbouring states. According to SSC officials, however, these have "petered out" and no longer exist

There are 60 sub-JMCs They are based in Newcastle, Vryheid, Pietermaritzburg, Kokstad, Greytown, Durban South, Port Shepstone, De Aar, Kimberley, Upington, Pretoria Central, Moot, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Cradock, Queenstown, Bloemfontein, Kroonstad, Ladybrand, Graaff-Reinet, Middleburg, Johannesburg, West Rand, Cape Town Vredendal Stellenbosch, Saldanha, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Letaba, Soutpansberg, Nelspruit, Ermelo, Dundee, Eshowe, Ladysmith, Durban North, Durban Central, Durban West, Vryburg, Kuruman, Pretoria North, Grahamstown, East London, Aliwal North, Welkom, Bethlehem, Southern OFS, Beaufort-West, Oudtshoorn, Soweto, East Rand, Worcestor, Paarl, Springbok, Lichtenburg, Klerksdorp, Waterberg, Middleburg, Standerton

There are 448 mini-JMCs in the following towns Utrecht Dundee, Dannhauser Paulpietersburg, Eshowe, Melmoth, Empangeni, Plessislaer, Howick, Ladysmith, Bergville, Newcastle, Glencoe, Vryheid, Magudu, Nyoni, Mtubatuba, Pietermaritzburg, Camperdown, Richmond, Estcourt, Matatiele, Kokstad, Ixopo, Greytown, Stanger, KwaMashu, Westville, Chatsworth, Isipingo, Wentworth, Port Shepstone, Harding, Kimberley, Herbert, De Aar, Bruistown, Hopetown, Windsrsi, Kakamas, Groblershoop Stella Kruman Sishen Laudium Verwoerdburg, Eersterus, Silverton, Bots, Akasia, Attendgeville, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Humansdorp, Kareedouw, Grahamstown, Bathhurst, Kenton/Bucsman, Adelaide, Somerset East, Komga, King William's Town Queenstown, Indwe, Tarkastad, Barclay East, Lady Grey, Ugie, Winburg, Brandfort, Hertzogville, Bloemfontein, Welkom, Henneman, Theunissen, Bultfontein, Himeville, Kranskop, Wartburg, Durban North, Verulam, Mayville Pinetown, Umlazi, Amamzimtoti, Scottburg, Margate, Barkly West, Vaalharts, Philipstown, Prieska, Upington, Kelmoes, Pofadder, Vryburg, Pomfret, Griekwastad, Pretoria City, Mamelodi, Bronkhorstspruit, Soshanguve, Schoemansville, Pretoria North Port Elizabeth North, Kirkwood, Jeffreys Bay, Koega, Alexandria, Fort Beaufort, Cradock, Bedford, East London, Stutterheim, Cathcart, Dordrecht, Sterkstroom, Aliwal North, Elliot, Maclear, Jamestown, Boshof, Dealesville, Excelsior, Botshabelo, Virginia, Ventersburg, Odendaalsrus, Hoopstad, Viljoenskroon, Bothaville, Heilbron, Steynsrus, Koppies, Vredefort, Clarens, Harrismith, Frankfort, Tweeling, Vrede, Reitz, Clocolaan, Paul Roux, Ficksburg, Ladybrand, Tweespruit, Zastron, Petrusburg, Bethulie, Koffiefontein, Trompsburg, Redersburg, Fauresmith, Rouxville, Aberdeen, Jansenville, Prins Albert, (Cape), Joubertina, East, Town, Edenville, Marquart, Dewetsdorp, Pearston, Colesburg, George, Stilbaai, Park (Tvl), Wolseley, Brandville, Vredendal, Porterville, Stanford, Saldanha, Zeerust, Swellendam, Calvinia, Drakenstein Alexander West, Genadendal, Noordvaal, Rustenburg, Secunda, Volksrust,

the SCC secretariate), where intelligence is pooled from the different units. Based on that intelligence, people formulate strategies to be implemented by the cabinet.

"And in the same way, intelligence will be pooled on a local level. Because they (GIK-kom) will be the people who pick up that there is dissatisfaction. These people (JMCs) won't react to a rumour that there is going to be trouble because of the lack of school facilities, or the water problems, or whatever. People will pool their information at the intelligence committee and then they can give it as a fact to the JMC and not as a rumour.

"It is probably the number one committee They don't worry about intelligence for the whole country They will worry about their areas: so many stones have been thrown this morning, there is a shortage of water here, electricity lines have been blown down by strong winds there. This is the type of intelligence they plot."

Selfe claims the JMCs have detailed information at their disposal "They know precisely who was at what meeting and what was said by whom They also keep tabs on those regarded as important community figures.

The political, economic and social committee (PES-kom) deals with problems of rent, services and the provision of facilities In the words of the SSC officials, these are "things that if they are not handled properly, can be a cause of crisis

"We divide things between welfare and security. If the people in the welfare area can prevent a crisis, it doesn't become a security matter. If they don't, invariably it will become a security matter. If we don't see that the people have what they need to lead a decent life, obviously somebody is going to riot

"So what often happens is that the mini- or sub-JMC will bring matters like that to the attention of people concerned in local government departments or a national government department"

The communications committee (Kom-kom) "will communicate what the sub-committee of the JMC wants to communicate to the people." If the JMC has decided to address a grievance, the Com-kom will ensure that people know about this through the press, radio or pamphlets.

Selfe, who has done intensive research into the system as part of an academic thesis, believes this committee may be involved in disinformation. The many fake pamphlets that have appeared in the last year may be attributed to the JMCs.

The State Security Council officials said this was theoretically possible, but highly unlikely. The JMC would not have the power to issue pamphlets itself. Theoretically, it would have the power to ensure that the relevant department did so.

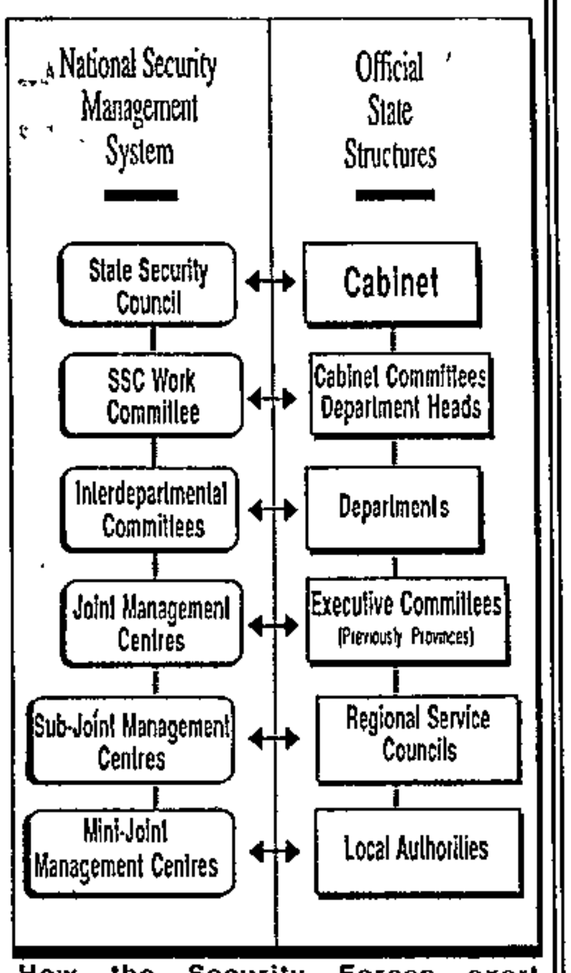
Can they put out anti-boycott pamphlets, for example? "I suppose they can, but it would be damn risky. If you want to do things like that, it must be done covertly. And I have never heard of a committee doing something covertly"

The JMCs do not have executive powers They can recommend action, but they cannot order it or make final decisions on it.

But the SSC official made clear the enormous power the JMCs have to ensure their recommendations are carried out If a department rejects a JMC recommendation, it will go up to the SSC or one of its working committees, which will take the matter up with a director-general or even at cabinet level.

The security system thus has an extraordinary ability to go around normal departmental procedures and ensure that its recommendations are decided on at the highest level.

"We in the system can assist from regional level to the top to persuade them, from a security point of view, what is necessary. And this is exactly what is happening. So the JMC can initiate something and resolve it or they can send it up to higher authorities if they cannot resolve it"



How the Security Forces exert influence: the security network, left, forms a shadow structure alongside the normal state structure, right, plugging in at every level.

JMCs do not have their own budget. Departments that implement their recommendations provide their own funding

The JMCs have played a crucial role during the State of Emergency, the officials said "They are really the people on the ground level You can't handle all the security from Pretoria, that is impossible."

Selfe believes the JMC system is "fundamentally anti-democratic" because it allows non-representative people to discuss and make decisions on matters that should be decided by elected representatives. Military and police officers are being given enormous influence over the decisions of politicians

SSC officials counter this by arguing that the JMCs are made up of members of government departments "who are answerable to the politicians or the elected cabinet ministers

"If this system is undemocratic, then the whole civil service is undemocratic They are working on behalf of elected people."

The SSC officials who agreed to see the Weekly Mail asked not to be named One was a senior military officer and the other a civilian, both holding key posts in the secretariate and authorised to speak on its behalf

Both were adamant that the JMCs did not "militarise" the country. Their argument was based on the fact that civilians outnumbered military personnel at every level of the system

The fact that military and police officers chair almost every JMC, sub- and mini-JMC causes much disquiet among observers, a feeling that would probably only be strengthened by the reasons officials give for this bias.

The Security Forces, they argue, control the intelligence committees and these are the most important part of the system They are also the trained strategists, most skilled at formulating "total strategy" responses to a crisis. "The defence force and police are used to working with intelligence and the administration of intelligence, like putting things on walls and making deductions," the official told me

Also the Security Forces have an extensive communications network which is important to the JMCs

The fact that emergency communications systems, such as radios, are important to the system is certain to increase concern about the role they are expected to play in a national crisis

The military officer made it clear he would like to see greater military input "The government has become sensitive to this question of militarisation and that is why I think (the number of) military people is kept so low here

"There is no denying a lot of influence is being created by the military, because we military people are in the system and we are very proud of it. Numbers aren't everything.

"You can have a military chairman and he can have a tremendous effect, but so can the police brigadier who heads a JMC. So it works both ways.

"But number-wise we military people are outnumbered and we think it is a pity ... because we can do a good job as we do in many other areas. But it seems as if the politicians don't understand this," he said.

Jansenville, Murraysburg, Steytlerville, Beaufort West, Fraserburg, Prins Albert, Victoria West, Burgersdorp, Hanover, Middleburg (Cape), Noupoort, Steynsburg, Albertinia, De Rust, Great Brak River, Joubertina, Ladismith, Oudtshoorn, Riversdal, Uniondale, Soweto East, Krugersdorp, Springs, Benoni, Germiston, Soweto West, Cape Town, Athlone, Worcester, Wesselsbronn, Parys, Lindley, Kroonstad, Edenville, Bethlehem, Kestell, Warden, Villiers, Cornelia, Meme, Marquart, Senekal, Fouriesburg, Rosendal, Hobhouse, We pener, Jagersfontein, Jacobsdal, Philippolis, Luckhoff, Edenburg, Dewetsdorp, Springfontein, Smithfield, Graaff-Reinet, Klipplaat, Pearston, Willowmore, Carnarvon, Laingsburg, Sutherland, Williston, Colesburg, Hofmeyr, Molteno, Richmond, Venterstad, Calitzdorp, George, Heidelberg (Cape), Knysna, Mossel Bay, Plettenberg Bay, Stilbaai, Roodepoort, Vaal Triangle, Brakpan, Heidelberg, Kempton Park (Tvl), Wynberg, Bellville, Ceres, Robertson, Touwsrivier, Wolseley, Prince Alfred Hamlet, De Dooms, Barrydale, McGregor, Brandvlei, Clanwilliam, Klawer, Loeriesfontein, Middelpos, Nuwerus, Vredendal, Malmesbury, Moorreesburg, Franschoek, Klapmuts, Porterville, Redelinghuys, Philadelphia, Springbok, Port Nolloth, Hondeklipbaai, Kamieskroon, Steinkopf, Stellenbosch, Strand, Stanford, Gansbaai, Napier, Caledon, Riviersonderend, Greyton, Saldanha, Hopefield, St Helena Bay, Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Harbeesfontein, Liebenburg, Schweizer-Reneke, Ottosdal, Bloemhof, Zeerust, Koster, Phalaborwa, Tzaneen, Messina, Warmbad, Naboomspruit, Thabazimbi, Barberton, Nelspruit, Lostkop, Swellendam, Rawsonville, Tulbagh, Montagu, Ashton, Bonnievale, Calvinia, Citrusdal, Doringbaai, Lambert's Bay, Lutzville, Nieuwoudville, Van Rhynsdorp, Atlantis, Piketberg, Paarl, Groot Drakenstein, Wellington, Eendekuil, Darling, Riebeeck West, Alexander Bay, Kleinsee, Garies, Nababeep, Vioolsdrif, Somerset West, Kleinmond, Hermanus, Elim, Bredasdorp, Grabouw, Genadendal, Villiersdorp, Vredenbrug, Laaipiek, Langebaan, Gatsrand, Noordvaal, Wolmaransstad, Delareyville, Christiana, Coligny, Rustenburg, Marico, Pietersburg, Louis Trichardt, Nylstroom, Potgietersrus, Ellisras, Lydenburg, Onderbek, Middlebrug (Tvl), Secunda, Standerton, Wakkerstroom, Ermelo, Belfast, Bethal, Volksrust, Piet Retief, Carolina.

THE NEW SYSTEM IN ACTION

HOW IT WORKS: THE CASE OF A TOWNSHIP WHICH SUDDENLY DISCOVERED A NEW AUTHORITY

By MOIRA LEVY

COMMUNITY organisations in the Cape Flats townships of Bonteheuwel and Bishop Lavis, only recently aware of the existence of a Joint Management Centre (JMC) in their area, regard it with some scepticism and a good deal of suspicion.

They are particularly angered by a recent directive, known to have been issued by the House of Representative's Department of Education and Culture, that requires the principals of all secondary schools in the area to attend some JMC meetings.

The principals have been told to draw up lists of what they identify as the chief grievances at the schools.

Local teacher and advice office worker, Mark Abrams, said the people being co-opted onto the JMC committees were in no way part of the area's grassroots organisations.

"They are not talking to the people in the street. If they want to find out what the people's needs are they should be talking to the people's organisations."

He is particularly sceptical about the participation in the JMC of the Labour Party member of parliament, Patrick McKenzie He said McKenzie got an 11-12 percent poll in the elections for the tricameral parliament two years ago, and that in 1982 he had been asked to resign as head of the civic association because of his links with the management committee.

The JMC has also drawn local industry into its security network. Local businesses or factories sympathetic to the idea have been divided into six zones, with one company in each responsible for canvassing the support of other companies in the area and encouraging them to join the scheme.

The scheme was described as a "liaison link" between the South African Police stationed in Bishop Lavis and industry in the area

Pritchards Security Service is the pivot of the scheme According to its operations manager, Jonathan Deal, the company was chosen because of is centrality and "because we are a security company and have the manpower resources and staff to operate this sort of scheme".

While reluctant to talk to the press, Deal said that radio links had been established between his firm and other companies in the area. Pritchards is in turn linked by radio to the local police station.

Deal said the idea was to "co-ordinate the resources in the area, human, financial and technical, into one effective unit that can react to any form of emergency"

The scheme involves training staff in emergency procedures such as first aid and pistol shooting. It is "recommended" that all levels of staff participate. For example, Deal said, "tea girls" and receptionists should learn first aid because they are likely to be at the scene of any emergency.

Pistol shooting classes usually attract the "upper levels (of staff) ... people who have got a weapon but don't have the facilities and knowledge to use it properly."

Deal said the scheme was in no way designed specifically for unrest situations. There is "a fine line" between civil unrest and other types of emergency, he said.

Deal liaises closely with Bishop Lavis police station commander Major FG Kotze who initiated the link-up between local industry and the police.

Kotze, the head of the JMC in the Bishop Lavis-Bonteheuwel area, insists there is "nothing political" about the scheme.

He said the hierarchy of JMCs, which extends all the way to cabinet level, enables the grievance of the community to be channelled to the highest authority.

Information was gathered at the local level, he said, "and if we cannot solve the problems we pass it on to a higher authority to see what they can do to help the poor communities.

"We give instructions to our committees to go out and talk to the people and find out what makes them unhappy. In the past it was said that problems never reached the top. Now with this system we can hear what people are saying on the ground."

The information is passed up the hierarchy to the municipalities, the divisional council, and if necessary the cabinet.

Kotze is enthusiastic about the network. "The whole society should praise the State President. He has brought them something good. It is no longer necessary for people to take the wrong way or to become radical.

"Now they can come and talk to the authorities. They can say 'I am unhappy about the street lighting or the pavements'. But it is up to the people on the ground. They must do their job. If they co-operate and use the right channels things will change and be better.

There are JMCs in Athlone, Mitchells Plain and Bellville in the Western Cape, Kotze said. Represented on the committees are members of all state departments, management committees, the divisional council, as well as rate payers and personnel from the army and "local commanders".

Kotze is also a member of a separate working committee, linked to the JMC, where representatives of the Department of Education and Culture meet with principals, teachers, parents an students to discuss problems in the schools.

"We go to the principals and teachers, the parents and the students to ask them what is wrong in society."

The JMC is known to be considering building a new school, a day hospital, improved sporting facilities, pavements and introducing street lighting.

According to a number of activists who came out of hiding to talk to Weekly Mail, the authorities are paying special attention to Bonteheuwel.

They believe the state is using a mixture of repression and reform to curb the militancy of the area.

Bonteheuwel, a seriously overcrowded and poverty-sticken area, originally built in the Sixties to accommodate coloureds moved from District Six and the white suburbs, has a reputation as a particularly politicised and militant area.

The activists are cynical about the committees that they know are operating in their area.

"We don't reject these things. These are demands that the community has been campaigning about for several years. But we know we are getting these things though our struggle, and the committees should not be getting the credit."

Speaking for the first time about the early weeks under State of Emergency conditions, they painted a picture of a community virtually under seige, their lives disrupted by the constant presence of security police and reaction unit patrols.

Refusing to give their names for fear of reprisals, the three students and a lawyer said that in the first few weeks after the State of Emergency was declared, up to 200 school pupils wandered the streets "homeless, like animals", afraid to go to school because of the heavy security presence and afraid to go home in case they were picked up.

Residents in the Steenberg-Retreat-Lavendar Hill area in Cape Town have also rejected the work of what appears to be a local JMC.

They were angered when a meeting called by the city engineer's department last month to investigate upgrading sporting facilities, was addressed by the station commander of the local police station.

Three quarters of the audience walked out before the end.

(304A)

Broederbond too liberal — Jaap

PRETORIA — The secretive Afrikaner Broederbond, which was closely aligned with the Cabinet, had become a mouthpiece for communism and liberalism, the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said last night.

Addressing about 500 people in the Pretoria City Hall, he quoted extensively from a "secret" Broederbond document which he said was a memorandum for South Africa's constitutional future and told Afrikaners that the exclusion of blacks from government processes was a threat to the future of whites in the country.

He offered to make copies of the document — the existence of which has already been raised in parliamentary debate — available to members of the public for R2 a copy.

Citing extracts from the seven-page memorandum, which was distributed to Broederbond members, he said it maintained the repeal of all racially discriminatory measures was a necessity if Afrikaners were to survive.

It asserted that all races, including blacks, should be included in government bodies up to the highest level and this meant that in some instances some leaders, and even the State President, might not be white, the HNP leader said to cries of "skande" (scandalous) from supporters.

The document said groups' rights had to be protected, but that this could not be guaranteed.

Mr Marais said the document would lead to the destruction of whites. — Sapa

MANDIE BURGER, a University of Port Elizabeth student, brings a touch of warmth to the beachfront, even on a chilly day like today.

Jailed for Passionate

High price to pay for violence

(304A) JD 2/10/86

Political Perspective

by Andre du Toit

It is almost a decade since Ric Turner, a leading South African political scientist, was murdered in Durban on January 8, 1978.

Those who shared in his projects and tribulations — as friends, colleagues, students or comrades — knew him to be one of those exceptional individuals who actively contributed in word and deed to the transformation of our society.

In his publication The Eye of the Needle he expounded the necessity of utopian thinking, and his life testified to the real possiblity of autonomous, value-creating thought and action capable of transcending unjust structures and oppressive circumstances.

Accordingly his death, and especially the manner of it, came as a brutal shock which shattered many hopes and expectations.

The death of Richard Turner was one of those traumatic events which challenge the very assumptions by which we live: what is the nature of a society where such things can happen, and just where is it that we are heading?

Already that terrible event has been overtaken by so many others in what seems to be an ever-widening cycle of brutalising political violence and counter-violence.

We need only consider the proliferation of Red Letter days which now fill our political calendar: March 21, Sharpeville Day (and Uitenhage); May 1, Labour Day; June 16, Soweto Day; June 26, Charter Day; . . . and then we still officially have October 10 and December 16.

There is also the lengthening list of political martyrs: Steve Biko, Ric Turner, Neil Aggett, Matthew Goniwe to name only a few.

Nor should we forget that there is another list which includes the names of Dr Verwoerd and the victims of the Pretoria bomb and the Amanzimtoti blast.

At one level we are certainly not allowed to forget the ravages of our recent history. In the most extreme cases, such as the township funerals for victims of security actions — which prove the natural occasion for popular rallies resulting in further victims from renewed security actions and thus in still more funerals — the historical cycle closes in a stark ritual of self perpetuating violence and suffering.

Yet at another level too much of our recent political thinking and practice remains resolutely and blandly forward-looking only.

For the last decade and more we have been living in the era of "change". And "change," whether officially defined in terms of some version of "reform", or popularly projected in terms of some set of "revolutionary" expectations, is very much forward-looking.

It is concerned with the present and the past only in so far as these have to be dismantled and transformed into something new and different. The reformist policies of the government are now officially and authoritatively premised on the historical fact that "apartheid is outdated", and the various hierarchies of experts and technocrats in the Department of Contitutional Planning and Development are devising ever more intricate and elaborate constitutional schemes that will take us one more step in the right direction

At the same time there is a proliferation of academic conferences, research groups and topical books all concerned with "South Africa beyond apartheid", generating ever more possible scenarios or agendas of alternative options for the not-so-distant but still elusive future.

And meanwhile popular activists remain convinced that, whatever blows and setbacks they may currently suffer and in spite of the terrible costs exacted by their struggle, still somehow history is on their side: they will be vindicated and all the difficult issues will be resolved in the elusive revolutionary future.

The objective of "change" for reformist and revolutionary alike is thus defined in forward-looking terms as the problem of how to bring about the new. The present and the past need not concern us, except as that which must be overcome.

There are two features of this forward-looking concern with "change" which should be noted. In the first place there is the elusive character typical of much if not most of such future-oriented discourse. Reformist policies as much as revolutionary programmes require to be largely taken on trust. The future, like the horizon, steadily retreats before the advance of sophisticated academic scenarios and continually escapes the rising tide of popular expectations.

DR RIC TURNER

And this must necessarily be so because the future, unlike the present and the past, cannot be explored in concrete detail

In the second place our forward-looking concerns with future change and transformation typically lack any real experience of violence and suffering We look at the future for a solution to the problems and the injustice of the past· it must supply the answer to the violence and suffering which continue in the present.

At best we may realise that the coming transformation will have its inevitable costs. Revolutions are violent affairs and even the process of reform will unleash heightened expectations and a reactionary backlash resulting in violent conflicts. But projected into the future such considerations have an inevitably abstract quality, unlike the trauma of actual violence which victims must suffer.

The brutal cutting short of the personal and more general projects of someone like Ric Turner, especially if it is an act of political violence, raises the profound question of how innovative and creative enterprises can be made to endure historically, especially in a hostile and violent social environment.

In a sense this is the counterpart of the popular concern with "change", but now within a reversed perspective: the problem is not so much how to overcome the present in order to bring about something new, but rather how it is possible to sustain the innovative projects of the present and to ensure that they will last into the future.

Such political violence constitutes a basic challenge to the very meaning of social action unless we can find appropriate ways to give meaning to that violent history.

Part of the difficulty is that the spread of political violence is such an ambiguous and debilitating historical force. The immediate effects of violent actions are quite obvious and even sensational The destruction, pain, suffering and death is there for all to see.

But the way in which continued political violence works on society is much less obvious. One result may be that we are no longer allowed to see the destruction and death, and even that we do not want to know of the suffering and pain.

And this social denial of the reality of political violence is in fact even more insidious and dangerous. We need only think of the recent histories of Crossroads, Kwandebele and Alexandra, and of the nature of our public response to these human tragedies, or rather the lack of it, to realise how far we have already gone down this road

At this present time South Africans might do well to look to the example of Argentine. There, too, an entire society had been drawn into an insidious nightmare of political violence which seemed to know no bounds or measure. Only now that the official reports are being published in works such as Nunca Mas (Never Again) is the full scope and dimensions of the arbitrary terror and torture and the enormous extent of death and suffering beginning to be known.

But the point is that the breaking of the silence, and the bringing to trial and punishment of those responsible under regular court procedures and in public, serve as ways of coping with that intolerable loss and of restoring a measure of meaning to what had been undone by senseless violence.

Of course that has only been possible because President Alfonso's civilian and democratic regime has taken over from the military junta.

In South Africa we have, for the present, to seek ways of addressing the historical challenge of the turn to political violence within the coercive constraints set by the State.

We are living in a state of emergency. We have yet to find the ways of coming to terms with its history, of which the death of Richard Turner is one small but crucial part.

(Professor Du Toit teaches political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch. The above article was extracted from his Richard Turner Memorial Lecture, given at the University of Natal, Durban, September, 1986).

All opinions expressed on this page — excepting the leading article (Editorial Opinion) — are those of the individual writers and do not necessarily reflect the views of the newspaper.

Nats back reform, but how and when?

2/10/86 (304A) STAR

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — The National Party provincial congresses have ended with a Government commitment to continuing reform in all spheres of life but with no details of how this is going to be brought about.

The congresses did, however, yield several important developments. These included:

- A definite softening on the position of segregated residential areas and schools, with the Government still committed to these concepts in principle but on the basis of where it is practicable and possible.

President Botha paved the way for integrated suburbs on the basis that the Group Areas Act should be made more flexible. He said he did not object to affluent areas being opened to everyone but that this could not be allowed in working class suburbs.

- The Separate Amenities Act is obviously on its way out after Mr Botha's declaration that he had never thought it was necessary.
- Chinese South Africans are to get the vote, but they will have to decide for themselves with which population group they wish to identify themselves.
- A new financial management system which includes a five-year plan and a 10-year forecast with regard to State expenditure is to be introduced in next year's Budget.
- The Deputy Minister in charge of black education, Mr Sam de Beer, told the Cape congress that the binding power of sport, especially at school level, could play a mighty role in the country's heterogeneous society.
- The R4 000 million Lesotho Highlands Water Project has been agreed to in principle by South Africa and Lesotho.
- The Government has accepted the desirability of a Bill of Rights, although this must take into account both individual as well as group rights.
- The Natal/kwaZulu Indaba was given sympathetic treatment, with the Government committing itself to a referendum of all the people of the region if any proposals for a sharing of power in the region became a reality.

Early election speculation

The Nationalist congress season opened with an extraordinary federal congress in Durban in August at which five resolutions outlining broad party policy on economic development, constitutional reform, regional relations and law and order were adopted.

It ended with the Cape National Party congress in East London this week.

Highlights of the congresses included the rise and fall of feverish speculation about an early election and an internal party polemic about group residential areas and segregated schools.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe of the NP's federal information directorate said in an interview yesterday that the National Party had been through a process of rapid change.

It needed a breathing space to catch up with itself.

Dr van der Merwe added that the Nationalists had absorbed shocks of the recent past, including foreign pressure and domestic violence.

It is clear that to the Nationalist insiders the congresses were important events aimed at stabilising the party at a time of great pressure on the Government but to the many millions of ordinary South Africans whose lives are governed by the policies adopted, the gatherings were disappointing with regard to endemic unrest and prospects for constitutional negotiations with black leaders.

No thought of retiring, says PW

Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — The State President, Mr Botha, said on the first breakfast TV programme yesterday that he had never thought about retiring from public life.

Instead, he said, he had plans to restore peace and stability to South Africa by 1988 — a year which would be important for the country.

After that he would take a decision on whatever happened. His continued service as the country's chief executive would depend on his health and circumstances.

Mr Botha told interviewer Andre le Roux that his resignation as MP for George two years ago and his stepping down as leader of the Cape National Party did not mean he was bowing out of public life.

He had been obliged to resign George in terms of the constitution when he was elected State President. His decision to step down as party provincial leader was a rearrangement of his priorities.

Mr Botha said he was still the overall leader of the National Party and, as such, was required to have regular consultations with the party's four provincial leaders.

"I think my colleagues wanted me to have a more balanced approach to the provinces and not just as the leader of one of the provinces."

Mr Botha said he intended to continue as executive State President, giving attention to national interests and striving for better group relations as far as possible.

"I have never thought of retirement. I want to continue with the help of friends and mercy from above," he said.

Asked whether 1989 (the latest date at which an election can be called in terms of the constitution) was a personal target, Mr Botha said: "That is far away. I don't want to talk about it now. But 1988 is an important date for the country because it will have been 150 years since the Great Trek. It is also the date on which we will celebrate Dias's landing in Southern Africa as well as the arrival of the Huguenots.

"We must make South Africa peaceful and stable so we can celebrate these occasions.

"I will decide later what happens after that. I cannot say that, if there is an election and I am asked to make myself available again, I will say no. It all depends on my health and circumstances which I cannot now determine."

FIN MAIL

ANC NEGOTIATIONS 3/10/86 304A

Magnus won't budge

Differences within the Cabinet as to how to deal with the African National Congress (ANC) have again emerged, this time against the background of British and US attempts to establish channels of communication between government and the banned organisation (*Current affairs* September 26).

At the National Party's federal congress in Durban last month, Foreign Minister Pik Botha almost pleaded for the ANC to make some form of significant peace gesture which would allow government to soften its line and get negotiations off the ground. It is known that Botha regarded his appeal, vague and ambiguous as it was, as an important and serious statement.

But Defence Minister Magnus Malan yet again appears to have closed the door on negotiations by questioning the need to talk to the ANC at all.

In an SABC TV interview, Malan said it was "naive" to think negotiation alone could solve SA's "terrorist problem."

He indicated that continuation of the current military campaign against the ANC's bases in neighbouring states was a key facet of the fight against terrorism.

"I cannot and will not associate myself with those groups who believe negotiations alone will solve terrorism. It is a naive simplification of the solution of a Soviet-inspired terror campaign," he said.

His comments came only days after the publication of an interview with Malan — conducted by UCT political scientist and historian Hermann Giliomee — appeared in the latest edition of *Die Suid Afrikaan*. In the interview, Malan was quoted as saying that he believed democracy was not a "relevant factor" for the "masses" (blacks) in SA.

"There is only a limited section (of the black community) that is really interested in political participation. I think that for the masses in SA, democracy is not a relevant factor. For them, the issue is the satisfaction of their own needs. These needs change from time to time and are exploited by the revolutionaries," he said.

Malan acknowleged, however, that it was vital to do away with the "grievances" in the black community through a programme of "evolutionary reform."

On television, Malan said SA needed to be able to act always from a "position of strength." While government is prepared to talk to its opponents, there is no question of negotiation about the transfer of political power to "revolutionaries."

"If the ANC wants to negotiate on the basis of its outmoded political and economic ideas which have not worked anywhere in the world, and least of all in Africa, can there really be any sense in talking to them?" he said.

Malan said the security forces would protect South Africans by allowing no buildup of "revolutionary activities" in neighbouring states, and by clamping down on such activities inside the country, whether terrorism or "political agitation."

In the magazine interview, he ruled out the possibility of a military coup in SA: "A military regime is not the solution for our problem, it is an evasion of the problem. A coup is totally un-South African and alien to our history and way of life. If the crisis occurs, we must tackle it. South Africans are the last people who will ever accept a coup, even though they some times talk lightly of the possibility."

Malan's latest comments came when British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe was holding talks with ANC leader Oliver Tambo, and only a couple of weeks before US Secretary of State George Shultz is due to meet ANC leaders for the first time. The meeting is scheduled for Lusaka during his planned southern African tour.

FCN MAIL 3/10/81

GENERAL ELECTION 304A

Keep 'em guessing

President P W Botha's decision to cool speculation about an early general election was probably influenced by a number of factors. Not least of them was the expected opposition from Transvaal Nationalist leader F W de Klerk and the near-chaotic state of many voters' rolls.

Early-poll gossip — initiated by Botha himself a few weeks ago — centred on this November or April next year as possible dates. But he told Cape Nationalists at their congress in East London this week that he did not intend calling an election this year. He took it no further, so speculation on a possible April poll will continue, although there seems no reason why Botha should interrupt the parliamentary session.

Further, the choice of Chris Heunis as new leader of the Cape National Party makes an early poll unlikely.

It is also possible that there will not be an early election at all — the next election for all three Houses of parliament is due in 1989.

Instead, parliament might pass legislation next year paving the way for black participation in central government and a referendum on the issue may be held later in the year.

It seems Botha decided to play cautious despite apparently favourable election conditions, such as a slightly improved economy, a lower unrest rate, and his party's by-election victory at Klip River.

De Klerk is known to want a delimitation before the next election. A number of Transvaal Nats — including a handful of Cabinet ministers — are in danger of losing their seats and want more time to re-organise their constituencies and rally support against the rightwing.

Foreigners

The main thrust of Botha's speech centred — once again — on the rejection of foreign interference in SA's affairs and the exposé of international duplicity and double standards. He again singled out Australia as an example and accused Bob Hawke's government of using sanctions against SA as a "desperate rescue attempt" to solve its own financial problems.

The "struggle against apartheid," said Botha, had become a "highly flourishing international business." Thousands of people around the world were "wasting their time with this destructive work. We also find politicians and officials whose political objectives depend on the continuation of the campaign against SA.

"That is one of the reasons the success achieved in the field of reform causes so much fear and panic among many of our critics," Botha said.

The State President again warned the world not to interfere in SA's "internal" affairs. He implied a tougher foreign policy by warning that in future SA would "guard her interests" in international relations because states and nations "have interests and not friends."

According to Botha, South Africans are "sick and tired of the treacherous tricks of subtle supporters of the Left, communism and socialism who try so hard to appear as if they are apostles of peace and defenders of democracy."

The *FM* has been edited to comply with the emergency regulations. Information may therefore be distorted, incomplete and misleading.

He warned that if government failed to achieve peace and democracy in SA, "those who make us fail will pay a very heavy price." Botha complained that despite government's efforts, it was blamed for the "so-called lack of progress" in the field of constitutional reform. "The truth is that the uncalled-for interference in our domestic affairs is one of the main causes of tension in SA," he said.

Botha said the missions to SA by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group and Britain's Geoffrey Howe had failed because they did not know how to go about "relieving tension" in SA. This could well be a warning to US Secretary of State George Shultz not to make the same mistakes on his forthcoming tour.

Botha said he wanted to make it clear that the demands made on his government in exchange for the withholding of sanctions had no bearing on the extension of his addresses to the National Party's federal congress in Durban in August, and to the other three provincial congresses already held.

The speeches have all been seen as slightly reactionary and more as efforts to consolidate support rather than pave the way for more significant reforms, particularly in the area of black participation in central political decision making.

As with the previous speeches there was no real message to black South Africans and no clear picture of how government hopes to solve the current crises. ■

FIN MAIL 3/10/86

THE WHITE RIGHT

Pact at hand?

With a general election for whites in the offing, the Conservative Party (CP) has accepted what amounts to unconditional surrender to the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) in the interests of forging a strong unity pact.

At the CP Cape congress in Port Elizabeth last weekend, deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg revealed a harder-than-ever apartheid line in spelling out where the party now stands..

It is almost purely Verwoerdian: no blacks in SA except as contract workers under a strict system of influx control; no black South African citizens; each "volk" with its own "homeland" (even ethnic divisions within existing townships); and no power sharing with blacks at any level.

While it may be a pipe dream, this is what HNP leader Jaap Marais has been waiting to hear. He now seems to have won the ideological battle with the CP after four years of skirmishes.

Rather than risk losing rightwing seats unnecessarily due to three-way contests between the CP, HNP and Nationalists, CP leader Andries Treurnicht (undoubtedly with a little persuasion from party colleagues) has eaten humble pie, clearly in the hope of a bigger prize further down the line.

An election is now likely to see a 50-50 split of seats between CP and HNP candidates, thereby maximising the rightwing's chances.

If the two parties then win more seats than the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), but with neither on its own having the edge over the PFP, a formal merger to facilitate their taking over as the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly — probably under a new name — is likely to be a mere formality.

However, suggestions are that neither Marais nor Treurnicht will be the men to lead the new party. Hartzenberg is a strong possibility.

Their inability to forge a lasting alliance until now has centred on ideological detail and resentment in the HNP that CP MPs stayed on in the NP for 13 years after former Prime Minister John Vorster started ditching Hendrik Verwoerd's grand apartheid plan. A personality clash between the two rightist leaders has also been suggested as a factor.

Although there have been agreements on a one-off basis, as in Sasolburg where a rightwing pact enabled Louis Stofberg to win the HNP's first seat in parliament last year, in other contests the two parties have battled each other as vehemently as they have the NP. To continue to do so in a general election would mean disaster for both rightwing groups.

Most election analysts believe the rightwing cannot win more than 40 to 50 seats at the outside.

Ironically, a rightwing official opposition could assist government in that the focus of criticism would then come from the Right and not the Left as it does now from the PFP. It could, therefore, make whatever moves are made on the "reform" path appear more significant than they do now. ■

NATIONAL PARTY

Who will succeed P W Botha?

P W Botha's decision to step down after 20 years as Cape leader of the National Party (NP) will undoubtedly intensify the struggle among aspirant successors to the State presidency.

His move, announced at the Cape NP congress in East London this week, clearly aimed to give Cape NP chairman Chris Heunis — who was elected leader to replace him — a stronger base from which to make his running for the top job.

Botha

Heunis

Viljoen

De Klerk

It is also the clearest indication yet that Botha is seriously considering retiring. Some observers believe he may step down within the next 18 months.

Botha gave pressure of duties as the main reason for his decision to quit as Cape leader, but it was clearly also a strategic move to help Heunis.

Rivals for the presidency are now expected to draw their battle lines even more clearly.

Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk remains the firm favourite. Heunis, now with the apparent public blessing of Botha, must rank second, with Gerrit Viljoen running third — although he could be chosen as a compromise between De Klerk and Heunis to avoid a party rift. Pik Botha looks very much an outsider at this stage.

Indications of De Klerk's preparations for the leadership struggle include his insistence that constituencies be redelimited before the next general election. Transvaal has more than half the country's 3m white voters, and some gerrymandering of previously loaded platteland seats must be a priority for De Klerk given the Right's strength in them.

The new delimitation could give the Transvaal up to 10 new seats; the Cape could lose about six. In theory, this would give De Klerk a possible 10 extra caucus votes and deprive Heunis of six. Obviously, some Transvaal seats could go to opposition parties, but De Klerk is apparently willing to take that chance.

Heunis is now expected to become more high profile than ever, while De Klerk, who seems to prefer low-key working behind the scenes, is likely to step up his lobbying.

While Viljoen and Pik Botha are not the major contenders, their supporters could be crucial to the final outcome — in much the same way that Pik Botha's supporters backed P W Botha to keep Connie Mulder out in the last party leadership contest.

Heunis' biggest problem is likely to be his relative unpopularity in caucus, which chooses the party leader. He is also the architect of government's esoteric reform programme, which seems to be crumbling.

P W Botha's decision to step down as Cape leader and, by implication, give his backing to Heunis, might help his position.

But De Klerk remains the man most likely to succeed. ■

KINROSS DISASTER

Miners in mourning

The call for a day of mourning in the mining industry on October 1, to mark the deaths of 177 miners in the Kinross disaster, was expected to receive massive backing as the *FM* went to press.

Preparations for the commemoration by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which called on all mineworkers to observe the day, appeared to be well advanced on Tuesday.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the United Democratic Front and the National Education Crisis Committee backed NUM's stand.

According to Cosatu, most of its affiliates called on their members to stage hour-long services, with some pushing for two-hour services at factories where they have a strong presence. The worker federation has demanded that no employees should suffer loss of pay or be victimised for participating in the commemorations.

On Tuesday, the Greater Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industries announced that all stores in the area would close at 1pm "in a show of solidarity" with NUM.

NUM's call has been favourably received by Gencor, the owners of the mine, which has indicated its willingness to allow employees on gold and coal mines to take a day's paid leave to mourn their colleagues.

The Chamber of Mines announced that its member mines would observe five minutes of silence — "the universal and time-honoured method of paying respect to the dead" — at noon on Wednesday. It was not clear whether the chamber's response would provoke a showdown with NUM.

Meanwhile, the disaster continues to be a source of conflict between NUM and Gencor. The union's most recent complaints relate to the underground tour of the scene of the accident, which Gencor arranged on Monday. NUM representatives were accompanied by two foreign mine safety experts.

Although the visit was useful, says NUM, its worth was diminished because:

- About 13 days had elapsed and the site had been substantially cleared;
- The party was too large. It consisted of some 60 people, including representatives of trade unions which have no members at Kinross, such as the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of SA and the African Mine and Allied Workers' Union;
- The visit was hastily conducted and the union's technical advisers did not have the opportunity to take basic measurements;
- Although management indicated that questions would be allowed after the visit, this did not occur; and
- The union is dependent on the company's favour for access underground.

"This state of affairs clearly impairs the union's ability to prepare for the inquiry and to protect the interests of workers generally in regard to safety," says NUM.

In response, Gencor spokesman Dawie de Beer told the *FM*: "NUM is not the only interested party in the mining industry. We received requests from many trade unions which wanted to know more about what happened at Kinross. We sincerely and honestly tried to afford all the visitors the opportunity to talk to management and, afterwards over snacks, they had full opportunity to speak to senior Gencor directors as well. If anybody wants further investigation or discussion, they are welcome to contact us." ■

GENERAL ELECTION

Keep 'em guessing

President P W Botha's decision to cool speculation about an early general election was probably influenced by a number of factors. Not least of them was the expected opposi-

Why PW backtracked on the election

WEEKLY MAIL 3-8/10/1986

A crowd of four thousand Inkatha supporters were bussed into Claremont, near Durban, to listen to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, decked out in traditional regalia, deliver his annual Shaka Day commemoration speech. The rally, heavily guarded by rifle-toting KwaZulu policemen, ended peacefully, despite fears of an attack by local 'comrades'

Picture: REUTER

Despite having triggered the spate of election rumours himself, the State President has now quashed speculation that a poll will be held in November. One reason is that the NP cannot find a black Allan Hendrickse to market its reform strategy. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

AN impasse in the government's search for a formula to accommodate blacks politically was a major reason why President PW Botha this week shied away at the eleventh hour from holding a general election at the end of November.

Instead of announcing a general election on November 26, as widely anticipated after the National Party victory in the Klip River by-election last month, Botha used his opening address to the NP Cape congress to quash speculation that a November election was in the offing.

Botha said: "There has been interesting speculation about the possible date for an election. But I want to end that now. I am not planning to call an election this year."

Having himself triggered the speculation by his remark in August to the federal congress of the NP that an election or referendum could take place sooner than many people expected, Botha offered NP loyalists the solace of homily: the NP would prove that it commanded majority support from the white voters in its own time.

The decision to defer the anticipated election at least until early next year came after a special meeting of Cabinet Ministers last weekend, according to the Afrikaans press.

Ministers who favoured delaying the election until 1987 offered two key arguments: their belief that the slight pick-up in the economy will have gained momentum by next year and their reluctance to seek a mandate from the electorate without concrete proposals on how to accommodate blacks politically.

The fate of Botha's proposed national statutory council is singularly pertinent.

Blacks have been invited to serve on it to give them a say in the formation of new "constitutional structures" for all South Africans and on laws affecting the black community in the interim.

But the planned statutory council, like the national forum and special cabinet constitutional committee before it, failed to elicit approval from key black leaders and organisations

Leaving aside extra-institutional political movements such as the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, the statutory council has, at best, met with conditional acceptance only by Inkatha, the National Federation of African Chambers of Commerce and the Urban Councils Association of South Africa. All these organisations have set the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela as a condition for their participation.

The NP has offered various assessments of its progress in seeking black co-operation.

Botha has characterised black response as "overwhelming" and his own mood as "optimistic." His Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Chris Heunis, has spoken glowingly of behind-the-scenes discussions with important leaders.

Neither, however, has offered detailed substantiation of their statements. The electorate is unlikely to be impressed with vague assurances of positive black reaction.

The NP, it seems, needs a black Allan Hendrickse to endorse its proposals before it can go to the polls with a strong chance of convincing the white electorate that its plan is viable.

Another key reason for the decision to jettison plans for an election before the end of the year was the disorganised, out-of-date state of the voters' rolls, with a major proportion of voters no longer living at the registered addresses on the rolls.

As an established party the NP needs to be able to trace voters to chivvy them along to the polls, as distinct from the old days when it could rely largely on appeals to *volk* and *vaderland*. Today it is the parties of the ultra-right who can rally their supporters with calls to blood.

Botha clearly inferred that the messy condition of the voters' rolls was a reason for postponing the election.

But, having ended one bout of intense speculation, Botha precipitated another by not making himself available for re-election as Cape leader of the NP, a position which he has held for the past 20 years. Chris Heunis was unanimously elected to succeed Botha as Cape NP leader.

The changes stimulated two streams of conjecture: first, that Botha, aged 70, was gradually divesting himself of public office and that his exit as Cape NP leader foreshadowed his retirement as national leader or *hoofleier* of the NP and ultimately as president; and second, that by stepping down in favour of Heunis, Botha had given his approval to Heunis as his successor as *hoofleier* and president.

But these deductions almost certainly go too far.

Botha is said to be strong physically and mentally and determined to exercise power for the immediate future. His decision to relinquish the Cape leadership has been on the cards ever since he was elected president in 1984. It represents a desire to project himself as a national leader, an image more in keeping with his office.

Heunis has certainly not lost by his elevation to Cape leader. It puts him on a par with FW de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the NP and, with Heunis, one of the leading contenders to succeed Botha when he retires. But it does not pre-empt the outcome in his favour. It merely raises his chances of success.

The succession race is far from over. The results of the next general election may determine the outcome.

A poor performance by the NP in the Transvaal, where the ultra-rightist challenge from Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and Jaap Marais' Herstigte National Party is strongest, may seriously damage De Klerk's chances of victory. At present he is considered the frontrunner by most political pundits.

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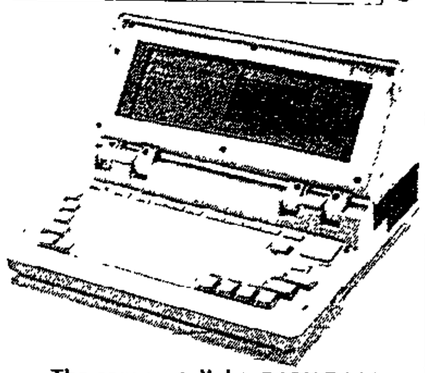

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CP attack on black population explosion

Political Reporter

THE Government should curb the activities of black leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who called on his people to have large families, comfortable in the knowledge that whites would have to foot the bill, the deputy Conservative Party leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said yesterday.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, Dr Hartzenberg said a recent Human Sciences Research Council report stating that ending influx control was a major step in reducing the black population explosion, confirmed that the HSRC was scientific in name only.

He said the report was another example of how taxpayers' money was used to drum up support for a National Party political decision which had caused a social upheaval of menacing proportions.

'The Government's so-called orderly urbanisation policy has turned out to be just another ploy devised to justify the expropriation of more and more white-owned land.'

ARGUS 5/10/86

304A

Heunis hands over 'hot potato'

Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has announced he would in future have overall responsibility "in a broad sense" for the provinces.

He would handle budgets and other provincial affairs in the Cabinet and Parliament on their behalf. Mr Heunis said this in a statement outlining changes in the power structure in his department and the transfer of posts involving a reduction in staff.

In reducing his staff from 1 700 people to 327, Mr Heunis has transferred major powers, including the administration of black affairs, to the new non-elected provincial administrations.

Mr Heunis said Parliament would now exercise more control over provincial affairs.

Budgets

Parliament would have to approve the budgets of the four provinces in the absence of the provincial councils.

The Administrator, MECs and the provincial secretary, in his capacity as accounting official in a specific province, could be called before standing committees of Parliament on finance and public accounts to account for their handling of provincial incomes and expenditures.

The powers to be handed over to the provinces retrospectively from October 1 are the administration of:

- The Black Local Authorities Act of 1982, which includes the administration of local government in black areas;
- The Black Communities Development Act of 1984, which includes black community and town development as well as leasehold and freehold schemes;
- The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951; and
- The issue of permits under the Group Areas Act of 1966.

The dismantling of major sections of the Department of Constitutional Development has met with strong criticism.

Progressive Federal Party constitutional authority Professor Nic Olivier said the envisaged standing committees of Parliament on provincial affairs would only be able to check provincial expenditure and proclamations issued by the provinces but would not be able to call them to account for their actual administration.

"The control of Parliament over black affairs has been seriously hampered and decreased. The provinces are not subject to public accountability."

Professor Olivier said the latest move followed a pattern of restricting democracy in constitutional reform.

"We have seen how the Government refuses to take responsibility for the parastatals like Escom. Will the same thing happen with the provinces?"

Unpopular

Mr Frank Martin, former senior elected member of the provincial executive committee in Natal, said the provinces had been given an unpopular "hot potato".

He questioned why the provinces for many years had no say over black affairs. He was particularly concerned about the powers being transferred before any blacks were appointed to the new executive committee.

And he did not know how the Government would achieve this as Kwazulu was opposed to a nominated political executive.

Mr Derrick Watterson, Natal leader of the New Republic Party, said the steps taken by the Governmemt was not devolution but merely delegation of powers.

"Mr Heunis is maintaining overall concern. The new executives are nothing more than glorified functionaries without any public accountability."

DD 3/10/86

PFP: speed up real change

304A

Dispatch Correspondent

EAST LONDON — Following a speech at the Cape National Party congress by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, in which he said the end of unrest in this country depended on the adoption of a political system which everyone wanted, the Progressive Federal Party has urged the government to stop dragging its heels and introduce real change to improve the quality of life of blacks.

The PFP's spokesman on black affairs, Mr Ray Swart, said Mr Le Grange's statement that whites should not be surprised if blacks threw stones at them be ause of the appalling conditions in the townships, was an indictment of his own government.

Mr Swart said Mr Le Grange had finally recognised that social and economic conditions in the townships were the cause of the unrest.

"In view of his late discovery, the government must stop dragging its heels and get cracking with real change to improve the quality of life of the people to whom he refers. Certainly, the state of emergency won't achieve this," Mr Swart said.

Mr Le Grange made the remarks when replying to a resolution calling for an analysis of the reasons for the current unrest and what the government was doing to end it.

Mr Le Grange said the unrest could not be stopped unless political and socio-economic development went hand in hand.

The government had voted millions of rands for the upgrading of townships and training of people but he believed the sooner a political system could be achieved which everyone wanted, the sooner the unrest would end.

The National Party's policies had always aimed at the upliftment of black people. If they had reached a certain stage of development in terms of these policies, they could not be denied the fruits of their development.

"If you do not give him his place in the South African sun you are sitting on a revolution," said Mr Le Grange.

"You cannot control the situation through the security forces alone."

People's welfare was an important aspect in stopping the unrest, and many blacks were living in terrible conditions.

Blacks skimped and saved to buy cars, but did not want to use them because of the conditions of the streets in their areas.

"Then we are surprised when they throw stones at us," said Mr Le Grange.

The unrest was the result of years of planning by a number of organisations in and out of South Africa under Soviet influence.

But there were other causes as well, such as social conditions, the economy, politics and casting suspicion on government initiatives.

Mr Le Grange did not believe the unrest would end soon but said the government's upgrading projects and other measures were bearing good results.

The number of "incidents" had declined but the "climate" was not yet as the government wanted it. He was convinced, however, that the government would succeed in solving the political issues.

Editorial opinion P 16

Groups will have to share, says Heunis

DD 3/10/86

304A

Dispatch Correspondent

EAST LONDON — Different groups would have to share power in central government on the basis of equality and not numbers, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Henuis, said here.

In a closing address to the Cape National Party congress, the newly elected provincial leader said that once the "discriminatory sting" was removed from group definitions the concept of self-determination for groups would find greater acceptability.

He said also that he preferred to describe "general" affairs as "national" affairs and to use the term "community" instead of "group" or "own" affairs.

South Africa was involved not only in political development, but development in all its facets. "The granting of political rights on their own can have tremendously destabilising consequences for society if social and economic development is not dealt with simultaneously," said Mr Heunis.

It was wrong to think that all development would automatically follow the acquisition of political rights. Nobody ever had the final answer to South Africa at any one given time and that was why the government was placing its "beacons" today in accordance with today's circumstances.

There was a great deal of opposition to the concept of group definition because it was seen as being synonymous with discrimination. "Originally it was not the definition of differentiation which led to this opposition but the experience of people that they would be favoured or prejudiced depending on which group they belonged to," said Mr Heunis.

"That is discrimination; discrimination which has stood in the way of the maintenance and broadening of basic human rights. That is why the government is working tirelessly to eliminate discrimination, not to negate the group basis of our society, but to bring about equality and equal participation".

This was the only way the negative connotations associated with "group" could be broken down. "When the discriminatory sting is removed from group definitions and equality is visibly recognisable, self-determination of groups will find greater acceptability," said Mr Heunis.

Structures to handle community affairs held no danger of domination of one group by another. The danger of domination came in dealing with national affairs and the creation of structures to do this. "That is why the government says that groups must share political power at central government level on the basis of equality and that they should co-operate for the good of the community so that domination cannot happen," said Mr Heunis.

"To achieve this, representation of groups in the central government, at executive and legislative level, cannot be based on numerical totals."

The solution to South Africa's problems lay in recognising the reality of groups and setting in motion a process which would enable the leaders of all groups to participate in decision making.

The proposed National Council was seen as an instrument to promote this process. In spite of unfavourable circumstances, a situation would have to be reached where leaders could meet each other as equals to work out a new constitution together in safety.

MR HEUNIS

Steyn: Back serious reform

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH. — The private sector would have to make it more obvious that it did not operate "hand-in-glove" with those who did not support serious reform in South Africa, the head of the Urban Foundation, Mr Jan Steyn, said yesterday.

In a paper read on his behalf to a conference on corporate social responsiblity at the University of Stellenbosch Institute for Futures Research, he said it was particularly important in terms of the sanctions question.

South African private sector resistance to grand apartheid was being queried overseas already. Was it merely making "opposition noises" while keeping the system alive?

Mr Steyn said it should never be found guilty of author Stanley Greenberg's charge that "The business community has had tunnel vision, at best indulging in reluctant, piecemeal tinkering with the system of racial domination and, at worst, collaborating in the erection of new mechanisms of domination".

Opening the conference, the director of the Institute for Futures Research, Dr Philip Spies, said that if business was to have a future in South Africa it needed more than self-interest.

Economist Milton Friedman's assertion that a businessman's sole responsibility was to make maximum profits for shareholders showed a "total lack of strategic insight".

The managing director of the SA Permanent Building Society, Mr Bob Tucker, said the socio-political system in South Africa was "severely stressed and critically close to the point at which it transforms into something totally different".

The role of the corporation as an independent unit struggling to outperform its competitors without a proper co-operative responsibility to the larger society had resulted in a system "winding down under its own weight, complexity and waste of energy", he said.

The industrial relations head of Anglo American, Mr Bobby Godsell, said socially responsible companies should promote the growth of unions which served as the "training colleges and universities of democracy".

The community programme co-ordinator of SA Breweries, Ms Mabel Rantla, said the future survival of companies might depend on effective corporate social responsibility.

The Cape chairman of the signatories to the Sullivan Code, Mr Arthur Swartz, said management through baasskap needed to be replaced by management through indaba.

Calling for a corporate social responsibility association to spearhead enlightened management practices, he said that too many multi-nationals in South Africa merely paid lip service to the need for change.

4/10/85 304A

WTE Post

Merger between CP, HNP not yet in sight

PRETORIA — Demands for an immediate merger with the Conservative Party were unrealistic, the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said last night.

At his party's congress he also rejected co-operation with the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, something underlined strongly by the HNP's only MP, Mr Louis Stofberg.

"A member of the HNP who joins the AWB automatically terminates his membership of our party... it has happened," Mr Stofberg said in reply to questions from the floor.

A possible merger of the HNP and the Conservative Party providing a united front against the NP in a general election, has been mooted following "promising and fruitful" talks between them.

Mr Marais said there were still "large differences" between the HNP and the CP and he wanted to make it clear that there would be no discussions on division of constituencies between the two until a general election was actually announced.

There were differences on the "Indian question" and on the language issue.

The CP seeks an Indian homeland, but the HNP wants "own" group areas for them, with "own" residential and business districts, more or less in line with the situation of non-independent homelands.

The CP opposes the HNP's stance that Afrikaans will eventually become the only official language, even though it now accepted the principle of bilingualism. — Sapa

Call for private sector to resist apartheid

4/10/86

Dispatch Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH — The private sector will increasingly have to demonstrate that it does not operate "hand-in-glove" with those failing to champion serious reform in South Africa, the head of the Urban Foundation, Mr Jan Steyn, said yesterday.

This was particularly important in relation to the sanctions question he said in a paper read on his behalf, to a conference on corporate social responsiblity, hosted by the University of Stellenbosch's Institute for Futures Research.

The question as to whether the South African private sector was resisting grand apartheid was already being asked overseas, he said.

A fundamental question was whether the private sector was merely busy making "opposition noises", while using its financial and industrial capacity to keep the existing system alive.

Opening the conference, the director of the Institute for Futures Research, Dr Philip Spies, said that if business was to have a future in South Africa, it needed a vision greater than self-interest.

The industrial relations head of Anglo American, Mr Bobby Godsell, said socially responsible companies should promote the growth of unions, as these organisations served as the "training colleges and universities of democracy."

Companies should become the centres for constructive dialogue between workers and management, on issues like sanctions and debates on capitalism and socialism.

The Cape chairman of the signatories to the Sullivan Code, Mr Arthur Swartz, said management through baasskap needed to be replaced by management through indaba.

ks up the pieces after billion rand sanctions hangover

'ASS THE REGMAKERS!

Oh, incidentally, you must know that we and the Russians have a lovely cartel fixing the price and marketing of diamonds. Not the Government here, but South Africans, private citizens. Can you think of any reason why, if we are really pushed, we can't do the same with chromium, manganese and platinum?

Read the Pakendorf letter to Reagan on Page 22

roeders y to get roeder cked up s insane

...oederbond is involved in an amazing up- town where a councillor claims he has ...imised.

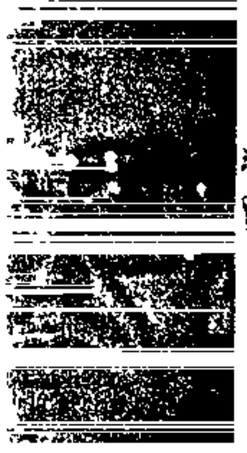
...illor, who is a member of the secret Afrikaner ... claims that two fellow Bond members tried to ...tified insane in a bid to stop him probing council

Preez says two doc... ...oederbond members, to get him locked up ... Health Act.

...series of events this the Transvaal town of ... – former seat of the Minister Dr Hendrik

... the local magis- ... refused to grant a ... against Mr du ... independent doctors ...ists had said there ... for the order.

... Mr du Preez, a ...g mayor, atten- ... meeting and de-



PREEZ ... claims wants to gag him

...POEL ... dis- ...own Secretary

By NEIL HOOPER

...manded a council probe into various controversial issues.

● At another council meeting on Wednesday, the nine-member council rejected "with contempt", by five votes to four, charges brought by four councillors against the town clerk, and a request that other matters be probed.

Mr du Preez told The Sunday Times that on Friday last week, two doctors, who he insists are fellow members of the Broederbond, came to his home and told him they were "arresting" him after finding that he was certifiable in terms of the Mental Health Act.

Mr du Preez has run the provincial hospital in Heidelberg for 14 years.

Divided

His "arrest" by the two doctors followed an attempt by Mr du Preez to persuade the council to investigate the dismissal of former town secretary Mr Fanie Swanepoel, as well as certain activities of the town clerk, Mr G Scholtz

Mr Swanepoel was suspended as town secretary on April 23, and last month was asked to resign after councillors levelled 20 charges against him Mr Swanepoel refused to resign and is taking the council to the Industrial Court.

The Heidelberg council is split over the Swanepoel dismissal, with three councillors backing Mr du Preez, and four supporting the chairman, Mr P J Fourie.

Last year, all nine supported Mr Swanepoel when he applied for the vacant post of town clerk, which is senior to that of town secretary.

Weskoppies

Mr Swanepoel was not appointed by the provincial selection committee and, in an address to the town council, said he believed he had lost the job because one of

Sunday Times Reporters

SOUTH African business is reaching for the economic regmaker in the wake of the billion-rand hangover dealt by a rampant United States Congress this week.

The crushing defeat of President Reagan's veto has opened the way to cutting R920-million in South African exports to the United States.

First analyses indicate this could affect 45 000 jobs and, if a snowball momentum develops, could put an extra million people onto the charity rolls

But, said Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday, the key to South Africa's survival will be diversification. And already scores of offers to buy South African goods or sell to South Africa have rolled into Government offices.

"You would be surprised at the sources," he said.

The Senate debate, meanwhile, is now shrouded in controversy as bitterly angry South African sources claim the intervention by Foreign Minister Pik Botha in the debate — slammed in the US Senate — was at the *request* of a senior senator.

Stockbrokers this week estimated export losses as a result of the ban at R920-million if the sanctions are kept tight. Among the high risk areas uranium, food (especially sugar), steel and iron products and bituminous coal

Reports are already emanating from South Africa's traditional trading competitors that they are making hay while the sanctions sun shines — the Australian stock exchange's all-resources index raced up 24,1 points and the gold index climbed a record 83,2 points

Confident

But, on the upside, the net loss compared with overall exports remains relatively small and South African producers are confident of being able to diversify and find new markets to take up at least some of the slack

South African Airways, meanwhile has taken steps to re-route its US-bound passengers — nearly 100 000 last year — through other capitals in the wake of the congressional decision which will cut landing rights

And, both South African and American quarters point to the bite the sanctions Bill places on the African National Congress to renounce violence in pursuit of its ends

A spokesman for the American Foreign Relations Committee, Mr Claude Allan, yesterday confirmed that the Bill called on both the South African Government and the

THE SMUG, THE STARVING AND THE GREEDY: P 7

ANC to renounce violence and commit themselves to democracy

The Comprehensive Anti Apartheid Bill offers about R120-million in aid to those "disadvantaged" by apartheid, but commits them to rejecting violence — particularly "necklacing" — in pursuit of their aims

It also offers a graduated relaxation of the measures, depending on how quickly the South African Government moves to soften its policies.

It is the positive aspects of the Bill which have meanwhile led Mr Botha to renew

TODAY

A NEW TV page, with a sparkling review of what's been, advice on what's to come . . . and your own Tellyviews: Page 21

WITH LOVE from LifeStyle . . . humour, food and the letters with a human touch: Page 24

YOUR prize crossword — now on Page 25 of Business Times

AND your favourite Holiday Guide: Page 24 and 25

"When ... should ...
* But I do afterwards...

* A handsome ... the hands of ... occasions one ... handy, as the ... need no ...

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It is the positive aspects of the Bill which have meanwhile led Mr Botha to renew his call for nationalist elements within the ANC to come forward to negotiate

The controversial Senate decision on Thursday — President Reagan's only congressional defeat on a foreign policy issue — has meanwhile unravelled into an angry tit-for-tat between congressional and South African sources.

At the centre of the row

☐ To Page 2

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted by regulations promulgated under the state of emergency declared by the Government on June 12 1986. The normal flow of news, comment and pictures has been affected, but the Sunday Times will endeavour to publish as much information as is possible within the law.

☐ With love from Lifestyle . . . humour, food and the issues with a human touch: Page 24

☐ Your prize crossword — now on Page 25 of Business Times

☐ AND your favourite Holiday Guide: Page 24 and 25

"When introduce
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* But I do kno
afterwards."

Sanctions: It's the morning after

Sunday Times 30/6/86

☐ From Page 1

are Mr Pik Botha's last-minute telephone calls to various senators urging them to oppose the override and warning of the implications of sanctions for the Southern African region.

The view from Washington is that President Reagan's slim chances of stopping the sanctions juggernaut were dealt a death blow by Mr Botha's efforts.

Even Treasury Secretary and former White House Chief of Staff Mr James Baker III asserted that Mr Botha's phone calls to two senators, threatening to stop South African imports of US grain, helped create a Senate backlash against White House efforts at persuading undecided Republicans.

Both of the senators called off the floor to take Mr Botha's call — Senator Edward Zorinsky and Senator Chuck Grassley — voted to override the veto, and a third — Senator Mark Andrews of North Dakota — said it was the call that persuaded him to go for an override.

He had been leaning towards sustaining Mr Reagan's veto, he said, until he heard about what he called Mr Botha's "cheap trick".

But most observers said they couldn't say just how far Mr Botha's intervention damaged what already looked like a lost cause.

But indignant South African sources claim Mr Botha's calls were at the invitation of a senior senator who provided the names of "waverers".

The South African version is that the anti-sanctions lobby was only a handful of votes short of the number needed to support the President.

Mr Botha's calls, they claim, persuaded two of them to support the President.

The sanctions decision has meanwhile sparked other responses.

In New York, Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe warned that if South Africa took counter-sanctions against his country, he would cut pensions worth R252-million to former Rhodesian nationals — and would nationalise their interests.

British and West German spokesmen, however, have indicated their governments will not alter their opposition to sanctions moves in the wake of the congressional victory.

● US ambassador Herman Nickel left Johannesburg yesterday, warning that the sanctions decision was a setback, but did not mean the end of constructive engagement.

Manufa

PW tells AWB: renounce violence

(304A) 6/10/87

JOHANNESBURG — President P. W. Botha has told the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, that he would meet him once the organisation had convinced him it rejected violence.

An AWB spokesman confirmed yesterday that President Botha and Mr Terre'Blanche had been corresponding.

President Botha and his cabinet colleagues have drawn parallels between the AWB and the African National Congress (ANC) because both organisations are "violent and radical".

The AWB spokesman said Mr Terre'Blanche had assured President Botha his organisation did not propagate violence against the state.

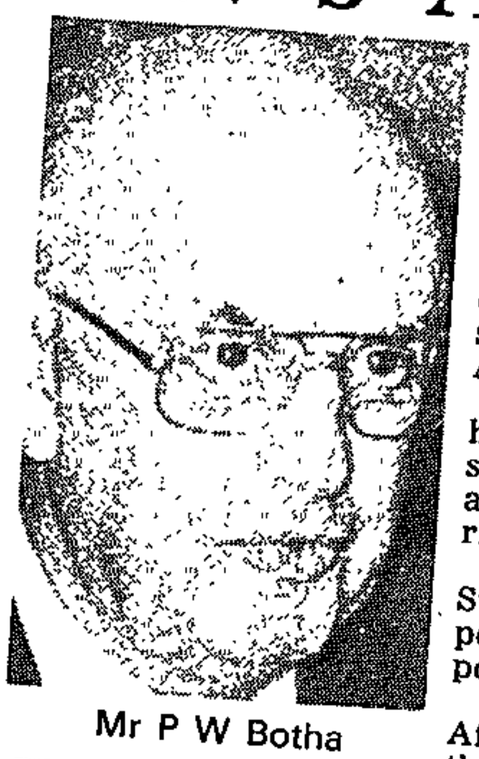
If Mr Botha decides to see Mr Terre'Blanche it is likely to increase pressure for him to also meet with the ANC. — Sapa

Temporary truce after PW's AWB indaba?

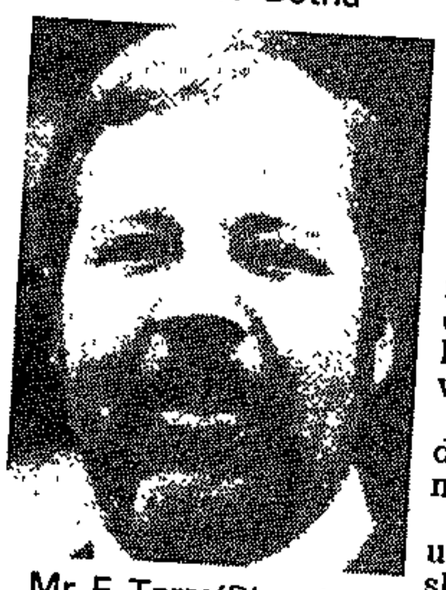
Cape Times 6/10/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

30KA



Mr P W Botha



Mr E Terre'Blanche

THE imminent meeting between President P W Botha and fiery AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche could lead to a temporary lull in the bitter war of words between rival Afrikaner factions.

But political observers do not see the surprise one-on-one meeting as paving the way for any long-standing truce or a new era of tribal unity among Afrikaners.

The fact that the meeting is to go ahead at all is, however, significant, and reflects desire on both sides to establish a modus vivendi amid the enmity and divisiveness that has become a hallmark of right-wing white politics in South Africa.

The indaba — disclosed by Rapport after the Sunday newspaper gained access to private correspondence between the two leaders — was made possible by concessions on both sides.

Mr Botha extended an invitation to the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader on condition that he forswore violence, to which Mr Terre'Blanche replied that the AWB did not stand for or advocate violence against the State.

On the government side, Mr Botha has agreed to meet the leader of an organization labelled only recently by his senior cabinet colleagues as "violent and barbaric" and as dangerous as the banned ANC.

However, getting the increasingly militant AWB to reject violence against the State must come as a considerable relief for Mr Botha, who in the past has undertaken to talk with opponents who abandon violence as a political tool.

President Botha's office has declined to give a date for the meeting, saying that it does not comment on Mr Botha's private meetings.

Mr Terre'Blanche has indicated that he plans to use to meeting to discuss the ban on police membership of the AWB and land questions affecting the possible establishment of a Boer Republic.

Irish academic says there's time for 11th-hour change

SA govt has solution to problems in its hands

DD 30/4/86

CAPE TOWN — The South African Government, unlike the rulers of Israel or Northern Ireland, held the solution to its political problems in its own hands, the deputy chancellor of Trinity College in Dublin, Dr Connor Cruise O'Brien, said yesterday.

Dr O'Brien, a former Irish Foreign Minister who has worked and studied in Israel and written on its political situation, said at the Cape Town Press Club that while he believed there was nothing which could radically alter the position in Israel and Northern Ireland, the situation in South Africa was less intractable.

It was not a hopeless situation, although it was a difficult one. He admitted he had said in an article that armed intervention was the logical solution to an intractable white regime.

However, should the government "at the last minute of the 11th hour, suspend the constitution and, supported by the military, institute non-racial elections — and I do not believe that they will do so before then — they could retain a large section of power".

Dr O'Brien said he did not foresee, after elections under the auspices of the ruling government, that it would simply be a case of a "united black mass versus the minority whites" which would result in total white disenfranchisement.

However, if it were left until United Nations or superpower-backed intervention along the lines of that applied to Katanga, then white fears of disenfranchisement could well come to pass.

Dr O'Brien is on a five-week lecture exchange at the University of Cape Town's political science department.

The former editor of The Observer said South Africa was locked into a demographic situation where increasing numbers of young unemployed blacks were coming into a market in which there was no work for them.

He drew a parallel between them and the youth of the Northern Ireland town of Strabane, where there was a 35 per cent unemployment rate — "yours is worse and going to get worse still".

The Irish youth coming onto a flooded job market joined the Irish Republican Army because it gave them status, made them feel brave and patriotic, gave them money and the feeling of power gained from carrying a gun and "makes the girls look at them in another light than if they were just another Joe Soap.

"For the same reasons you are going to find more and more youth joining the comrades who are going to become increasingly more enterprising," Dr O'Brien said.

DR O'BRIEN

"You are in for a period a lot worse than anything you have experienced so far."

However, because of the diversification of interests among the black population, he did not believe that, if the rulers of the country were to hold non-racial elections, a united black mass would emerge.

Not all Zulus would vote for the African National Congress. A large section would support the Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The "quietist" Zionists and the township "fathers" did not sound to him like people who would allow the "comrades" to determine their political affiliations.

There was also the large rural vote with tribal affiliations to homeland leaders.

In fact, a non-racial legislature could well not change very much in character and political philosophy from the present one.

He said the increase in outside pressure on the government following reform initiatives was because the initiatives had been weak.

"Were I part of the establishment, I would be inclined to urge them to go the whole hog."

The white government could remain in power now only by using increasing violence to suppress the violence against it.

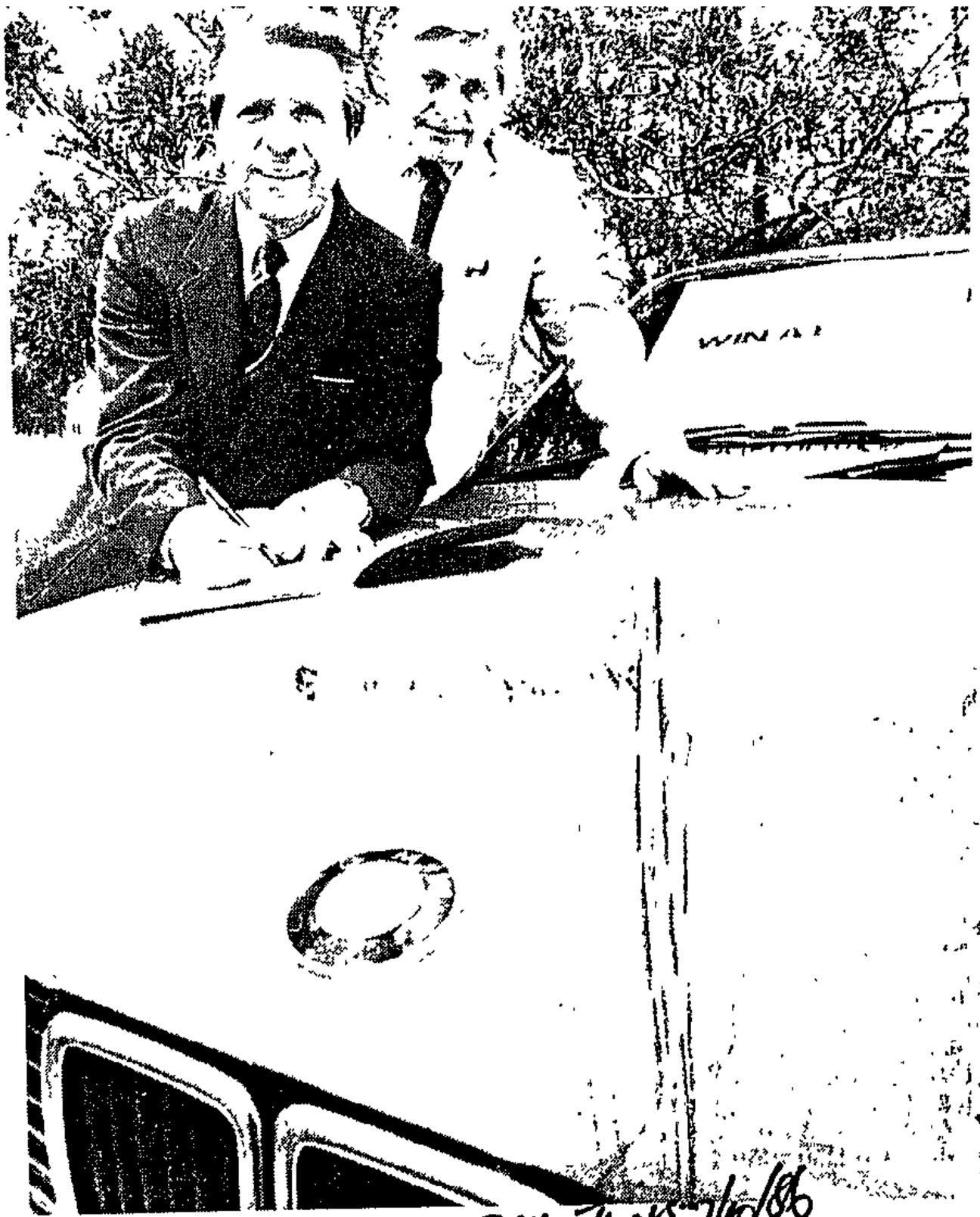
However, a combined government, such as he believed would come to power if non-racial elections were initiated by the Afrikaner-dominated establishment, would not only satisfy the pressures from within and without, but would also be able to deal far more effectively with township violence.

Asked if he knew of any other government in the world that had given up its power, he replied governments would give up power only if the alternative to loss of power were even less attractive. It was a case of taking the lesser evil.

The rulers of South Africa could never institute non-racial elections as long as they were answerable to a white electorate.

They would need to suspend the constitution with the support of the military and rule by decree until non-racial elections had established a new government.

"But if this is done, it will be at the last minute of the 11th hour," Dr O'Brien said. — Sapa



Gary Player yesterday bought the first 10 tickets in the Community Chest's car competition. The chest hopes to raise R150 000 from the competition, with the proceeds distributed to 162 welfare organizations. Picture: STEWART COLMAN

CAPE TIMES 7/10/86

Sanctions are penance for silence — Player

By CHRIS ERASMUS

SANCTIONS are probably not the way to force change on South Africa — but maybe South Africans deserve some punishment to remind them that everyone has a right to a place in the sun, says golfing superstar Gary Player.

Player is in the Cape to design a new golf course at Worcester.

At the launch of a Community Chest charity drive at Parow Golf Club yesterday, he spoke earnestly about the need for South Africans to learn to communicate effectively with each other and with the outside world.

"We are a nation with many fine qualities, but we are not the best communicators in the world," he said.

"We have to get all our people together, sit down at a table and communicate, negotiate. We've got to talk — we've got to have policy which ensures that everyone has a place in the sun."

And to do that properly, people like Mr Nelson Mandela had to be released.

"To find the true answer to our problems we are going to have to meet everyone, otherwise it (the unrest) is going to go on, and how much longer do we want it to go on for?

"How do I answer when I'm overseas and someone says they read about a black man working for a farmer for 30 years. The farmer died and yet his workers weren't allowed into the church to pray with the rest of the community.

"To me that's cruel and indefensible — I don't even try and argue against criticism of that sort of thing."

Referring to reform, Player said South Africans had been making changes but the process had to continue.

"I feel we got to a certain stage and then seemed to stop, but once you are committed you've got to go for it — whether you lose votes or not."

He expressed concern that there should be greater fairness in the distribution of the country's wealth.

"If a black man, or a coloured man or an Indian or a Jew or an Afrikaner can beat me at golf he must get all the prize money. And the same must apply to anything in life."

Interview

High on this globe-trotting sportman's schedule for the next few years will be to keep on golfing on the senior circuit, designing new golf courses around the world, breeding horses and working with youth projects.

"At the moment I'm doing a lot of golf course architecture in the US, Japan, South Africa and other countries — I love building golf courses because it leaves something behind for people to enjoy in years to come.

"Being a farmer with an affinity for the land, it's wonderful to create something, particularly out of bad ground like in Japan where one is asked to build golf courses on mountain tops."

Fillip for proposed council

THE two presidents of the newly formed moderate black political party, the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP), are believed to be two of a handful of black leaders who have indicated a willingness to sit on the proposed National Statutory Council (NSC).

The party could solve government's dilemma by supplying one category of candidate needed for the NSC — "urban black leaders" — which it has not been able to fill as yet because of rejection of the proposals by most black leaders.

UCCP presidents Thamasanqa Linda, a former Port Elizabeth mayor, and Bishop Isaac Mokoena, life president of the black Reformed Independent Churches Association (Rica), indicated at a Press conference yesterday they did not reject the principle of the NSC.

The UCCP — formed by town councillors and members of the independent black-church movement — will also be launched in London this week when the two men address the Conservative Party congress. They plan to appeal for funds and campaign against sanctions and disinvestment.

Linda said they were still awaiting the blueprint for the NSC before deciding whether to take part in it.

The NSC is government's only existing plan to get negotiation with blacks off the ground and to include them in the decison-making process.

De Klerk gets mixed response to policy talk

STAR 8/10/86 (304A)

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

A major policy speech on the "New South Africa" by Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk drew mixed reaction today.

Mr de Klerk, who is also Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly and Minister of National Education, made the speech to the Swiss-South African Association in Zurich last night.

Mr de Klerk clearly outlined where the National Party was taking the country.

Urban blacks would get their own legislative assemblies with ministerial councils and autonomy on a wide range of subjects.

The final outcome of the Government's constitutional plans would be a number of high-level authorities with decision-making powers in many fields.

There would also be joint governmental institutions in which all groups would be represented. These would make joint decisions on matters of common concern.

IMPORTANT REVIEW

Mr Chris Rencken of the National Party's information directorate said today it was an important review of Government policy.

He added: "Mr de Klerk has brought together the various announcements made by the State President, Mr Chris Heunis (Minister of Constitutional Development) and himself in recent months in a lucid way.

"This is important to people at home and abroad who might not have been able to bring the loose strands together."

But the Progressive Federal Party criticised Mr de Klerk's announcement of own legislative assemblies and ministerial councils for urban blacks.

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, said this would perpetuate segregated political structures.

Professor Nic Olivier, Constitutional Development spokesman for the PFP, asked why it would be necessary to have the National Council if this system was to be implemented.

● See Page 17.

ARGUS
sday October 8 1986 3

3044

De Klerk's urban blacks plan under fire

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

NEW details of Government thinking on political rights for blacks came under fire today because they appeared to perpetuate segregated political structures and placed a question mark over the proposed national council.

Opposition reaction came to a speech by the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly, Mr F W de Klerk, in Zurich in which he said the Government planned to give urban blacks their own legislative assemblies and executive ministerial councils with full autonomy on a wide range of subjects.

Mrs Helen Suzman MP said the sentiments expressed by Mr de Klerk, who is also Transvaal National Party leader, repeated the Government's policy of group identification.

The Government therefore remained locked into segregated political structures which were totally unacceptable.

FRANCHISE

The Government would simply have to go back to the drawing board to revise its basic philosophy, said Mrs Suzman.

Mr Nic Olivier, nominated MP of the Progressive Federal Party and a former professor in comparative African law and administration at the University of Stellenbosch, said it was not clear what the function of the proposed national council would be if Mr de Klerk came with such details before it had even got off the ground.

Mr Olivier said the crux of the matter remained the franchise for blacks and representation in Parliament.

In his Zurich speech, Mr de Klerk said the Government did not aim for the maintenance of established (white) rights only, but also for the extension of equal opportunities and rights to all South Africans.

Mr de Klerk said the final outcome of the Government's constitutional plans would be a number of high-level authorities with full decision-making powers in respect of a wide range of subjects of particular interest to the various groups or areas electing them.

EVENING PO

New peace group launched

By DENISE BOUTALL

A NEW organisation to monitor the political situation — particularly in the townships — and to promote peaceful change, has been launched.

Called Operation Real South africa it was initiated by the Progressive Federal Party but will function independently.

Orsa's Eastern Cape executive director, Mr Rory Riordan, took up his post on October 1.

The organisation hopes to act as a bridge for communication, a force for negotiation and reconciliation, a mediator and a conduit to bring home the realities of SA to Parliament.

According to a statement released today Orsa's objectives are:

- To reduce violence and help create the preconditions for peace and reconciliation between all South Africans;
- To become deeply involved in all communities in respect of communication, demonstrable concern and joint projects;
- To mediate in the face of violence, threat and intimidation;
- To use the parliamentary shield and allied resources to protect the weak, expose injustice and prevent violence and
- To become a resource centre and information bank.

304A

D.D. 8/10/86

Slabbert: govt finds it can end apartheid

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The government had discovered it could dismantle apartheid in important respects without sacrificing white domination, the former Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said in the Durban City Hall last night.

Addressing his second public meeting since resigning from Parliament in February this year, Dr Slabbert spoke to more than 1 000 people at a meeting organised by several groups including the United Democratic Front, the End Conscription Campaign and Black Sash.

He said until the government was prepared to accept that white domination had to go, no reforms or changes would satisfy the demands of the majority of South Africans.

Dr Slabbert said the government was moving towards a multiracial society in which different races were brought into government on the National Party's terms when what was needed was a non-racial, democratic society.

"Non-racialism does not deny there might be different racial and other groups, but does not use this as a basis for planning the future."

He said the tricameral system was not able to lead to a non-racial society because it entrenched racial divisions.

Dr Slabbert said the government used co-option and coercion to get people to participate in its new structures.

"It is easy for white people to be seduced to think these will solve our problems. The government says, 'after me there is suicide,' but we have to say to people, 'after them the future begins for all of us'."

He said the right climate would have to be created to allow negotiation on a non-racial, democratic South Africa and this meant the unbanning of political organisations, the release from jail of the organisations' leaders, the allowing of freedom of association and the repeal of all racist laws.

"I can't believe it that the rand can be 34 cents to the dollar, we can have sanctions, a state of siege internally and the government can still say, 'if you don't support us, you'll be in trouble'," Dr Slabbert said.

A past president of the SA Council of Churches, the Reverend Peter Storey, said apartheid was atheistic because it refused to accept trust in God and was idolatrous because it put the interests of one race before the demands of God.

The right and righter agree to disagree

By PATRICK LAURENCE

RELATIONS with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging have emerged as a major problem in the unity talks on the ultra-right between the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party.

While differences over the AWB have surfaced as an obstacle to unity on the far right, President PW Botha has agreed in principle to hold face-to-face talks with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche.

The HNP has taken a tough line on the AWB, forbidding its members from joining the neo-fascist movement. The CP, in contrast, allows its members to join the AWB.

The HNP's sole MP, Louis Stofberg, told the HNP congress last week: "A member of the HNP who joins the AWB automatically terminates membership of our party. It has happened already."

Veteran HNP leader Jaap Marais told Weekly Mail yesterday that the AWB's rejection of parliamentary democracy and the party political system was incompatible with HNP policy.

The AWB had already registered as a political party under the name Blanke Volkstaatparty, Marais said, adding that there was no way membership of two parties with different policies can be reconciled.

Marais was sceptical of the AWB's disavowal of violence as a political instrument, arguing that the AWB's rejection of the parliamentary system implied that it favoured a *coup d'état* as the means of achieving power and the use of force to retain it.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht, however, affirmed in an interview with Weekly Mail that CP members can — and do — join the AWB.

He accepted AWB assurances that it was opposed to the use of violence in the pursuit of power and that its vigilante wing, Boerebrandwag, was not a military organisation *per se*.

The existence of the AWB-founded Blanke Volkstaatparty did not worry Treurnicht, as it was a dormant party which existed on paper only.

But Treurnicht's tolerant — his foes would say expedient — attitude towards CP members joining the AWB rested on an important qualification: the CP expected its members to give it first priority in the event of any divergence of view with the AWB.

There is an element of irony in the contrasting attitudes toward the AWB by the HNP and the CP. Terre'Blanche was a member of the HNP before founding the AWB in a garage in 1973, having stood as an unsuccessful HNP parliamentary and provincial candidate in Heidelberg.

Meanwhile, however, Botha has agreed to meet Terre'Blanche, following an exchange of six letters in the past five months.

In one of his letters to Botha — extracts of which were published in Rapport — Terre'Blanche unconditionally rejected violence. Botha set renunciation of violence by the AWB as a condition for the meeting.

Terre'Blanche earlier expressed regret that Botha was willing to see militant black leaders and "even Marxists" but not him. Terre'Blanche was responding to Botha's contention that South Africa can tolerate far-left and far-right extremists less than ever at present.

Botha expressed disquiet over certain AWB actions and speeches, and over its insignia — presumably the swastika-like composition of three-sevens and the nazi-like eagle — saying that they created a militarist and unAfrikaans image. "You are placing a small group of people in a one-way street of false expectations," Botha said.

Botha's comment about the AWB displaying an unAfrikaans image must have touched a raw nerve in Terre'Blanche.

He sees the AWB as the custodian of pristine, Afrikaner values, its aim being the re-establishment of the 19th century Boer Republics. He contends, however, that the ruling National Party has betrayed those values, having told bewildered supporters of the NP at Pietersburg in May — when the AWB broke up an NP rally — that they were no longer Afrikaners.

Terre'Blanche plans to discuss the ban on policemen joining the AWB when he meets Botha. Terre'Blanche is a former policeman. He volunteered to serve in Namibia and was a member of a special unit which guarded the residences of the Prime Minister and President in the 1960s.

The AWB has been assiduous in its praise for the police. Terre'Blanche, however, once described the Law and Order Minister as a "dandy," a label which in the robust Afrikaner tradition is hardly flattering.

The Botha-Terre'Blanche meeting should elicit an interesting exchange of views. Unfortunately for political pundits however, Botha has stipulated that he will only see Terre'Blanche if there are no demonstrations and cheap publicity. Terre'Blanche has agreed.

9/10/86 SUNDAY

New storm brews between Du Plessis and businessmen

● DU PLESSIS

MAX DU PREEZ and ALAN FINE

A NEW storm is brewing between Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and the business community after he reportedly threatened certain top businessmen because of their anti-apartheid activities.

The *Financial Mail* Washington correspondent reported that Du Plessis said of businessmen who were lobbying for more pressure on SA: "We know who these people are. We hear their voices on the BBC and see their pictures with Oliver Tambo in London and Lusaka.

"And we know what to do with them." He identified the business people as "certain bankers, some of the mines and most of those Johannesburg merchants".

The *Financial Mail* said Du Plessis said he would "make them put their case to their colleagues in a great forum" — a possible reference to the President's proposed meeting between government and business scheduled for next month.

But an angry Du Plessis said from his hotel in Geneva last night: "I have heard about the report. It is absolute nonsense. I did not give any interview like that to anyone in Washington." He would not comment further.

Anglo American's Gavin Relly and Barclays' Chris Ball refused to comment yesterday. The two were members of a party of businessmen who made a precedent-setting visit to the ANC in Lusaka last September. Other members of the party, including Tony Bloom and Zac de Beer, were unavailable.

Bloom and Ball, at least, are known to have met ANC leaders subsequent to their first visit, and both continue to stress their belief that a SA political settlement is impossible without ANC participation. These two, particularly, are believed to be responsible for Du Plessis's ire.

Three attend launch of new party

9/10/86

By Stuart Flitton
Political Reporter

THREE people turned up at the Durban City Hall last night for the launch of a new political party, the Christian Democratic Party of South Africa.

They were outnumbered three to one by the municipal security staff at the hall.

But would-be political party leader, former magistrate Mr Chris Strauss, 70, said he was not disheartened by the turnout.

'People in Durban are very apathetic,' he said.

When it was pointed out that a meeting in the hall the previous evening had drawn a crowd of about 1 500, Mr Strauss said, 'Oh well, that was the Black Sash — they have a big following, you know.'

Mr Strauss, who spent R900 in his vain bid to launch his party last night, said he would now hold meetings in the Transvaal, Cape and Free State before planning another meeting in Natal.

'Once people get to know what my party is all about, it will be a different story,' Mr Strauss said, surveying the rows of empty seats.

He said he had spent R300 on a newspaper advertisement for the meeting and R600 for the hire of the hall.

Mr Strauss's principles are based on his belief in fundamentalist Christianity and Verwoerd-style apartheid.

'Growing polarization' in SA

Liberal Party leader **DAVID STEEL** told Political Correspondent **ANTHONY JOHNSON** he had been struck by growing polarization and a "retreat into isolationism" of groups resisting and fighting for change in South Africa since his visit 15 years ago.

Q: What do you believe are the prospects of a party or group that subscribes to liberal principles coming to power in South Africa, given the divided and polarized nature of our society?

A: This is one of the most disturbing features of politics in South Africa — that life is increasingly difficult for the liberal strands and the centre. I think the liberal centre, both black and white, can be an important part of any future government, though not entirely on its own. But if the repression and obstacles to constitutional change continue, then the drawn-out process of attrition and increased violence is not likely to lead to the emergence of liberal values, but rather an alternative form of totalitarianism.

Q: So would the role of the liberal for the moment be largely confined to building bridges and keeping the channels of communication open?

A: Yes. Again, the most dispiriting aspect of political life in the country is the lack of dialogue and therefore the lack of trust across different political groupings which would like to see an end to the apartheid system. I think the liberals in this situation have a role to try and create dialogue and trust.

Q: Do you feel there are any really effective measures the international community can adopt to bring about an end to apartheid and pave the way for a non-racial democracy in South Africa?

A: Well, many people have said to me that the outside world is offering plenty of stick and not much in the way of carrot and I do think that is a fair criticism. The message I will be taking back is that we ought to be doing much more in the international community in terms of immediate social and economic assistance.

Q: So do you support a package of selective sanctions in addition to aid targeted at disadvantaged groups who are the victims of apartheid?

A: Yes I do.

Q: If a Liberal-Social Democratic Party alliance came to power in Britain at the next general election, what stance would you adopt towards the Pretoria and the ANC respectively?

A: Well, we have been in favour of taking selective measures against the South African Government for many years — even before the current sanctions debate. But on the other hand I believe we should keep a dialogue, keep arguing with them, and also hope to be in a position to offer some incentive in addition to simply taking a hard line. With regard to the ANC, we have had good relations with them for many years. While we don't believe they should be recognized as the sole expression of majority opinion, they are undeniably an essential part of this. We would strive to help bring about conditions where the people themselves may choose their representatives.

Q: Do you have any dominant impression you will take back with you after your visit?

A: I was last here 15 years ago and my overwhelming impression is that of the increasing isolation of different groups both resisting and seeking change. It is very sad indeed. There is greater polarization and retreat into isolationism of every grouping than I had expected.

Wind of change in SA a howl — Steel

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA is headed for radical, revolutionary change, Liberal Party leader Mr David Steel predicted last night.

Speaking at the University of Cape Town on "The Road to a Liberal Revolution", Mr Steel said: "Only the wilfully deaf cannot hear the howl of the wind of change. It is mounting to gale force."

However, history had shown that revolutions offered no guarantee that they would bring an end to oppression, he said.

Mr Steel said the country faced two choices: "Either a speedy negotiated transition to full participation by all in the governing of the state, or the alternative of bitter strife and civil war for twenty or thirty years, with no guarantees that democratic leadership would emerge at the end of it."

Mr Steel argued that when the government's reign of repression broke, there would be general panic among those who have supported it or not opposed it.

"Some will lose their lives, most their property, the great majority may become refugees.

"So the present repression increases the risk to the white minority in the future."

However, when "liberation" was achieved it would "turn to ashes in the mouths of the victorious if the structures of economic development and public utilities collapse.

"Anarchy is not liberty and anarchy will follow the breakdown of industry, the abandonment of farms and the disruption of transport," he said.

Mr Steel stressed the importance of talks between all parties — including the government, the ANC and the PAC — if a positive future was to be secured for the country.

However, he noted that he had found no evidence on his current visit that "this government has any intention of accepting the most basic of all rights — universal fanchise."

Mr Steel said the limited rights the government was currently restoring to blacks should never have been taken away in the first place.

"They are inalienable rights, not at the disposal of Mr Botha, nor of this morally bankrupt regime, nor indeed of any government, in any country, at any time."

Mr Steel said it was "surely one of the bitterest ironies", that a system which protected itself with the Suppression of Communism Act "in fact bears so much resemblance to the practice of communism".

FIN MAIL 10/10/86

REMAKING THE CABINET

304A

President P W Botha is understood to be considering a major restructuring of the Cabinet. The biggest change could be a reduction of the number of "general affairs" ministers, and an increase in the number of deputy ministers.

It is understood a recent study commissioned by government showed that SA has relatively more ministers and deputy ministers than other Western countries. There are 21 "general affairs" ministers; 13 "own affairs" ministers (one of whom, Budget Minister F W de Klerk, is also in the "general affairs" Cabinet); and 10 "general affairs" deputy ministers, one of whom doubles up as an "own affairs" deputy minister.

The new plan may involve allocating more than one portfolio to "general affairs" ministers, and giving them a deputy minister to assist with each portfolio.

There is no indication as to how many Cabinet posts may be cut; reducing numbers is likely to be a sensitive issue. But it is well known that Transport Affairs Minister Hendrik Schoeman and Communications and Public Works Minister Lapa Munnik are keen to retire soon.

Rising stars in the National Party (NP) in line for deputy ministerial positions include the constitutional thinker and MP for Helderkruin, Stoffel van der Merwe; the MP for Krugersdorp, Leon Wessels; and the MP for Innesdal, Albert Nothnagel. They are generally considered *verlig* or centrist.

There is also renewed speculation that SA's ambassador in London, Dennis Worrall, is keen to return home. The NP in Cape Town's Gardens constituency wants him to fight the seat against the Progressive Federal Party's Ken Andrew, who defeated Trade and Industry Minister Dawie de Villiers in Gardens in the 1981 general election.

Worrall held the Gardens seat for the NP from 1977 to 1980 when he was appointed to the old President's Council. If he does return and re-enters parliament, he is expected to be appointed to at least a deputy minister position. Many would like him to take over from Pik Botha (see *Leaders*).

Further speculation is that Cape Administrator Gene Louw is being considered for a Cabinet post. Louw, an ardent admirer of the State President, is one of P W Botha's inner circle in the NP. He is tipped to take over from Munnik as Cape NP chairman when Munnik retires, once again thwarting the ambitions of Dawie de Villiers — the most senior Cape minister after provincial leader, Chris Heunis.

De Villiers, who finds it difficult to overcome his nice guy image, was overlooked as chairman in favour of Munnik at the recent Cape NP congress in East London. ■

Howe says SA breeds communism

Dispatch Bureau

LONDON — The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, yesterday accused the South African Government of providing "a perfect breeding ground for communism in Southern Africa."

"Apartheid does not keep communism at bay.

"Quite the reverse. It's injustice provides communism with the perfect breeding ground," Sir Geoffrey said.

The British Foreign Secretary was addressing the Conservative Party conference in Bournemouth following a debate on South Africa and other foreign policy matters.

He also issued a direct appeal to black South Africans: "Do not let violence lose you the sympathy of the West.

"We understand your impatience but necklace killings can never be justified for any cause.

"To black and white South Africans together we say: you can only achieve harmony by means of peaceful negotiations. We in Britain will support every effort to this end".

Only hours after the latest crackdown on the United Democratic Front (UDF) was announced, Sir Geoffrey told the Pretoria Government: "Find the courage to promote fundamental change and to hold out hope to moderate black leaders that the non-violent way can still triumph."

He said the SA Government had not yet accepted that it was political power itself that had to be shared.

It was "unjust, inhuman and utterly unworkable" to exclude 80 per cent of the population from political power simply because they were black.

But Sir Geoffrey warned that it was naive to think that a total trade ban could trigger the downfall of the SA Government. Such a move would only strengthen the government's resolve and cause millions — mainly blacks — to lose their jobs.

In a veiled reference to the tongue-lashing he received from Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda on a visit in July Sir Geoffrey said:

"We will not be tutored by politicians from countries where democratic opposition is conspicuous only by its absence."

● Sapa-AP reports from Bournemouth that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Nigel Lawson, ruled out a state "spending spree".

In a 35-minute speech, Mr Lawson made no reference to interest rates and the battered pound, which in a two-week slide has fallen to record lows against most major currencies, except the US dollar.

Leading anaylsts have speculated the government is holding off announcing an interest rate hike — electorally unpopular with businessmen and home owners — until after the Conservative Party's conference ends this afternoon.

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Prospects for mini-election next year are receding

10/10/86

SMDL 3044

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Prospects for a "mini-election" have receded in recent weeks, National Party sources said yesterday.

They were reacting to reports that a batch of 20 parliamentary by-elections could be held next year instead of a general election for the House of Assembly.

It is understood there have been moves within the National Party to allow MPs who are keen to retire to resign all at the same time so that one "mini-election" could be held.

However, pressure from MPs wanting to quit politics has eased somewhat since parliamentarians were granted hefty pay increases in July.

According to one Nationalist source a mini-election would not be regarded by the Government as sufficient to be seen as a mandate.

At least one Government leader had apparently mooted that if a mandate were sought, a referendum would have to be held at the same time as a mini-election.

The difficulty with this is that for there to be a referendum there has to be something specific to vote on, and the Government has nothing ready.

It is now considered more likely the Government will wait for an overhaul of electoral laws, and a tidying up of voters' rolls (about one-third of all voters no longer reside in the constituencies in which they are registered), before holding an early election for all three House of Parliament in 1988.

(304A) N/M 11/1/1986

Embassy says Steel has axe to grind

LONDON—The South African Embassy in London yesterday accused the leader of Britain's Liberal Party, Mr David Steel, of using his visit to the Republic this week to promote his own point of view in his own country and gave notice that the Government was tired of public figures making political capital out of their trips.

'His gratuitously insulting remarks regarding the South African Government and its policies complicate U K-South African relations and add to an already difficult internal political situation,' the embassy said in a statement.

Belittle

'This embassy wishes to point out that South Africa's accessibility is constantly being used by prominent public figures to directly interfere in South Africa's domestic affairs,' it said.

'This embassy senses that an important part of the South African public has come to deeply resent these visits by outsiders who belittle the Government's and the country's achievements, whose partisan statements contribute to polarising the South African society, and whose selective moralising focusses exclusive attention on South Africa while ignoring the problems of other countries.'

'Mr Steel is clearly not in South Africa for the political good health of South Africans, but to promote his interests and point of view in Britain,' it said.

'In rejecting Mr Steel's comparison of South Africa and the Soviet Union, we might point out that, given his known views of the Soviet Union, Mr Steel is unlikely to be invited to give a public lecture in Moscow and certainly would not be allowed to make comparable speeches in the Soviet Union or get the sort of media coverage of his visit which he has enjoyed in South Africa.'

Mr Steel wound up his tour of South Africa yesterday with a visit to Soweto and said parts of the country's largest black township were 'terrible'.

He is due to return briefly tomorrow after visiting Botswana and Zambia and before returning home.—(Sapa-Reuter)

Fraud suspects light up prison life

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Watson brothers have acquired a name for themselves in the North End Prison where they have been interred since their arrest two months ago.

"The Boys who sing to God" is how fellow awaiting trial prisoners — many of whom claim to have been converted by the brothers — describe the trio who have been holding nightly prayer sessions behind bars.

Police arrested Mr Ronald Watson, 35, and his brothers Valence, 34, and Daniel (Cheeky), 32, on August 12 in connection with charges of fraud and arson arising from the gutting of their family home in Port Elizabeth's plush Park Drive residential area.

An application and subsequent appeal for bail were dismissed, with the trial date set for this Tuesday.

What began as private sessions at 7pm each evening, rapidly developed into prayer meetings in which all members of the cell block take part.

Small groups of people who wait each day beyond theentrance boom until the 2pm visiting hour, spoke about the prayer phenomenon.

"Yes, I know all about the work that they are doing . My son is serving time for assault, and because he is black, he can't go to the meetings, but all over the jail, people know what is going on at seven o'clock and they pray too," said the mother of a convict.

The sister of another prisoner added: "My brother is in another cell but he says all the men there have also started praying at the same time."

The Watson brothers do not see themselves as evangelists. They claim that attendance at their meetings is due to "the work of God".

Their "converts" are understood to include two Eastern Cape men who are awaiting trial on charges of murder and are now fervent participants in the prayer sessions.

Mr Tony Fowler, a former awaiting trial prisoner who shared a cell with the brothers until two weeks ago, claims they converted him.

"They were always so cheerful — especially Cheeky with his constant smile — that it was hard to be despondent in their company. You can't imagine what it meant to me to meet people like them and have my life changed by finding God."

Mr Fowler, who is determined to hold on to his new-found faith now he is back home with his parents in Walmer, is attending services conducted by the Watsons' minister, the Reverend Brian Bird.

3044

Govt slams Steel's remarks about SA

LONDON. — The South African government made it known here on Thursday that it was tired of public figures making political capital out of their trips to the Republic.

Yesterday, the British Liberal Party leader, Mr David Steel, wound up his tour with a visit to Soweto, parts of which he described as "terrible".

The South African Embassy here released a statement saying Mr Steel had used his visit to SA to promote his views in his own country.

His "insulting" remarks on the South African government and its policies complicated UK-South African relations and added to an already difficult internal political situation.

The embassy also said a delegation from a British printers union had been refused permission to visit South Africa.

"This embassy wishes to point out that South Africa's accessibility is constantly being used by prominent public figures to directly interfere in South Africa's domestic affairs."

An important part of the South African public resented visits by outsiders who belittled the government's achievements, made statements which contributed to polarizing SA society and whose selective moralizing focused attention on South Africa but ignored the problems of other countries.

It was ironic that people like Mr Steel and others expected, as a matter of right, to enter South Africa and say whatever pleased them, while resenting attempts by the Embassy to put the South African government's point of view in Britain.

Mr Steel had "taken offence" when the Embassy sent written information about South Africa to delegates at the recent Liberal Party conference. — Sapa-Reuter

SA refuses visas to union representatives

CAPE TIMES 11/10/86

JOHANNESBURG. — The secretary-general of the International Federation of Journalists, Mr Hans Larsen, who was to have attended the sixth congress of Mwasa (Media Workers' Association of SA) next week, has been refused a visa, Mwasa said yesterday.

Our London correspondent reports that visas have also been refused to a delegation from the British print workers' union SOGAT.

SOGAT had wanted to send a nine-member delegation to South Africa from tomorrow to October 16, headed by its general-secretary Miss Brenda Dean, but members were told by the SA Embassy in London yesterday that the visit "would not serve any constructive purpose".

Ms Dean yesterday issued a statement saying that this was the first time SOGAT had been banned from entering any country. "We will be protesting in the strongest terms to the South African Embassy and to the British government," she said.

Mr Thami Mazwai, the IFJ vice-president for Africa and treasurer of Mwasa, said the refusal of a visa to Mr Larsen would harden the attitudes of IFJ members abroad. — Sapa

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Chief Economist Henry Kaufman

Cape Times 11/10/86 (300 a)

Opinion

We are reaping 38 years of apartheid

By
A H HEARD

IN 1948 South Africa embarked on a course which affronted the world. The consequences are with us: sanctions.

The United States, mightiest state on earth, leader of the Western democracies, has overridden its president and imposed tough sanctions on South Africa

Nearly 40 years ago, apartheid was embarked on with messianic zeal, however much those responsible distance themselves from it now. The world, emerging from global conflict over race domination, saw a former ally against Hitler systematically entrenching segregation by law.

As the United States dragged itself traumatically away from the remnants of official segregation, and the very word, like slavery, became an international swear-word, the South African government brazenly passed scores of acts discriminating against people on grounds of race. The system was backed by force.

Warnings that this was a course to disaster, that things would catch up with South Africa in spite of its wealth and armed power, were disregarded. The country demonstrated great resilience. In spite of dire predictions, and events such as Sharpeville and Soweto, the economy grew and the state got more powerful. With this came much official confidence and hubris.

Particularly in the Verwoerd era, there was armadillo-like insensitivity to a tragedy-in-the-making. As a parliamentary reporter, I lived through that glacial era, when the only moves on race were more and more segregation attempts — buses, beaches, universities, bantustans, sport (remember the Japanese jockey and the unwelcome Maoris?), blood, ambulances, traffic cops, municipalities; you name it, they tried it.

Only occasionally was there official concern or self-doubt, for instance the speech by Mr Paul Sauer at Humansdorp, after Sharpeville, when acting for a wounded Dr Verwoerd, he urged mild reforms; and Dr Verwoerd withdrawing the "church clause", which was aimed at blacks and would have led to an Archbishop of Cape Town risking prison in defiance.

The withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 1961 was hailed as a liberating event (I saw Dr Verwoerd welcomed like a returning Caesar by the massed faithful at D F Malan airport), instead of being regretted as a disastrous loss of communication with a huge slice of humanity.

H F Verwoerd . . . like a returning Caesar.

John Vorster . . . detention without trial.

I recall the political insensitivity as the government resolutely marched out of step with humanity, such as: Mrs Pandit, the Indian prime minister's sister, being described as "*daardie ou koelie-meid*"; a local MP seeming concerned that only one person had been shot dead at Sharpeville (that was before the toll of 69 was known); a detainee's death leaving the minister responsible "cold".

John Vorster leap-frogged 11 ministers to the premiership, and rammed through detention without trial and a sabotage act that included possible death for minors. This did not enamour the world.

When the Tomlinson commission advanced a *modus operandi* for grand apartheid, such as insisting on consolidation, tapping the private sector for investment, and suggesting the best way to monitor things, I recall how its work was waved aside by a prime minister who always knew best. (Was Dr Verwoerd piqued because he was not yet minister of native affairs when the commission was appointed and therefore had no hand in its genesis?).

Grand apartheid, never a good idea, did not even have an outside chance from then on. Yet it lingers in government minds, hence the refusal to ditch bantustans.

Urban African administration was summarily switched from easy-going local municipal control to harsh, centralized Pretoria diktat. The respected University of Fort Hare was taken over by the minister of "bantu education". Hilariously, there was a short-lived ministerial instruction to officials to greet Africans with the word "molo". Protesting students were sjambokked outside St George's cathedral. Student leaders became automatic candidates for banning, detention, surveillance, etc.

THE list is endless. The real problem was that all this was seen as pretty normal, the way of life — except by blacks, whites in opposition, and the world.

There was, indeed, opposition.

On the illegal front, there was the defiance campaign of the '50s, with a principled, tortured governor-general's son going to jail, not to mention the black activists who got to know prison like second nature, and still do.

Then again (and it was legal then), dignified academics marched with mortar-boards and gowns in city streets to protest at the withdrawal of the universities' right to teach whom they wished. Former chief justices betrayed grave concern at the erosion of individual rights and the rule of law Philippics were written in newspapers and there were some exposes, notably over the Info scandal. But over the years newspapers themselves experienced a freedom loss, like a power fade-out on a computer screen

There were historic broken promises, such as when the government reneged on an assurance, concerning a ministerial interview, given to Philip Kgosana, leader of a crowd of 30 000 Africans who marched on Cape Town in March 1960 — and on the basis of which assurance they peacefully dispersed There was the dismissal of the solemn undertaking of Union over the coloured vote as a mere "dead hand of the past". Passes were abolished, only to surface as reference books. Happily that is over, we hope.

It all welled up — laws, bannings, jailings, shootings, protests, defiance, bombs, half-doubts, even some belated reform, but a Greek tragedy in the making The sturdy gold-based South African economy carried us through.

NOW, with sanctions, things have come home to roost. Against liberal and business urgings, the Western world has embarked on the punishment phase, using the blunt instrument of economic sanctions. Some see them as the sole alternative to violence. Whether they will help to avert civil war is a question of judgment, and judgments differ. But it is clear enough that public opinion in the West has been driven by South African events to such a pitch of hostility that even right-wing Western governments must feed the lion.

We are now reaping what we have sown over nearly 40 years. The primary blame lies with the South African government, though whites who have basked in the economic privileges of apartheid and averted their eyes from the effects on blacks carry dual responsibility.

Far more resolute action than getting stuck in muddy Rubicons is needed. Yet, the sad thing is that, in the pressure-cooker of sanctions, whites will probably veer to the right, as they show their muscles and their sanctions-busting ingenuity to the world.

It is a dismal prospect, and it will require courage, resilience and far-sightedness — including inspanning the services of the Mandelas and Slabberts — to break the paradigm of violence.

● Is there perhaps comfort in the thought that we South Africans are at least facing critical choices denied to other nations?

THE FINGO

Ioka, Bophuthatswana in April this year.

in buses and trucks to enrol at white schools. – Sapa.

year's general meeting. – Sapa.

Sheba is the most venomous snake in the park.

White control must go – Slabbert

12/10/86 (304A) CITY PRESS

THE government had discovered it could dismantle apartheid in important respects without sacrificing white domination, former Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert said in the Durban City Hall this week.

Slabbert – who was addressing his second public meeting since his resignation from parliament in February this year – was speaking to more than 1 000 people at a meeting organised by several groups, including the United Democratic Front, End Conscription Campaign and the Black Sash.

He said until the government was prepared to accept that white domination had to go, no reforms or changes would satisfy the demands of the majority of South Africans.

Slabbert said the government was moving towards a multi-racial society in which different races were brought into government on the National Party's terms when what was needed was a non-racial, democratic society.

Former SA Council of Churches president Rev Peter Storey said apartheid was atheistic because it refused to accept trust in God and was idolatrous because it put the interests of one race before the demands of God.

Natal Organisation of Women president Nozizwe Madlala said the state of emergency was declared because the government seemed to have lost control.

Madlala said the UDF called on all freedom and peace-loving people to enter a campaign of national unity. – Sapa

THE NECC and the Transvaal Students' Congress have condemned "the attempts

Low profile is 'SA's only hope'

Political Staff

Stellenbosch University political economist Professor Sampie Terreblanche believes Government threats against Frontline states in retaliation for sanctions will make things worse.

The world could manage without South Africa, despite the Cape sea route and strategic minerals, but South Africa could not survive alone.

"A siege economy just won't work," he said.

Government attempts to flex economic muscle in response to American sanctions would be ineffectual. The Government did not control business, which was more interested in profit than entrenchment of the political system which had caused its plight.

In any event, he said, the political negotiating potential of business was minimal and it would be disastrous for South Africa to attempt any punitive steps against neighbours — such as those mentioned by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, concerning grain shipments.

"If we can keep a low profile for the next 10 years we might just muddle through ... we are just too small and too vulnerable to throw our weight around."

Professor Robert Schrire, the University of Cape Town's top political scientist, pointed out that in international relations "there is one rule for the strong and one for the weak".

He thought it ludicrous that US congressmen were morally indignant about Mr Pik Botha lobbying before the vote on sanctions when they themselves were involving themselves directly in the domestic affairs of another country.

It was just one of the things South Africa had to accept because it was in the small league. He believed South Africa might be suffering from delusions of grandeur because it was always punting itself internationally as a regional giant.

"It is just not possible for South Africa to maintain a high profile internationally. At the same time the attention we get internationally is in response to what happens here.

"The smart thing to do is to stop the rhetoric. Even if the world doesn't forget, South Africa will cease to be such a burning issue. We must not be controversial."

A senior foreign service officer spelt it out simply. Australia wanted South African markets in coal, minerals and agricultural products; France wanted to keep her commercial and other ties with French-speaking African nations; America and Britain were weighing the headache of trade with this country against the benefits.

Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP finance spokesman, feared the American move — serious in itself — would lead to other countries imposing sanctions.

At least one major Far Eastern trading partner, for example, recently withdrew its fruit inspectors from South Africa. Without their go-ahead, no citrus may be exported to their country. Now the way is open for the Philippines, Hawaii and Australia to cash in on a market built by South Africa.

Mr Schwarz said the answer to sanctions was to trade with somebody else "but one of the risks is that there will be nobody else to trade with".

He believed the only solution was to get blacks into Government.

Quota system causing imbalance in Govt

STAR 30/9 13/10/86

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The system of white parliamentary representation is in a shambles.

Years of neglect and some bad decision-making has resulted in at least one million voters being "missing", while population shifts have caused an imbalance in Parliament not only between the relevant sizes of constituencies, but also between the fair representation of the four provinces.

According to the latest figures released by the Department of Home Affairs, as at June 30 there were 3 009 700 white voters registered.

Of these, 1 584 617 (52,6 percent) were in the Transvaal, 838 313 (27,8 percent) in the Cape, 352 632 (11,7 percent) in Natal, and 234 138 (9,8 percent) in the Free State.

Ordinarily, in a fair system of representation, it could be expected that on the basis of these figures the 166 directly elected seats of the House of Assembly should be apportioned on the basis of 87 seats for the Transvaal, 46 for the Cape, 20 for Natal and 13 for the Free State.

FIXED BY LAW

Instead, mainly because the quotas for the provinces were fixed by law 12 years ago, the Transvaal currently has 76 seats (11 less than it should have), the Cape 56 (10 too many), Natal 20 (what it should have) and the Free State 14 (one more than it is entitled to).

Thus, an average Transvaal constituency is represented by 20 850 voters, compared with 14 969 in a Cape constituency.

There are bigger imbalances between the various constituencies within the provinces.

In the Transvaal, North Rand, for example, now has 28 123 registered voters. Pretoria East has 28 096, Bethal 26 946 and Helderkruin 25 423.

By contrast, Schweizer-Reneke and Ventersdorp each have slightly more than 15 000.

By law there may be a 15 percent discrepancy either side of the "quota" for any constituency in a particular province.

The quota is derived from dividing the total number of registered voters in a province by the number of parliamentary seats allocated to that province.

FEWER VOTERS

Sparsely populated rural seats may be allowed to have 15 percent fewer voters than the quota, and very large seats an additional 15 percent less. Highly concentrated urban areas may be allocated up to 15 percent more than the quota.

On this basis, there are at the moment seven seats in the Transvaal which contain substantially more voters than is ordinarily allowed, and six constituencies with somewhat less than the permissible 15 percent below quota.

In the Cape, there are nine seats way above the allowed margin, and one below the lower limit.

One vote in a Cape rural seat may therefore be worth close on three in a Transvaal urban constituency, for example.

The artificially high number of Cape MPs, at the expense of the Transvaal, also has an impact on the distribution of power between and within the political parties.

SEATS LOST

If the Transvaal had the 11 extra seats it was entitled to, and the Cape the 10 less that it should have, there would be interesting implications for the Conservative Party (drawing its strength from the Transvaal) and the National Party (dominated by Cape MPs).

If the imbalances between urban and rural seats were removed, the Progressive Federal Party, which is almost exclusively an urban party, would gain representation at the expense of the NP.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, head of the politics department at the University of South Africa, says the Government blundered badly by linking the voters' roll directly to the population register (relying on the public to inform the authorities of their changes of address).

He felt a delimitation commission should completely overhaul the boundaries of parliamentary constituencies.

"The guiding principle in allocating parliamentary seats should be simply where the population is. The sooner we get back to that concept, the better," he says.

Dr H F Verwoerd: opposed Dr Rupert's plans.

Kaiser Matanzima: Verwoerd wouldn't listen.

'WE must press ahead, without fear, on the most difficult and most important of all our treks, the trek away from discrimination on the sole ground of colour, towards a future of mutual respect and trust, and of participation in freedom and prosperity by all our population groups." — DR ANTON RUPERT.

ARGUS 13/10/86

Advocate of hope — believer in miracles

BY TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE "realist who believes in miracles" and the "advocate of hope" is how Dr Anton Rupert, the prominent industrialist and philanthropist, is described in a new book.

The book *Anton Rupert: Advocate of Hope*, by Professor Willie Esterhuyse, and published by Tafelberg, is not a biography of Dr Rupert, but deals extensively with the thoughts and ideas of a remarkably successful, but self-effacing man

As Professor Esterhuyse puts it, Dr Rupert is pre-eminently a man of hope Apart from the products of his companies there are few things he has sold with such dedication and conviction as the ideals of hope and trust

It is a message South Africa sorely needs in these troubled times.

The hope is not complacent optimism, defiant bravura, or escapism.

Dr Rupert has shown in the past that he squarely faces up to the problems of the day, and his philosophy does not gloss over the facts so as to make things more bearable.

As the book shows, he has often been right in the past, but unfortunately some of South Africa's stubborn, or blinkered, rulers would not see this.

The concept of "partnership" is the thread that runs through his philosophy.

IN the early forties, the former Prime Minister, General J B M Hertzog, made a profound impression on the young Rupert when he told him: "Whatever you do will be done to you."

These words did not only impress Rupert, they also became the moral basis of his view that progress is brought about by partnership. It was also one of the important reasons for the serious objections he developed to the policy, and especially the practice, of apartheid

He applied the principle of partnership in his own organisation, but in South Africa, he came up against the objection of the dogmatic architect of apartheid, Dr H F Verwoerd, who saw the policy in absolutist terms, and was against most forms of partnership, including white investment in the Bantustans he was creating

The practical application of partnership involved the following in countries where the Rupert's Rembrandt organisation started enterprises, at least half the shares were sold to the local population, the chairman, and the majority of the board of directors of the companies, were local inhabitants, staff were drawn from, and trained, in the regions involved, all chairmen and managing directors of the group, whatever their nationality, were to be treated as equals

Dr Anton Rupert: partnership at all costs.

With this approach, local community interests were developed along with the vested interest given to partners.

Dr Rupert and Dr Verwoerd first made contact in the thirties, when Verwoerd was editor of Die Transvaler, the newly established Nationalist mouthpiece in the Transvaal. Dr Verwoerd offered Rupert a job, but he did not accept as he wanted to continue his studies

THE first major clash between Rupert and Verwoerd came in 1959, when Verwoerd was Prime Minister, and Rupert a successful businessman

In that year, Rupert and his directors decided to set up a factory in Paarl in partnership with coloured people.

As a matter of courtesy, it was decided to inform Dr Verwoerd

Verwoerd wanted to know if there would be coloured people on the board of directors, and whether whites would work under them

Rupert answered that in both cases this would be so. This was in line with his philosophy of partnership and, in addition, white artisans would be needed to train coloured workers.

Dr Verwoerd immediately threatened that, in that case, he would close the factory

IN the same year, the Government set up the Bantu Investment Corporation. In 1950 Rupert had already argued for a corporation in which private initiative would play a leading role, and in which development projects had to be undertaken on the basis of partnership with black people

The idea had been unacceptable to the Government The participation of white entrepeneurs in the development of the black homelands was forbidden

An irritated Rupert remarked "Why not allow white initiative to operate through industrial partnership in the homelands? It certainly seems strange that we are allowed to establish a factory in Kuala Lumpur, in Malaysia, on the basis of partnership, but may not do so in Umtata in the Transkei"

Nationalist regimes after Verwoerd conceded that he was right all along.

Under Verwoerd, the Government continued for years with its theory that such partnership would lead to integration and exploitation of the black man

EVEN the pleas of Chief Kaizer Matanzima, first Chief Minister of the Transkei, for the admission of white capital in order to foster industrial development, fell on deaf ears

This was in the days when the Nationalists still believed that the political position of the whites could only be safeguarded if the economy of South Africa was so organised that it supported apartheid.

The future, Dr Rupert believes, cannot be conquered from behind battlements or by a laager mentality. No development is achieved inside a laager, or by clinging desperately to gains made in the past, or by believing only in self-interest In such a situation stagnation and decay set in

A future of hope, he feels, can be won only by engaging in outward movement and by taking calculated risks This is impossible without purposeful leadership Those who decide to trek must know the route and the destination.

To Rupert there can only be one choice — right and justice for all

In such a destination lies hope for the future as well as a safeguard for Afrikaner survival

In Rupert's own words "We must press ahead, without fear, on the most difficult and most important of all our treks. The trek away from discrimination on the sole ground of colour, towards a future of mutual respect and trust and of participation in freedom and prosperity by all our population groups"

He believes the Afrikaner has always tended to do well under pressure.

There is a lesson of hope in Dr Rupert's own small beginnings which led eventually to a mighty international group of companies He had only £10 in his pocket when, in 1941, he started a small tobacco company with Dr A J Stals. In 1945 came Distillers Corporation, and in 1948 the giant Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation

Where are the missing million

ARGUS 14/10/89

Political Staff

304A

PRETORIA. — The parliamentary joint standing committee on home affairs is investigating ways to bring the voters' rolls up to date, possibly by linking notification of change of address to payments of municipal accounts.

The committee is meeting this week to consider the Electoral Act in its entirety.

More than one in three white voters no longer live at the addresses on the voters' roll — which means about one million voters are "missing".

Some members apparently favour linking the roll to the payment of water and electricity accounts.

People who opened accounts with these authorities must provide their addresses and these could be passed on to the Department of Home Affairs to update the voters' rolls.

Other MPs believe that would not be adequate as it would not include other voters in households, such as adult children and spouses. They propose a return to the old system of regular registration drives.

● The Department of Home Affairs has reported some success with its publicity campaign encouraging people to register their correct addresses. In the first month 85 000 people updated their addresses.

President and Terre'Blanche to speak on same night

N/M 14/10/86

(304A)

PRETORIA—President Botha and the leader of the militant Right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, are both scheduled to address public meetings in the northern Transvaal town of Potgietersrus on Thursday evening.

Mr Botha is to speak at a National Party meeting to be held at the local rugby stadium after an afternoon ox-braai and 'saamtrek' organised by the party, while Mr Terre'Blanche's meeting, apparently arranged at short notice, will take place in a primary school hall.

A spokesman for the AWB said in Pretoria Mr Terre'Blanche's meeting was open to all members of the public. 'Even the Press is welcome to attend,' he joked.

Dr Sampie Golden, the NP's Member of Parliament for the Potgietersrus constituency, said all were welcome at his party's function and the subsequent address by Mr Botha, although there was a 'right of admission' proviso.

A few months ago AWB members hijacked a public meeting arranged by the NP in Pietersburg, at which Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Both was scheduled to speak.

The Foreign Minister was warned by police to stay away from the Pietersburg civic centre after scuffles between opposing supporters took place and police had to disperse crowds with tear-gas after Mr Terre'Blanche was carried shoulder-high to the stage to address the chaotic meeting.

Opportunity

Dr Golden said yesterday from Potgietersrus he did not anticipate any problems for Thursday night's meeting.

He said he believed in freedom of speech and just as the NP would not try to stop members of the public hearing the AWB's views, it expected the President to be given the same opportunity.

According to media reports last week, the AWB has confirmed President Botha is willing to meet Mr Terre'Blanche soon for discussions on South African political issues. — (Sapa)

Newsbackgrounder

ARGUS 14/10/86

30CA

Missing — one million South African voters

by DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

THE system of white parliamentary representation is in a shambles.

Years of neglect, and some bad decision-making, has resulted in at least one million voters "missing", while population shifts have caused an imbalance in Parliament, not only between the relevant sizes of constituencies, but also between the fair representation of the four provinces.

According to the latest figures released by the Department of Home Affairs, as at June 30 there were 3 009 700 white voters registered in South Africa.

Of these, 1 584 617 (or 52,6 percent) were registered in the Transvaal, 838 313 (27,8 percent) were in the Cape, 352 632 (11,7 percent) in Natal, and 234 138 (9,8 percent) in the Free State.

Ordinarily, in a fair system of representation, it could be expected that on the basis of these figures the 166 directly elected seats of the House of Assembly should be apportioned on the basis of 87 seats for the Transvaal, 46 for the Cape, 20 for Natal and 13 for the Free State.

Instead, mainly because the quotas for the provinces were fixed by law 12 years ago, the Transvaal currently has 76 seats (11 less than it should have), the Cape 56 (10 too many), Natal 20 (what it should have) and the Free State 14 (one more than it is entitled to).

Thus, an average Transvaal constituency is represented by 20 850 voters, compared with 14 969 voters in a Cape constituency.

There are bigger imbalances between the various constituencies within the provinces.

In the Transvaal, North Rand, for example, now has 28 123 registered voters. Pretoria East has 28 096, Bethal 26 946 and Helderkruin 25 423.

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BY law, there may be a 15 percent discrepancy either side of the "quota" for any constituency in a particular province.

The quota is derived from dividing the total number of registered voters in a province by the number of parliamentary seats allocated to that province.

Sparsely-populated rural seats may be allowed to have 15 percent less voters than the quota, and very large seats an additional 15 percent less. Highly concentrated urban areas may be allocated up to 15 percent more than the quota.

On this basis, there are, at the moment, seven seats in the Transvaal which contain substantially more voters than is ordinarily allowed, and six constituencies with somewhat less than the permissible 15 percent below quota.

In the Cape, there are nine seats way above quota plus 15 percent, and one below the lower limit.

Discrepancies across provincial lines can be substantial, with Prieska (Cape) representing 9 451 voters compared with North Rand's 28 123 electors.

The practical effects of these imbalances are manifold.

One vote in a Cape rural seat may be worth close on three in a Transvaal urban constituency, for example.

The artificially high number of Cape MPs, at the expense of the Transvaal, also has an impact on the distribution of power between and within the political parties.

If the Transvaal had the 11 extra seats it was entitled to, and the Cape the 10 less that it should have, there would be interesting implications for the Conservative Party (which draws its greatest strength for the Transvaal) and the National Party (currently dominated by its Cape MPs).

IF the imbalances between urban and rural seats were removed, the Progressive Federal Party, which is almost exclusively an urban party, would gain representation at the expense of the NP.

Quite clearly, there are enormous vested interests in the status quo to ensure that it does not change too radically.

However, change it must, as there is bound to be increasing pressure from the Transvaal to get its rightful share of Parliament.

Yet this is not going to be an easy task.

In the first instance, by the Government's own admission, about one in three voters is "missing", that is, no longer resides at the address at which the voter is registered on the voters roll.

This means that the latest statistics, the ones used for the purposes of this article, could be very misleading.

There is no way a redelimitation of the country could begin until the voters' roll was brought up to date (a programme the Government is currently busy with).

Professor Willem Kleynhans, head of the politics department at the University of South Africa, says the Government blundered badly by linking the voters roll directly to the population register (relying on the public to inform the authorities of their changes of address).

What is needed urgently, he says, is a massive voter registration drive in order to register everyone.

Then, he says, a delimitation commission should overhaul the boundaries of parliamentary constituencies completely.

The provincial quotas should be dropped, and each province should get its righful share of the House of Assembly's 166 seats, even if that does mean that people will lose their jobs.

PROFESSOR Kleynhans is not in favour of the proposal mooted by some senior National Party leaders to increase the size of Parliament.

According to this proposal, in order not to destroy MP's jobs (a tough decision for the governing party), the Assembly would be enlarged in order to give the Transvaal its fair share of the chamber.

Assuming that the Cape and the Free State (both at the moment over-represented) are then to retain their existing quota of constituencies, the Assembly would have to be enlarged by 30 seats (giving the Transvaal 103 and Natal 23).

There could also be implications for the other Houses of Parliament in order to maintain the ratio of 4:2:1 between the various chambers.

Prof Kleynhans says this would be farcical as, in order to protect the interests of less than a dozen MPs, Parliament would have to be enlarged at vast expense while the average number of voters in each constituency would drop to about 15 000.

The only way to clean up the mess, he says, would be simply to take away the undeserved extra seats from the Cape and the Free State and give them to the Transvaal.

STAR 30/11 14/10/86

Reform is a gradual process, says Cloete

Pretoria Bureau

The South African Government had accepted the principle of power-sharing, the director of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Fanie Cloete, said at the weekend.

Dr Cloete told the annual conference of the Central Transvaal Urban Councils Association (Centuca) in Pretoria that there could not be immediate progress from the present unacceptable position to the "ideal situation".

"Democratic reform is a gradual process," he added.

Dr Cloete also said that the system of local government for black regional services councils and the new multi-racial provincial system allowed for effective black participation until a final system of government had been agreed by all communities.

LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS

The Mayor of Atteridgeville and chairman of Truca, Mr S M Mahlangu, said the government would give power only to those voices that reflected the legitimate aspirations of a defined constituency.

He said it was for this reason that "the undemocratic terrorists" stood in their way, opposing the formation of regional services councils.

He also said that black local authorities had a substantial credibility problem because local government in South Africa was designed to function and exist along racial lines, keeping the broader Nationalist policy of apartheid intact.

He praised the councillors for their bravery in defying intimidation in their fervent wish to serve their respective communities in a democratic fashion.

Steel: change in SA still remote

HARARE — Peaceful political change in South Africa appeared remote and global economic sanctions alone were unlikely to end apartheid, the British Liberal Party leader, Mr David Steel, said here yesterday.

He told reporters after a 45-minute meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, that his visit to South Africa last week showed Pretoria was not prepared to see an immediate government based on democratic principles.

Mr Steel arrived in Zimbabwe yesterday.

He later flew to Zambia for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda.

He said he would meet African National Congress leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, also in Zambia, today before returning to London.

Mr Steel said he did not believe a "blanket" trade embargo on South Africa would itself force the government to abandon apartheid.

He called instead for "concerted measures," including effective selective sanctions by Western nations, the Commonwealth and the European Community.

The Liberal Party chief said his discussions with Mr Mugabe centred on sanctions and their likely effect on neighbouring states.

Mr Mugabe indicated he wanted aid from the international community mainly to rehabilitate the Mozambican sea routes, crucial for his country, he said.

Asked if Mr Mugabe had been concerned at possible retaliation on Zimbabwe's economy by South Africa, Mr Steel said: "If you mean concern in the sense of being worried, (the answer) is no.

"In fact, quite the reverse. I think perhaps he didn't seem as concerned as perhaps I could be if I were in his shoes.

"But that sacrifice they (Southern Africa's black leaders) seem to be preparing to make." — Sapa-RNS

EVENING POST, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1986

'Peaceful political change is remote'

304A

HARARE — Peaceful political change in South Africa appeared remote and global economic sanctions alone were unlikely to end apartheid, the British Liberal Party leader, Mr David Steel, said yesterday.

He told reporters after a 45-minute meeting with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe that his visit to South Africa last week showed Pretoria was not prepared to see an immediate government based on democratic principles.

"I am afraid I must say I don't see an immediate hope of change (in South Africa)," he said.

"I think it is going to be a long, drawn-out process."

Mr Steel later flew to Zambia for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda.

He said he would meet the African National Congress leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, also in Zambia, today before returning to London.

Mr Steel said he did not believe a "blanket" trade embargo on South Africa would itself force the Government to abandon apartheid.

He called instead for "concerted measures", including effective selective sanctions by Western nations, the Commonwealth and the European Economic Community.

The effectiveness of measures such as the sports boycott, agreed in a concerted move by the international community, showed how reform could be achieved, Mr Steel said.

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Asked if Mr Mugabe had been concerned about possible retaliation on Zimbabwe's economy by South Africa, Mr Steel said: "If you mean concern in the sense of being worried, (the answer) is no.

"In fact, quite the reverse.

"I think perhaps he didn't seem as concerned as perhaps I could be if I were in his shoes." — Sapa-Reuter

Eglin calls for united effort to forge new government

14/10/86

304(A)

EVE POST

CAPE TOWN — With South Africa facing its gravest crisis, there was an urgent need for traditional political parties and extra-parliamentary organisations to unite to oust the Government, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said last night.

Mr Eglin said the only prospect the country had for escaping the current crisis was for concerned South Africans to forge a broad-based "new movement for an alternative government".

Mr Eglin said in a statement, events of the past weeks had shown South Africa was facing a crisis of "very grave proportions" and "the future of this country is poised on a knife-edge".

The reality of economic sanctions, the collapse of the Nkomati Accord, the continuing state of emergency, the Government's failure to present a viable plan for political reform were pointers that South Africa's relationships both internally and externally were "at their lowest ebb", he said.

"White South Africans, who at this stage still control the levers of power, are facing their moment of decision," he said.

"We can band together in shaking our fists at the world. We can try to stamp out internal dissent. We can dither with (the State President) Mr P W Botha on his side of the Rubicon.

"Or we can come to terms with the faot that we are just part of a South African nation with some 33 million people and then get on with the task of eliminating apartheid and negotiating a power-sharing constitution with equal rights for all South Africans," he said. — Sapa

State President won't receive freedom of city

14/10/86 (3044) EVE POST

JOHANNESBURG — The State President, Mr Botha, will not get the freedom of the city, Johannesburg's Management Committee has decided.

The centenary banquet on November 17, when the freedom would have been conferred, has also been cancelled.

A news release today said the management committee had "decided with regret not to proceed with recommendations to the city council to offer the freedom to the State President".

"This step was taken after the matter was discussed in the Press while negotiations were taking place with the Progressive Federal Party in the council.

"In the light of this, the management committee does not see its way clear to ask the State President to consider accepting the Freedom of the City."

The statement by the management committee points out that "because of extraordinary circumstances which stem from the new constitutional dispensation, the State President is both executive head and party leader". — Sapa

AWB, Botha meetings clash

Political Correspondent

The far Right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has scheduled a public meeting at short notice to clash with an appearance by President Botha in Potgietersrus on Thursday.

A spokesman for Mr Botha confirmed today that the State President would be addressing a National Party meeting at the Potgietersrus rugby stadium.

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche has hurriedly arranged to address a public meeting at a primary school hall in the Northern Transvaal town at the same time.

Both parties said all were welcome at their meetings, but the National Party has reserved the right of admission.

Cape Times 14/10/86 30 x A

Eglin calls for new 'alternative govt'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

WITH South Africa facing its gravest crisis, there is an urgent need for traditional political parties and extra-parliamentary organizations to unite to oust the government, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said last night.

He said the only prospect the country had for escaping the current crisis was for concerned South Africans to forge a broad-based "new movement for an alternative goverment".

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The reality of economic sanctions, the collapse of the Nkomati Accord, the continuing state of emergency and the government's failure to present a viable plan for political reform were pointers that South Africa's relationships both internally and externally were "at their lowest ebb".

"White South Africans, who at this stage still control the levers of power, are facing their moment of decision," he said.

"We can band together in shaking our fists at the world. We can batten down the hatches and try to ride out the storm. We can try to stamp out internal dissent. We can dither with Mr P W Botha on his side of the Rubicon.

"Or we can come to terms with the fact that we are just part of a South African nation with some 33 million people and then get on with the task of eliminating apartheid and negotiating a power-sharing constitution with equal rights for all South Africans," he said.

Mr Eglin said if South Africans wanted peace and national unity "then Mr Botha's government will have to go".

The immediate strategy should be to build up a new "alternative government through the combined efforts of those South Africans who are tired of Nationalist incompetence and arrogance". The members of such an alliance could be drawn from the PFP, the New Republic Party, "even the National Party", commerce and industry, churches, universities and "the thousands of concerned South Africans who today belong to no political party".

"The election that is around the corner must be used as the first step towards ousting the Nats and getting a government that represents the interests of all South Africans," he said.

Cape Times 14/10/86 (304A)

Clashing dates for president and AWB

PRETORIA. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, and the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, are due to address public meetings in Potgietersrus in the Northern Transvaal on Thursday evening.

Mr Botha's National Party meeting is at the local rugby stadium, while Mr Terre'Blanche's, apparently at short notice, will be in a primary school hall.

A spokesman for the AWB said in Pretoria, Mr Terre'Blanche's meeting was open to all members of the public, "even the press".

Dr Sampie Golden, the NP's MP for Potgietersrus said all were welcome at his party's function and the subsequent address by Mr Botha, although there was a "right of admission" proviso.

Dr Golden said yesterday from Potgietersrus he did not anticipate any problems. — Sapa

A snub for PW

Sowetan 15/10/86

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, will not get the freedom of the city, Johannesburg's management committee has decided.

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A Press release yesterday said the management committee has decided with regret not to proceed with recommendations to the city council to offer the freedom to the State President.

"This step was taken after the matter was discussed in the Press while negotiations were taking place with the Progressive Federal Party in the Johannesburg City Council."

Probe into AWB links with police

N/M 15/10/86

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

304A

CAPE TOWN—An investigation has been launched into police involvement in the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging after flags, T-shirts and badges of the militant Right-wing organisation were found in a Johannesburg police station.

The investigation has been confirmed in a statement by the police media liaison division, but no mention was made of the AWB paraphernalia.

A spokesman said yesterday that the department had no further comment to make other than what was in the official statement.

It said the official policy of the police force that its members could not join the AWB had been disclosed before.

'Alleged membership or involvement of individual members of the force in AWB activities is presently being investigated departmentally,' said the statement.

'Departmental investigations and or steps against members of the force are regarded as internal affairs about which no comment can be made for publication.'

Earlier this year, AWB supporters disrupted meetings of Mr Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, and Mr Louis Nel, Deputy Minister for Information, and Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, said in Parliament that any member of an organisation which supported violence was not welcome in the police force.

Most whites want Pik for President

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Foreign Minister Pik Botha is the only man white South Africans want as their next State President, according to the finding of a recent Markinor Poll carried out by Markinor Research Group.

The research was conducted among 1 000 white adults in the metropolitan areas.

The finding is contrary to reports that the front-runners in the succession stakes are ministers F W de Klerk and Chris Heunis — leaders of the National Party in the Transvaal and Cape respectively.

According to the survey, Mr de Klerk and Mr Heunis have very little popular support. While 54% of whites wanted Pik Botha for President, Mr de Klerk could muster only 3% and Mr Heunis a mere 1%.

The research showed that support for Mr Botha was consistently stronger among those with lower educational qualifications and lower incomes.

There is no centre in which Mr Heunis scored even a modicum of support. The survey showed that even the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, managed to outdo him by scoring 3% of the urban vote.

Call on all groups to unite to oust ruling Nationalists

PW Botha's govt will have to go, says Eglin

30CA
DD 15/10/86

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — With South Africa facing the gravest crisis ever, there was an urgent need for traditional political parties and extra-parliamentary organisations to unite to oust the government, Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said in a statement.

He said the only prospect the country had for escaping the current crisis was for concerned South Africans to forge a broad-based "new movement for an alternative government".

Mr Eglin said events of the past weeks had shown that South Africa was facing a crisis of "very grave proportions" and that "the future of this country is poised on a knife-edge".

MR EGLIN

The reality of economic sanctions, the collapse of the Nkomati Accord, the continuing state of emergency, and the government's failure to present a viable plan for political reform were pointers that South Africa's relationships both internally and externally were "at their lowest ebb.

"White South Africans, who at this stage still control the levers of power, are facing their moment of decision," he said.

"We can band together in shaking our fists at the world. We can batten down the hatches and try to ride out the storm. We can try to stamp out internal dissent. We can dither with Mr P. W. Botha on his side of the Rubicon.

"Or we can come to terms with the fact that we are just part of a South African nation with some 33-million people and then get on with the task of eliminating apartheid and negotiating a power sharing constitution with equal rights for all South Africans," he said.

Mr Eglin said if South Africans wanted peace and national unity "then Mr Botha's government will have to go".

The immediate strategy should be to build up a new "alternative government ... not by the PFP on its own, but through the combined efforts of those South Africans who are tired of Nationalist incompetence, arrogance and the way they put their own self-interest first."

Mr Eglin said the members of such an alliance could be drawn from the PFP, the New Republic Party, "even the National Party", commerce and industry, churches, universities, community-based organisations, and from "the thousands of concerned South Africans who today belong to no political party".

The first step should be to replace the National Party government in Parliament with one that was committed to an "apartheid-free South Africa.

"The election that is around the corner must be used as the first step towards ousting the Nats and getting a government that represents the interests of all South Africans," he said.

AWB tight-lipped on SAP purge

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Members of the militant rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) were yesterday reluctant to comment on a South African Police (SAP) bid to rid its forces of AWB members.

However, a spokesman for the AWB said their leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, would comment on the issue at the organisation's public meeting in Potgietersrus on Thursday night.

Police have confirmed that the alleged AWB membership of some policemen, or their involvement with the organisation's activities, is being investigated on a departmental level.

However, the findings of the investigation will not be made public.

Departmental investigations are considered an "internal matter on which we are not prepared to comment for publication purposes", a police spokesman said.

However, the public relations division of the SAP yesterday reiterated that it was official policy that "no member of the force may join or be a member of the AWB".

The move appears to follow incidents in Brits and Pietersburg when meetings held by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, were disrupted by AWB members.

MR TERRE'BLANCHE

Observers noted on each occasion that members of the SAP did nothing to prevent AWB members from taking over the meetings.

Jhb Nat group slams PFP move

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The coalition National Party (the Independent Ratepayers' Association) in the Johannesburg City Council has criticised the Progressive Federal Party for telling the media about the PFP's rejection of a proposal to grant the State President, Mr P W Botha, the freedom of the city.

The opposition PFP caucus voted to reject the proposal because Mr Botha was the leader of a political party as well as leader of the country.

Coalition spokesman Mr Danie van Zyl said "good manners and kindness" dictated that the matter should have been dealt with confidentially.

Dr Alex Boraine, one of the PFP members who resigned his seat in Parliament earlier this year, said it was "wonderful" that Johannesburg had decided not to confer its freedom on Mr Botha.

He said it would have been incongrous "to give him the freedom of anywhere when he has denied it to so many others". — Sapa

Whites want Pik as next man at the helm

THELMA TUCH

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha is the only man white South Africans want as their next President, a recent Markinor Gallup Poll carried out by Markinor Research Group has found.

The research was conducted among 1 000 white adults in the metropolitan areas.

The finding is contrary to reports that front-runners in the succession stakes are Ministers F W de Klerk and Chris Heunis — leaders of the National Party in the Transvaal and Cape respectively.

According to the survey De Klerk and Heunis have very little popular support. While 54% of whites wanted Pik Botha for President, De Klerk could muster only 3% and Heunis a mere 1%.

The research showed that support for Botha was consistently stronger among those with lower educational qualifications and lower incomes.

There was no centre where Heunis scored even a modicum of support. The survey showed that even leader of the Conservative Party Andries Treurnicht managed to outdo him by scoring 3% of the urban vote.

Nats ready for trouble with AWB

15/10/86 (304A)

Political Correspondent

The National Party is ready for any problems it might have with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) at a public meeting to be addressed by President Botha in Potgietersrus tomorrow night.

Dr Sampie Golden, NP MP for Potgietersrus, confirmed today that posters advertising the meeting had been sprayed with a large red "V", believed to stand for "verraaier" (traitor).

Dr Golden said this was just the sort of thing AWB supporters would do.

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche had hurriedly arranged a public meeting of his own in Potgietersrus to coincide with President Botha's, he said.

The AWB did not have great respect for freedom of speech, Dr Golden said, and the NP was ready for tomorrow night.

Armed guards for AWB chief at airport

Cape Times 15/10/86

By CHRIS ERASMUS 30cm

AN SAA passenger was shocked to see a phalanx of armed Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) "storm troopers" at D F Malan Airport's domestic arrivals hall last Friday evening.

The uniformed AWB men carried clearly holstered side-arms. They were on hand to greet the movement's leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, who was flying into the the city from Johannesburg.

The passenger did not want to be named for fear of being "firebombed".

Captain Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, last night said it was against the law to enter a restricted area at an airport while carrying a firearm.

"However, that specific domestic arrival hall is a public area and is therefore not restricted."

□ The police public relations division said membership of the AWB or participation in the organization's activities by certain members of the force was under departmental investigation. No policemen may be a member of the AWB.

Cape Times 15/10/86

Agenda for PW's summit

3044

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — State President P W Botha has released details of his Forward with Confidence economic summit to be held next month.

Organized industry and commerce are excited by the inclusion of the long-awaited government White Paper on privatization on the two-item agenda. The other item listed for discussion is the long-term economic strategy recommended by the Economic Advisory Council.

Personal invitations have been sent out to 200 business leaders. The aim, a statement released yesterday said, was "to give representation to all facets of employers, employees, big and small business sectors". It could not be established last night whether trade union leaders have been invited.

Concern has been expressed in some quarters that the summit could be wrecked should delegates be refused the opportunity to raise government's programme for political reform — notably missing from the agenda.

The businessmen will gather at the presidential guest house in Bryntirion, Pretoria, on November 7, to discuss in depth:

- The proposals of the Economic Advisory Council (EAC) on a long-term national economic strategy and goverment's reactions in this regard; and
- The White Paper on a strategy for privatization with a view to giving it further practical implementation "against the background of recent and present economic developments".

Maties differ on prospect of black govt

Cape Times 15/10/86

By RIAAN SMIT

MATIES are sharply divided over the prospect of a predominantly black government for South Africa, a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey has shown.

Of the more than 600 students questioned, 42 percent of the respondents said they would accept a predominantly black government if the rights and security of whites were to be protected, but another 37 percent differed.

Forty percent said a predominantly black government in South Africa was inevitable, while 53 percent said such a government would not be a good government.

According to a senior Political Science lecturer at Stellenbosch, Mr Jannie Gagiano, who conducted the HSRC survey, the "repression potential" of students was "very high".

Forty-eight percent said the courts should punish people who take part in boycotts, and 47 percent supported the detention of people who take part in protest marches.

The breaking up of peaceful protests by police was supported by 33 percent of the respondents, while 69 percent indicated support for the use of violence by police against protesters who were damaging private property.

Seventy-one percent would support police if they shot at stone and bottle throwers.

The 64 percent of respondents who supported the government were also sympathetic towards the SABC.

Change racial attitudes, says new moderator

CAPE TIMES 15/10/86 (304A)

By EBRAHIM MOOSA and BARRY STREEK

AFRIKANER theologian Professor Johan Heyns, who was elected to the top post in the Ned Geref Kerk yesterday, diplomatically shied away from the major political issues facing the church.

However, he stressed that South Africa's future hinged on a radical and total change in race relation attitudes.

Professor Heyns called on the government to base its policies on moral principles of love and respect for human dignity".

The NGK, which opened its seventh general synod in the city yesterday, had to make a "decisive contribution" which went beyond considerations of "rich and poor; black and white; Conservative Party and National Party", he said in his opening address.

In an interview, he said: "There is no single political solution for us in South Africa unless there is a total and radical change in attitudes in this land.

"The NGK has a big role in terms of its history to make the necessary changes. The NGK in light of its history will make a permanent change in the situation.

REFORMIST MODERATOR — PAGE 3

"I cannot dictate to the State any particular form of political structure. I am a theologian and can only give and promote political-ethical consequences but cannot prescribe any structure as such.

Asked his opinion on the Group Areas Act, he replied: "This is a political issue. It is an open political question. I cannot see any explicit theological principle to maintain or abolish that law."

Ds E J Potgieter, the former moderator, was elected as the assessor.

Ds Dirk Fourie and Ds D Viljoen were both re-elected as actuary and scribe.

Ds "Tappies" Moller, the former assessor, was the defeated aspirant moderator.

Observers view Professor Heyns as a "reformist" who agrees with the government's constitutional reform initiatives. But they are pessimistic on whether he will be able to muster support for any radical changes.

One of the most serious issues facing the church is the tough opposition from its ethnic affiliates — especially the Ned Geref Sendingkerk — which has accused it of theological heresy

To Page 2

The new moderator of the NGK, Professor Johan Heyns.

CAPE TIMES 15/10/86

'Radical change'

(3048)

for its failure to denounce the government's apartheid policies.

He is determined to enhance the NGK's status internationally, restore its membership to the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), from which it has been suspended, and stay in the Reformed Ecumenical Synod.

In this attempt he is bound to be confronted by his former student, Dr Allan Boesak, the head of the WARC who has declared that the acceptance of the Belhar Confession is the only basis for dialogue among members of the Dutch Reformed family of churches.

□ Professor Heyns was a P W Botha-type reformist who still believed in separate churches for different races, the head of the department of religious studies at the University of Cape Town, Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, said last night.

Commenting on the election of Professor Heyns, Professor Villa-Vicencio said: "Certainly in terms of the ideological divide of the white church, he is on the verligte side.

"He is clearly a reformist but that does not place him in any way in the same camp as Allan Boesak.

"Given Johan Heyns's reformist and very often vacillating position, the chances are that any meangingful negotiation between the NG Kerk and the Sendingkerk are going to become more difficult rather than easier," Professor Villa-Vicencio said.

CAPE TIMES 15/10/86

Scrapping of group areas 'essential'

30KA

Financial Staff

THE Group Areas Act has become a socio-economic prison and has to be eliminated so that blacks can move into the free enterprise system and benefit from it.

This is the view of Philip Krawitz, MD of the Cape Union Mart group of companies and a former president of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce.

Making a strong plea for political change to change the economy, he told a seminar of the Menswear Group that SA was a poor country.

Distorted system

"Where we have gone wrong is to choose free enterprise for some and socialism for others. We have distorted our political system with apartheid and this is where we have failed."

Apartheid was abhorrent and had to die. The route for SA to go was one of socio-economic equalization through black, coloured and Indian people being brought into the free enterprise system.

Citing the example of a dove that has been held so tightly that it was unable to fly when freed, Krawitz said that black businessmen, who are willing and able, would have to be "massaged" into the system.

It was possible to make the South African economy a world leader but more was needed from the government. It had gone a long way already but the next major step should be the elimination of the Group Areas Act.

"Today black managers and black labourers are forced to live side-by-side. If people who have the money are not able to break out of the socio-economic prison, frustration is created."

Philip Krawitz

Krawitz said there were three other alternatives for SA, fascism, communism and socialism, but he rejected them.

Fascism could be brought upon SA by driving white people into a laager. The far right had the ability to seize power and their hand was strengthened by the imposition of sanctions.

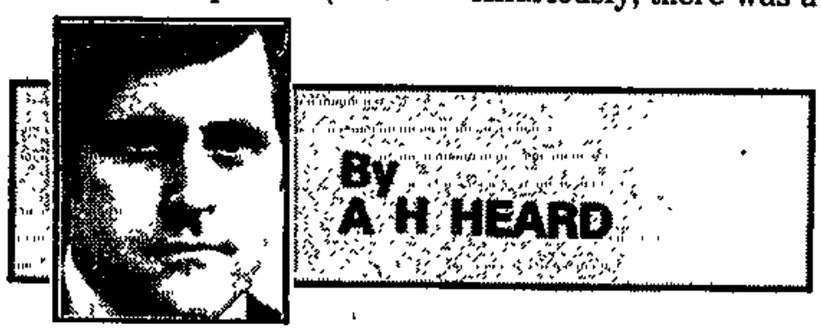
He also rejected communism, the attraction of which he could understand, and socialism.

The RSCs which would use businessmen's wealth to uplift the poor, were socialist and would fail.

"Socialism, with 15% trying to provide for 85%, cannot work," Krawitz said.

(204A) Eve Post 16/10/86

South Africa reaps the legacy



IN 1948 South Africa embarked on a course which affronted the world. The consequences are with us: sanctions.

Nearly 40 years ago, apartheid was embarked on with messianic zeal, however much those responsible distance themselves from it now.

The world, emerging from global conflict over race domination, saw a former ally against Hitler systematically entrenching segregation by law.

As the United States dragged itself traumatically away from the remnants of official segregation, and the very word, like slavery, became an international swear-word, the South African Government brazenly passed scores of Acts discriminating against people on grounds of race. The system was backed by force.

Warnings that this was a course to disaster, that things would catch up with South Africa in spite of its wealth and armed power, were disregarded.

The country demonstrated great resilience. In spite of dire predictions and events such as Sharpeville and Soweto, the economy grew and the State got more powerful. With this came much official confidence and hubris.

Particularly in the Verwoerd era, there was armadillo-like insensitivity to a tragedy-in-the-making.

As a parliamentary reporter, I lived through that glacial era, when the only moves on race were more and more segregation attempts — buses, beaches, universities, bantustans, sport (remember the Japanese jockey and the unwelcome Maoris?), blood, ambulances, traffic cops, municipalities. You name it, they tried it.

Only occasionally was there official concern or self-doubt, for instance the speech by Mr Paul Sauer at Humansdorp, after Sharpeville, when, acting for a wounded Dr Verwoerd, he urged mild reforms; and Dr Verwoerd withdrawing the "church clause", which was aimed at blacks and would have led to an Archbishop of Cape Town risking prison in defiance.

The withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 1961 was hailed as a liberating event (I saw Dr Verwoerd welcomed like a returning Caesar by the massed faithful at D F Malan airport), instead of being regretted as a disastrous loss of communication with a huge slice of humanity.

I recall the political insensitivity as the Government resolutely marched out of step with humanity, such as:

Mrs Pandit, the Indian Prime Minister's sister, being described as "*daardie ou koeliemeid*"; a local MP seeming concerned that only one person had been shot dead at Sharpeville (that was before the toll of 69 was known); a detainee's death leaving the Minister responsible "cold".

John Vorster leapfrogged 11 Ministers to the premiership, and rammed through detention without trial and a sabotage Act that included possible death for minors. This did not enamour the world.

When the Tomlinson Commission advanced a *modus operandi* for grand apartheid, such as insisting on consolidation, tapping the private sector for investment and suggesting the best way to monitor things, I recall how its work was waved aside by a Prime Minister who always knew best. (Was Dr Verwoerd piqued because he was not yet Minister of Native Affairs when the commission was appointed and therefore had no hand in its genesis?) Grand apartheid, never a good idea, did not even have an outside chance from then on. Yet it lingers in Government minds, hence the refusal to ditch bantustans.

Urban African administration was summarily switched from easy-going local municipal control to harsh, centralized Pretoria diktat.

The respected University of Fort Hare was taken over by the Minister of "bantu education".

Hilariously, there was a short-lived Ministerial instruction to officials to greet Africans with the word "molo".

Protesting students were sjambokked outside St George's Cathedral. Student leaders became automatic candidates for banning, detention, surveillance, etc.

The list is endless. The real problem was that all this was seen as pretty normal, the way of life — except by blacks, whites in opposition, and the world.

There was, indeed, opposition.

On the illegal front, there was the defiance campaign of the '50s, with a principled, tortured Governor-General's son going to jail, not to mention the black activists who got to know prison like second nature, and still do.

Then again (and it was legal then), dignified academics marched with mortar-boards and gowns in city streets to protest at the withdrawal of the universities' right to teach whom they wished.

Former chief justices betrayed grave concern at the erosion of individual rights and the rule of law. Phillipics were written in newspapers and there were some exposes, notably over the Info scandal. But over the years newspapers themselves experienced loss, like a power fade-out on a computer screen.

There were historic broken promises, such as when the Government reneged on an assurance, concerning a Ministerial interview, given to Philip Kgosana, leader of a crowd of 30 000 Africans who marched on Cape Town in March 1960 — and on the basis of which assurance they peacefully dispersed.

There was the dismissal of the solemn undertaking of Union over the coloured vote as a mere "dead hand of the past".

Passes were abolished, only to surface as reference books. Happily that is over, we hope.

It all welled up — laws, bannings, jailings, shootings, protests, defiance, bombs, half-doubts, even some belated reform, but a Greek tragedy in the making. The sturdy gold-based South African economy carried us through.

Now, with sanctions, things have come home to roost. Against liberal and business urgings, the Western world has embarked on the punishment phase, using the blunt instrument of economic sanctions.

Some see them as the sole alternative to violence. Whether they will help to avert civil war is a question of judgment, and judgments differ.

But it is clear enough that public opinion in the West has been driven by South African events to such a pitch of hostility that even Right-wing Western governments must feed the lion.

We are now reaping what we have sown over nearly 40 years. The primary blame lies with the Government, though whites who have basked in the economic privileges of apartheid and averted their eyes from the effects on blacks carry dual responsibility.

Far more resolute action than getting stuck in muddy Rubicons is needed. Yet, the sad thing is that, in the pressure-cooker of sanctions, whites will probably veer to the right, as they show their muscles and their sanctions-busting ingenuity to the world.

It is a dismal prospect, and it will require courage, resilience and far-sightedness — including inspanning the services of the Mandelas and Slabberts — to break the paradigm of violence.

● Is there perhaps comfort in the thought that we South Africans are at least facing critical choices denied to other nations?

Black pressure on bosses seen

(304A) 16/10/86

Business Editor

FAILURE by employers to respond adequately to calls for help from the black communities would lead increasingly to action in the workplace, a Midlands Chamber of Industries seminar in Port Elizabeth was told today.

Mr Bokkie Botha, group personnel manager of AECI, said employers were likely to be called upon increasingly to take public stances on controversial and political issues such as separate group areas and separate education.

He said the removal of influx control had raised enormous expectations of employers, such as the provision of housing at prices which employees could afford.

Successful meeting of community needs would require the release of more serviced land, the elimination of bureaucratic delays, the availability of low interest finance and provision of community services.

Employees and communities would want to ensure their permanent status as SA citizens. The dissatisfaction with township living conditions which was currently providing a steady stream of enquiries about breaking the Group Areas Act, might soon turn into a flood, he said.

Govt wants to continue holding reins — Slabbert

304A

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

IT was inconceivable for the present leadership of the Government to think of an alternative future other than one in which it would hold the reins of power, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said today.

Dr Slabbert, who is a founder executive member of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), was addressing a Midland Chamber of Industries seminar on "Managing in the midst of social change".

Dr Slabbert said the Government's commitment to a future based on group identity in which a minority white Government would remain in control was the basis of the revolt against its reform package.

Against this commitment to a group solution were the demands for:

- Freedom of association on an individual basis.
- A democratic alternative in which provision is made for no domination by any group.

Essentially, he said, there was a demand for a non-racial democracy and there was therefore increasing conflict with the Government's commitment to a multiracial autocracy.

Dr Slabbert said the key issue which demanded reform was domination — the Government recognised this as did the whole spectrum of opposition groups.

But, he added, where the difference lay was that the Government wished to reform domination and not get rid of it.

Dr Slabbert said that between 1948 and 1983 the fundamental principle of National Party Government had been divide and rule with the emphasis on setting up separate structures away from the centre of power and so entrenching domination.

The emphasis had shifted in 1983 with the inauguration of the tricameral Parliament from exclusive and divide and rule to inclusive divide and rule — co-optive domination.

The Government accepted, Dr Slabbert said, that the problem lay with the exclusion of blacks —

Attending the Midland Chamber of Industries seminar in Port Elizabeth today were (from left) Mr BRIAN ROBINSON, personnel director of Volkswagen SA, Dr FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT, former leader of the Opposition, and Mr BOKKIE BOTHA, personnel manager of AECI.

PW in AWB country tonight

30 HA

16/10/86 STAR

Political Correspondent

A new showdown between the National Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) looms with President Botha and Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche both addressing public meetings at Potgietersrus tonight.

There is tension on both sides following a Press conference called by Mr TerreBlanche yesterday in which he gave Mr Botha a virtual ultimatum to respond to a request for a meeting between the two before tonight's meeting "in the interest of law and order".

A spokesman for the Office of the State President today said there was no comment on Mr TerreBlanche's statement.

Mr TerreBlanche arranged to hold a public meeting in Potgietersrus tonight when the National Party announced President Botha would be making a speech at an ox braai in the town.

NP posters advertising the event have been defaced with a large red "V".

STORMTROOPERS

Security arrangements for Mr Botha's appearance at the rugby stadium are expected to be heavy, especially as the AWB broke up and hijacked a National Party meeting to be addressed by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in nearby Pietersburg a few months ago.

● Mr TerreBlanche yesterday dismissed misgivings expressed about being met at DF Malan Airport by armed men in uniform on Friday.

A passenger at the airport expressed shock at seeing AWB "stormtrooper" types meet their leader.

They were apparently members of the Brandwag, the militant wing of the ultra-right-wing organisation.

Mr TerreBlanche said threats had been made against him in the past and his supporters had the right to protect him if they wanted to. — Sapa.

● See Page 4.

304A

Slabbert: there will be life after apartheid

HARARE — Just as whites in Zimbabwe had found that "there was life after Smith," whites in South Africa would have to realise there would be life after apartheid, the former Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said in an interview published here yesterday.

Dr Slabbert, who resigned as leader of the opposition earlier this year, told the semi-official daily newspaper, The Herald, that Zimbabwe was "an important agent in the whole of Southern Africa" because it had refuted the propaganda about black rule put out by the South African Government and Mr Ian Smith's former Rhodesian regime.

His impression of the country, on his first visit since a student rugby tour in 1962, was positive.

"The one thing that strikes me is the great confidence, people looking forward to the future, the feeling of optimism," said Dr Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert said he was impressed by white businessmen, who must in the past have had very different views about Zimbabwe's present leaders. Yet today these businessmen were "some of the best public relations people the government has got."

The South African problem was obviously a brake on economic development throughout the Southern African region, and clearly everyone would be better off when South Africa became a democratic state, Dr Slabbert was quoted as telling the Herald.

Turning to South Africa's internal politics, Dr Slabbert said he believed the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, now realised the issue was not the reform of the apartheid system but the actual transfer of power.

"But that to him is suicide," said Dr Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert said whites would have to consider the cost of maintaining their domination, but the South African military leadership at the moment assessed these costs as acceptable, and the whites tended to follow this. — Sapa

Boraine backs Jo'burg's No to freedom of city for Botha

JOHANNESBURG — Dr Alex Boraine, one of the Progressive Federal Party members who resigned his seat in Parliament earlier this year, said it was "wonderful" that the city had decided not to confer its freedom on the State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

Addressing an End Conscription Campaign (ECC) meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand campus last night, he said it would have been incongruous "to give him the freedom of anywhere when he has denied it to so many others".

Dr Boraine, the former PFP Federal Council chairman, said he was "astonished at the courage and resilience" shown by the ECC members.

It was the first ECC public meeting following the imposition of the state of emergency, during which many members had been detained, or were in hiding, but he said the ECC was part of the growing voice that said "no to increased militarisation".

He told the audience of about 500 university students he had hope for the future of the country when he saw "young people like yourselves on the side of democracy".

The Wits ECC co-chairman, Mr Matthew Chaskelson, said despite the emergency regulations the organisation was alive and active. The recently established Pretoria and Stellenbosch branches were growing.

● The Conservative Party (CP) has welcomed Johannesburg's decision. A spokesman, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said Mr Botha had a "legacy of dissension" in his career and did not deserve the honour. — Sapa

16/10/86 (304A) 00

16/10/90 (304A)

AWB's storm troops shock air passenger

CAPE TOWN — A South African Airways passenger has expressed shock and horror at seeing a phalanx of armed Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) "storm troopers" in the domestic arrivals hall at Cape Town airport last Friday.

The uniformed AWB men — carrying holstered side-arms — were on hand to greet their leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, who arrived in the city from Johannesburg, said the passenger, who declined to be named for fear of being "firebombed" by sympathisers of the neo-fascist organisation.

"It was absolutely incredible to walk into the arrivals lounge and see these armed men in their nazi-like uniforms and three-legged swastikas standing in the baggage collection area with their side-arms out in the open," the passenger said.

"And what makes it worse was that there was no sign of even one policemen who could have stopped them doing anything they liked. It was unbelievable and quite horrendous.

"If anyone from overseas had seen that, they would be entitled to go away calling us any names they like. They (the AWB men) looked just like Nazis and they made me feel like they were Nazis. It was quite terrifying."

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, said it was illegal to enter a restricted area at an airport while in possession of a firearm.

"However, that specific domestic arrival hall is a public area and is therefore not restricted," he said, stressing there were policemen on duty to enforce the law where necessary.

Mr Terre'Blanche, meanwhile, has dismissed the passenger's misgivings.

He said threats had been made against him in the past and his supporters had the right to protect him if they wanted to. He did not notice weapons when he arrived at the airport, but people had the right to wear them if they were properly licensed.

The AWB did not have uniforms but, on occasions, its members wore khaki outfits with the organisation's emblem.

He also dismissed suggestions the AWB had hurriedly called a meeting in Potgietersrus in the Transvaal today — the same night President P. W. Botha is speaking there. — DDC-Sapa

No solution in merely spending more money

By Patrick Leeman

A REVOLUTIONARY take-over of the South African Government and a systematic restructuring of South African society along socialist or neo-marxist lines seems to be unlikely within the next 10 years and not likely in the next century either.

This is the view of Dr P H Spies of the Institute of Futures Research at the University of Stellenbosch, in a report entitled *Perspectives on the Future of Natal/KwaZulu* drawn up for the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission.

He says the ingredients for a revolutionary future are inherent to the South African socio-economic fabric.

However, it is also true that it is one of the gravest of forecasting errors to underestimate the reactive potential of a modern organised community served by a modern government and supported by a strong military deterrent.

On local issues, Dr Spies says a family-planning programme for KwaZulu/Natal could have important long-term implications for socio-political stability and economic development in the region.

As far as education is concerned, he writes that it is unlikely that black educational problems can be solved just by spending more money.

New approaches and innovative actions are necessary, Dr Spies argues.

He says teaching is an area where the Natal Provincial Administration can increase general effectiveness without being responsible for it.

A positive contribution could be made through investigating alternative educational systems that are well adapted and relevant to the needs of the black population in particular.

Dr Spies says housing and social services for fast-growing black urban communities seem to be a major challenge for the future.

He says the challenge of growing unemployment should be tackled by actively and aggressively promoting small-business development through monetary institutions and other means.

'Unemployment is a major threat to the long-term stability of the region', he writes.

304A

N/M 16/10/88

The reform process

'Group' basis must remain, says Heunis

16/10/86 (304A) N/M

MR CHRIS HEUNIS, the Government's constitutional major domo, says people are wrong to suggest that the reform process has ground to a halt. There is more to reform than simply political change, he says, and urges people to see the process as multi-faceted rather than as a one-legged creation.

He goes so far as to warn that the granting of political rights alone could have tremendously destabilising consequences for society if social and economic progress are not addressed at the same time as constitutional matters.

As proof of the multiplicity of reform and the Government's commitment to change at a whole variety of levels other than political, he cites the scrapping of influx control, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Political Interference Act and other racially discriminatory legislation, and the introduction of property rights, the return of citizenship and the introduction of uniform identity documents for all races.

Motivation

But he and his Cabinet colleagues appear to overlook the fact that these measures were politically motivated when they originally removed the rights they are now returning to black people. They never could have been removed if blacks had had the political clout then that they are seeking now.

Many blacks feel that a government which by its own admission has been wrong for 38 years should not be surprised if the people who have been at the receiving end of its policies for so long now want, and demand, even at the risk of their own lives, the political rights that could have protected them.

For all the complexities of change the most important one for blacks is political rights in a central forum, and they want them now. They want a clear declaration of intent at least.

Mr Heunis says it would be wrong and even dangerous to assume that development on all other terrains automatically follows the attainment of political power and that the Government is ready to change its political borders to meet current circumstances

But, blacks know that politics is power, and they want in to the power game.

Nobody would deny that as the man responsible for stitching together the different aspects of this complicated constitutional patchwork quilt Mr Heunis has an extremely complex task, particularly in South Africa's complex society.

Neglect

But there are many who would, and do, say it is a pity that he, and other members of the Cabinet appear to have reached the conclusion only now that socio-economic and political change must ride in tandem. In effect what they have done is indict past Nationalist governments of years of neglect of black rights — social and political.

That, according to Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange, is why blacks throw stones at whites. It has led to the impasse the country faces today — a government willing to negotiate and a black majority that apparently is not.

Mr Heunis is in a classic Catch 22 situation and there must be some sympathy for him. He wants to negotiate a new deal but black leaders want to know what the end result will be before they start talking.

But, the Government feels it has made its intentions clear — that it wants to negotiate a new constitutional dispensation which for the first time will give blacks entry to Parliament. This is the only interpretation that can be given to the Government's declared intention of giving blacks representation at 'the highest level'.

In East London recently Mr Heunis lifted the veil ever so slightly on current government thinking on how a future central government should be constituted. Basically it amounts to representation for all groups on the basis of 'equality' not 'numbers' and, inherent in this philosophy, is the removal of all forms of discrimination

Mr Heunis believes the political debate in South Africa is no longer about 'whether' everyone should be represented in Parliament or 'whether' discrimination should be abolished or 'whether' group and minority rights should be protected in a true democracy.

The debate now revolves about what sort of structures there should be for these guidelines to become a reality and about the definition of 'group' whereby people would participate in the future structures. There are many political figures today who abhor the 'group' concept and are unlikely to sit down at the negotiating table on this basis.

But, said Mr Heunis, there were many, including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, who recognised the existence of different groups — race, ethnic and others.

Opposition

If this was the structure of South African society, he argued, then it had to be taken into account, which, he said, was just what the Government was doing.

But in the present scheme of things there was widespread opposition to the concept of 'group' definition because it was regarded by some people as being synonymous with discrimination. Originally it was not the definition of differentiation as such which led to this opposition but the experience of people that they were favoured or prejudiced, depending on the group to which they belonged.

'That is dis[illegible] discrimination which stood in the way of the maintenance and broadening of human rights,' said Mr Heunis. This was why the Government was working towards eliminating discrimination, not to negate 'groups' but to establish equality and equal participation.

This was the only way, Mr Heunis said, that the negative connotation of 'group' could be broken down.

'When the discriminatory sting can be removed from group definition and equality becomes visibly apparent, self-determination of groups will gain greater acceptance,' said Mr Heunis.

Delicate

There was a delicate balance between 'general' affairs, which he preferred to call 'national' affairs, and 'own' and 'group' affairs, which he preferred to call 'community' affairs. The danger of domination arose from the promotion of 'national' interests and the development of structures for this.

'Therefore the Government says that groups must share power at central-government level on the basis of equality and that, for the sake of the general good, they must co-operate so that there can be no discrimination,' Mr Heunis said.

'To achieve this, representation of groups in the central government, at executive and legislative-authority level, cannot be based on numbers.'

Everyone had problems with numbers, competition between groups and with First and Third World circumstances. The solution to South Africa's problems lay in recognising the reality of groups and catering for it in order to reduce conflict potential.

Mr Heunis said it was essential, therefore, to involve leaders of all groups in decision-taking and the proposed National Council was an instrument to promote this. 'We must, in spite of less favourable circumstances, reach a situation where leaders can meet as equals and work out a new constitutional dispensation together,' he

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

Broederbond decides to keep under wraps

16/10/86 304A STAR

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Afrikaner Broederbond — whose membership includes the new moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk — has told the church it is not prepared to abandon the secrecy of the organisation and its activities.

The decision to remain a secret body was taken by the Broederbond's executive council after a request from the Ned Geref Kerk that the matter be given "serious attention".

Details of communications between the church and the Broederbond about this issue are contained in a report before the general synod meeting in Cape Town.

The general moderature has recommended that the Broederbond's reply be accepted.

The request to consider the secrecy issue was put to the Broederbond in terms of a 1982 decision of the NGK's general synod.

The synod then asked the executive council of the Broederbond to consider seriously — "in the light of the difficult times in which we are living" — whether the "confidentiality" of the Broederbond "should not rather be abandoned".

The synod also said it was aware that some members and office-bearers of the church belonged to the Broederbond while others did not.

The new leader of the church, Professor Johan Heyns, disclosed at a Press conference on Tuesday he was still a member of the secret organisation.

An appeal was made to all members of the church, in terms of the 1982 decision, to accept one anothers' integrity and to put their "brotherhood in Christ" above all other loyalties.

The decision was communicated to the Broederbond, which then gave a preliminary written reply. This was followed by a request for an interview by three Broederbond members with the Ned Geref Kerk's general moderature.

In a subsequent written reply, the Broederbond said its executive council had given "very serious attention" to the request.

The Broederbond's executive council had come to the conclusion, however, that "it is not desirable to abolish the confidential nature of the organisation and its activities".

The previous Bondsraad, the highest authority in the Broederbond, had endorsed this viewpoint.

Reasons given by the Broederbond for maintaining its secrecy included:

- Members were invited to join the organisation because of service they had already rendered to the Afrikaner cause in their personal capacity.
- Confidentiality enabled members to exchange opinions "more open-heartedly" and ensured members would not be "labelled or ridiculed" outside the organisation.

The Broederbond gave an assurance that "the Christian norms and conscience" remained the basis of Broederbond decisions and actions.

TerreBlanche tells PW: set date now

Pretoria Bureau

The State President, Mr P W Botha, has been given until tonight to set a date for a meeting with the leader of the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

Mr TerreBlanche called a last-minute Press conference in Pretoria last night to demand that the State President set a date before their respective public gatherings — both scheduled to be held in Potgietersrus tonight.

"I have met all his conditions. I accept the bona fides of the State President and in the present explosive political situation, it is unthinkable that the President will not react, particularly as the two public meetings are being held in the same place," he said.

Mr TerreBlanche denied it was a threat or ultimatum. "It is in the interests of security and law and order that we receive an answer to a reasonable request."

In reply to questions on what guarantees he could give that tonight's meetings would be peaceful, he said: "The AWB has never had problems with disruptions of its meetings. I cannot speak for the State President."

Mr TerreBlanche said Mr Botha had agreed to meet him on three conditions.

These were that the opportunity for the meeting should not be used as a publicity stunt, that the two men speak alone and that Mr TerreBlanche convince him the AWB did not propagate violence.

The AWB leader said he had agreed to and met all the conditions.

Nats are likely to get hot reception

Northern Transvaal Bureau

POTGIETERSRUS — With feelings running high in Nationalist and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging ranks, President Botha is likely to get a hot reception here when he arrives today to address a meeting at the town's new sporting complex.

The AWB move to have its own meeting simultaneously at a school rugby field and damage to NP posters have been dismissed by Nationalist MP Dr Sample Golden as "a desperate attempt by the movement to prevent its followers from hearing Mr Botha".

But many here are sceptical of Dr Golden's reaction. They feel he is fighting a losing battle against right-wing influence in his constituency, and few give him a chance of retaining the seat in an election.

Dr Golden was elected in 1981 when he decisively outpolled the Herstigte Nasionale Party. But since then the Conservative Party has won much ground.

In 1984 Mr Jan Homan (CP) defeated Mr Deon Swanepoel (NP) by a margin of more than 1 000 votes in a provincial by-election.

Earlier this year in Brits and Pietersburg NP meetings were totally disrupted by the AWB.

Post-apartheid life 'not as rumoured in SA'

Cape Times 16/10/86 (304A)

HARARE. — Just as whites in Zimbabwe found that "there was life after Smith", whites in South Africa had to realize there would be life after apartheid, the former Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said in an interview published here yesterday.

Dr Slabbert, who resigned as leader of the Progressive Federal Party opposition earlier this year, told The Herald that Zimbabwe proved false the black rule rumours spread by the South African Government.

His impression of the country was quite different from the disinformation spread in South Africa.

"The one thing that strikes me is the great confidence, people looking forward to the future, the feeling of optimism," said Dr Slabbert.

He was in Harare to interview the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, for the South African Leadership magazine on Tuesday.

He was impressed by white businessmen, who must in the past have had very different views about Zimbabwe's present leaders. Yet today these businessmen were "some of the best public relations people the government has got".

The South African problem was obviously a brake on economic development throughout the Southern African region, and clearly everyone would be better off when South Africa became a democratic state, he said.

Dr Slabbert said he believed the State President, Mr P W Botha, now realized the issue was not the reform of the apartheid system but the actual transfer of power.

"But that to him is suicide," said Dr Slabbert.

The same sort of siege mentality that characterized the last years of white Rhodesia was now being created in South Africa and the young Afrikaners, who were people capable of changing, were being dragged into a system of negative ideas.

Dr Slabbert said SA whites would have to consider the cost of maintaining their domination. However, the military leadership assessed these as acceptable, and whites followed. — Sapa

PW hits at those who divide SA

Eve Post 17/10/86

POTGIETERSRUS — In a call for national unity last night the State President, Mr P W Botha, said he could not understand why so many South Africans joined the struggle to weaken the country's national will, "thereby unnecessarily dividing us in the battle against communism".

Addressing about 1 600 people at a National Party public meeting in Potgietersrus, he said "our enemies" repeatedly pointed out that South Africans were divided and that this should be maintained if they were to be defeated.

"We must devote our strength here in SA to the creation of national unity and a national will which crosses the borders of all our communities and minorities. We must fight communism and its henchmen," he said.

With the strength the unity he was calling for would provide, SA would overcome the total onslaught from both within and outside the country, but without it, the country would fall.

Mr Botha reiteratied the need to accept the "reality" of South Africa's multi-cultural population composition. He rejected the view from the political left that the country could be totally non-racial, as well as the attitude of the right-wing who exaggerated diversity and accepted superiority and skin colour as the main criteria for exclusion.

"If there is to be real order and freedom in SA, then we must constitutionally account for the diversity in our country. Each responsible South African must realise that," he said

The struggle in SA was not one between black and white but one between Christian values and the right to freedom, and the forces of darkness, he said.

"Through discussion with one another, and through consultation, we must remove as many as possible of the perpetrators of violence in our country."

No matter how difficult it might prove to be, he would not allow reform to be misused by those who wanted to destroy the basis and objectives of a free democratic SA in an undemocratic manner.

"Let us stand together in spite of our diversity. Let us form a powerful bastion of unity that is greater and stronger than that which divided us."

Weekly Mail

PW speaks - from behind blade wire

3044

By PATRICK LAURENCE, Potgietersrus

PRESIDENT PW Botha addressed a National Party rally last night protected by phalanxes of policemen and rolls of razor wire.

Policemen armed with shotguns, teargas and batons lined the approaches to the stadium where the NP rally was held.

Young men, presumably NP supporters, checked the identity of people attending the rally. A police dog barked in the background as they did so.

A middle-aged NP man remarked: "It is shocking, shocking that we should have to meet behind barbed wire."

A section of the sports stadium was partitioned off with canvas to provide protection — not against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging zealots — but against the rain.

A police helicopter hovered overhead, keeping a lookout for possible attempts by AWB strongmen to breach the police line and interrupt the NP meeting.

The AWB counter-rally was not within spitting distance, however; it was held at a school sportsfield at least five km away.

Earlier, cavalcades of AWB motorists drove through the main street to the venue.

Their cars were festooned with the swastika-like triple seven emblem of the AWB. The occasional *Vierkleur* added a dash of variety to the flags.

FLN MAIL

BRINGING IN BLACKS

17/10/86

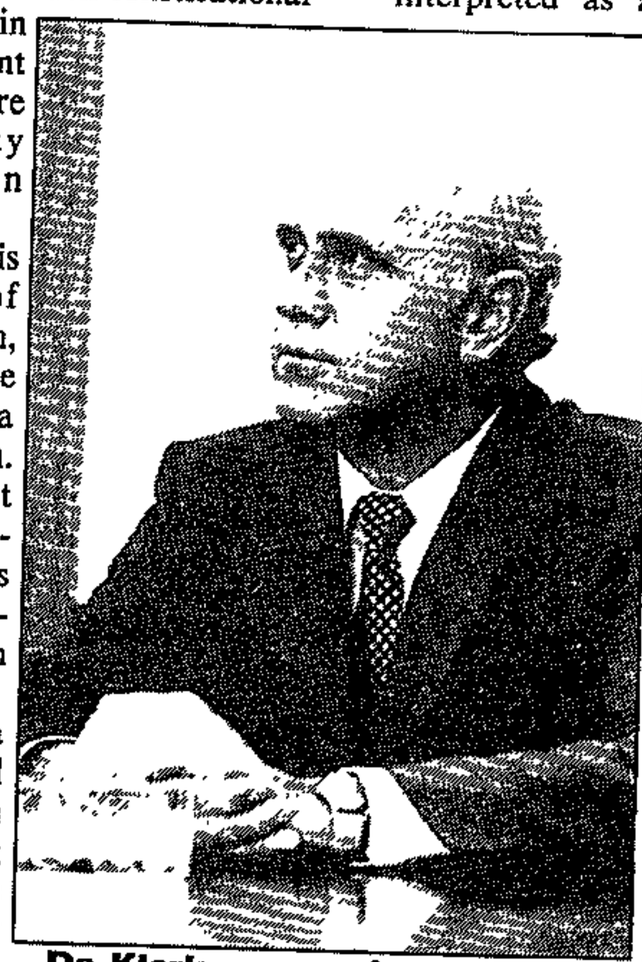
304A

Comments in Switzerland last week by Transvaal National Party (NP) leader F W de Klerk, about black constitutional development, are in line with government proposals to explore the idea of "city states" for urban blacks.

De Klerk, who is also Minister of National Education, was addressing the Swiss-South Africa Association in Zurich. He said government planned to create legislative assemblies and executive ministers councils for urban blacks.

This would lead to a number of high level executive bodies with full decision-making powers on a wide range of issues in their own areas.

The councils would, in turn, be represented on a joint decision-making body with representatives of other "groups." The underlying principle of the higher body would be power sharing without domination, De Klerk said.



De Klerk . . . no change from 'own' and 'general' affairs

Although his comments were initially interpreted as a new plan for urban blacks, on analysis they fit in with State President P W Botha's statements at the National Party federal congress in Durban in August when he raised the possibility of city states for urban blacks.

The preliminary plan outlined by De Klerk also leaves no doubt that government is pressing ahead with the "own" and "general" affairs concepts.

There is no indication yet how far advanced the plan is, but it is believed likely government will use it as a basis of negotiation on the proposed National Council.

The big question, however, is whether government will be able to convince credible black leaders about the merits of such proposals.

Nats brave the North behind an iron curtain

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

POTGIETERSRUS — The National Party stormed the Northern Transvaal last night and won a toe-hold to re-conquer the region.

Behind the cover of a massive police security operation, President Botha held a peaceful public meeting attended by more than 1 500 people.

His speech centred on the need for national unity in the face of the communist and foreign total onslaught against the country.

A few kilometres away a frustrated Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) told a crowd that Mr Botha must be the only head of state in the world who interned himself when he held a public meeting.

Mr TerreBlanche was angry because the ring of steel surrounding the National Party meeting ruled out even the remotest possibility of the AWB getting anywhere close to Mr Botha, let alone disrupting the meeting.

Certainly, the security arrangements were extraordinary, if not excessive.

Several hours before Mr Botha was due to speak at the Potgietersrus rugby stadium police closed certain access roads. Casspirs and water cannons were stationed strategically, razor wire was placed in triple coils near the entrance to the venue and hundreds of policemen were in evidence.

Police dogs were on hand and dozens of plainclothes policemen mingled with the crowd. A police helicopter flew overhead until sunset, monitoring access roads and hovering over the AWB braaivleis about 8 km away.

National Party organisers scrutinised the occupants of each vehicle arriving at the stadium and known AWB supporters were turned away.

"We know the AWB wants to try something here tonight so we are not allowing their spies in," said one NP organiser.

President Botha and his party flew in on a military helicopter at 7.15.

SCRATCHY RECORDINGS

The red and green lights of the approaching chopper brought the crowd to its feet. The presidential couple alighted to cheers, waves and two scratchy recordings of elaborate fanfares more usually associated with the British Royal family.

"Pres P W for Peace" read placards held up by the local Nationalist youth league.

While the police, under the command of a brigadier and a colonel, patrolled the perimeter of the fortifications, President Botha and his wife Elize received a number of presents, including a sjambok "to put something in your hands if a certain element should turn up".

There were certain inescapable realities about South Africa, which, no matter how you might try to wish them away, would always remain, President Botha said.

For example, even if the SA Defence Force and the SA Police, were ordered to shoot everyone that Afrikaners did not like, the most that could be shot would be a few hundred thousand.

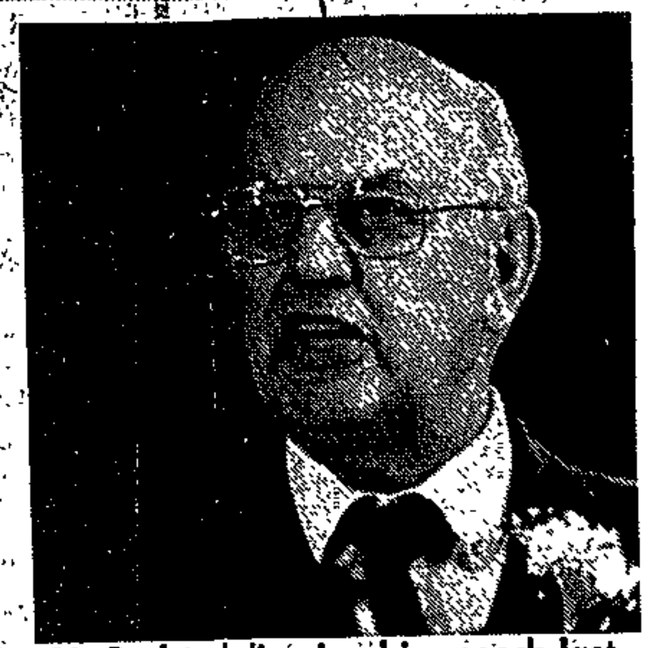
After that the reality would remain unchanged, South Africa would be a multicultural country in which the whites, and much less the Afrikaners, would not be the majority.

South Africans should hold each other's arms to form a line against intimidation, but this would not be possible if they were being weakened from behind.

Mr Botha said he knew that the forces of communism were saying that South African nationalism was divided and that at all costs South Africans had to be kept divided.

It was essentially a united-we-stand, divided-we-fall speech and his audience loved it.

In the face of threats from the AWB the Nationalists have staged a comeback in the Northern Transvaal — but they did so behind the shield of the police.

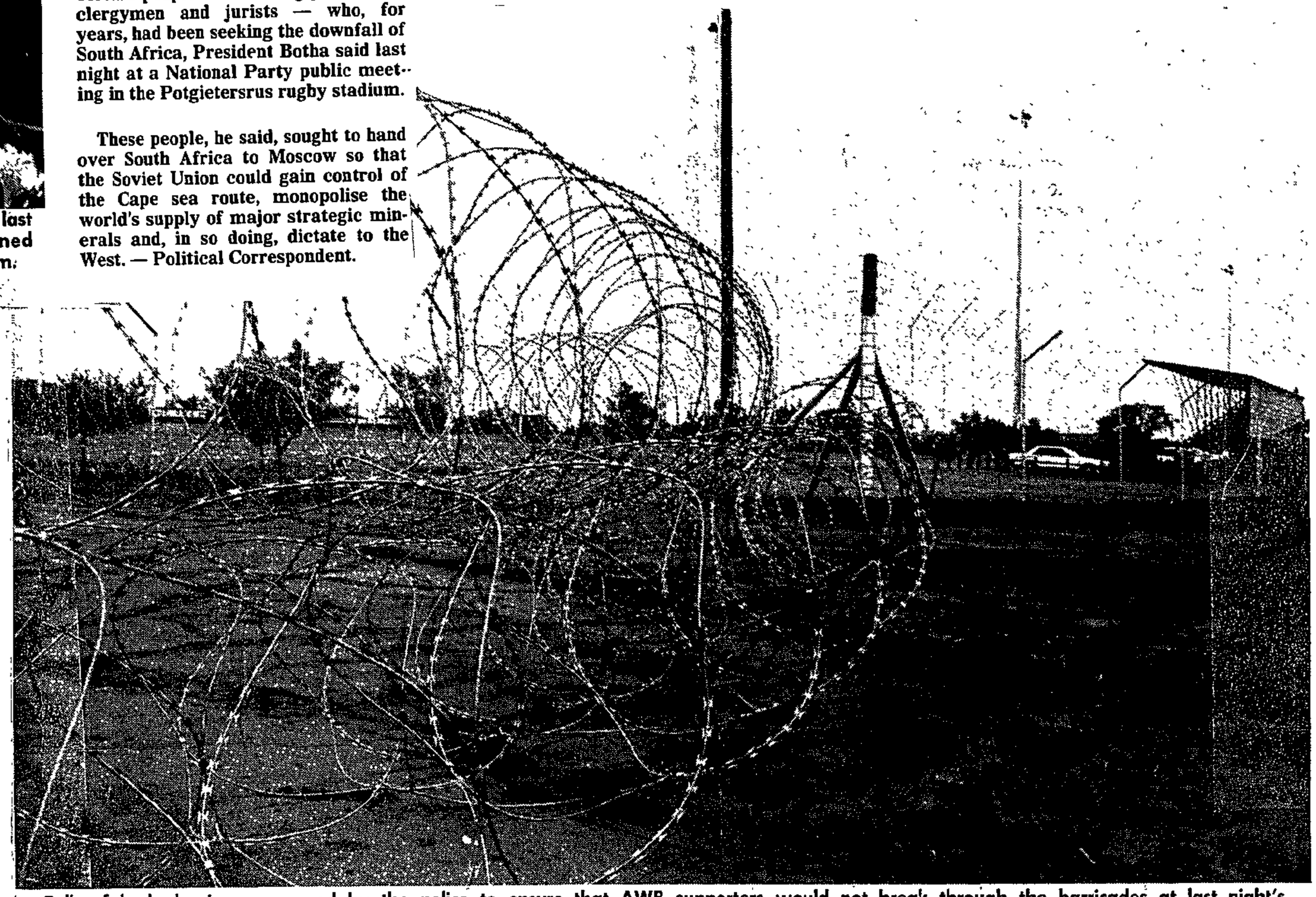


Mr Botha delivering his speech last night as armed police manned roadblocks around the stadium.

Action threatened

POTGIETERSRUS — Action, without fear or favour, would be taken against certain people — including journalists, clergymen and jurists — who, for years, had been seeking the downfall of South Africa, President Botha said last night at a National Party public meeting in the Potgietersrus rugby stadium.

These people, he said, sought to hand over South Africa to Moscow so that the Soviet Union could gain control of the Cape sea route, monopolise the world's supply of major strategic minerals and, in so doing, dictate to the West. — Political Correspondent.



Rolls of barbed wire were used by the police to ensure that AWB supporters would not break through the barricades at last night's meeting addressed by Mr P W Botha. ● Pictures by Ruvan Boshoff.

AWB 'will meet costs'

By Andre du Toit

The AWB would pay for the defence of policemen accused of belonging to the organisation, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said last night.

He challenged Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange to explain to the volk why policemen were being charged in secret.

"Mr le Grange says only four policemen were involved but I have never trusted his knack of doing sums and arithmetic."

Mr TerreBlanche said Mr le Grange had said policemen were barred from the AWB because the organisation believed in violence but the Government last night misused State power to enforce peace.

Simmering with the boerewors

By Hannes de Wet

As the pap and boerewors simmer on the fire, Lood Minnie's bushy moustache bristles with indignation.

"Do they really think they will stop us with Casspirs and barbed wire? Oh no. I have not travelled from Western Transvaal for nothing. We are going to walk over them tonight."

A more sedate AWB member shakes his head.

"How fast do you think you can run with that big stomach of yours. No man, forget it."

It is still mid-afternoon, with AWB supporters arriving in dozens on the outskirts of Potgietersrus where the rightwingers gather to warm up for the evening's events.

From all directions, you hear people discussing the pros and cons of trying to disrupt President Botha's meeting.

The mood is one of impatient expectation. Those who want "action" appear in the majority.

"What can they really do to stop us?" asks Chris Louw, regional secretary of the AWB at Ellisras. "They cannot use teargas because we will be in the open air.

"The barbed wire is certainly not going to stop us. Several of the younger men among us have just completed their army training and they know how to get past barbed wire."

He pauses. "And, let me tell you, those policemen will not shoot us. The rank and file are on our side, man. Don't you doubt it for one moment — it will be some night tonight."

Lood Minnie is quick to follow up.

"Even if they shoot me, even if I die, I don't care. I am doing this for my children, for their future. I am not afraid."

One or two fellow-members again point out it will be fruitless to try to get into the National Party venue.

Lood compromises — a little.

"Well, then I am going over there on my own to cut the cord of their loudspeaker. Let us do at least that. We must do SOMEthing."

Consensus is reached when another suggests: "Let us wait for our leader and hear what he has to say."

And the attention turns back to the pap and boerewors.

Spies filmed Nat security

By Hannes de Wet

Spies from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday made a video recording of the security arrangements for for President Botha's National Party meeting at Potgietersrus.

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche told *The Star* he had watched the video before his own meeting started.

"It looked like something from a war film," he said.

"We never had any plans to to try to disrupt Mr Botha's meeting. We knew that we would make our point by forcing him to address his meeting in a virtual state of siege," said Mr Jan Groenewald, deputy leader of the AWB.

PW interned himself at meeting, says TerreBlanche

By Andre du Toit

President Botha interned himself in Potgietersrus last night, and sat behind the safety of barbed wire and machine guns, said the AWB leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

He was referring to tight security at Mr Botha's National Party meeting.

"I will therefore not expose my people to a man who would misuse the police and army.

"He was not welcome in Johannesburg and now he has come with armed might to Potgietersrus to shoot at unarmed Boers."

Mr TerreBlanche was referring to policemen armed with light machine guns and Casspirs drawn across some of the streets leading to the rugby stadium where Mr Botha addressed NP supporters.

PROTECTED AGAINST VOLK

The show of force did not dampen the spirit of some AWB supporters, who said they would try to break through the police roadblocks to get into the stadium.

"It is pathetic that a State President should protect himself against his own Afrikaner volk," Mr Andre Schoeman, an AWB supporter from Secunda, told *The Star*.

"If I receive an order to go (into the stadium), I shall do so."

Other AWB supporters who had gathered around Mr Schoeman also said they would have liked to give it a try "even if it means getting a bullet in the leg".

AWB supporters said that the majority of policemen who guarded the stadium were not from Potgietersrus but elsewhere, including the Police College.

Floodlights scanned the area around the stadium while armed police checked cars at roadblocks.

CHOPPER CHECKS ON BRAAI

A police helicopter flew continuously over the stadium and policemen stood guard in tall grass and under thorntrees.

Earlier in the day, the police helicopter swooped low over crowds of AWB supporters who had organised a braai on the outskirts of the town.

Hours before the meeting, police in riot gear strolled the streets of this quiet Northern Transvaal town.

Inside the tightly-controlled fortress, where NP supporters were awaiting the arrival of their leader, the atmosphere was tense as spectators speculated on the possibility of the AWB attempting to break through the barricades and disrupt the meeting.

A close contest

Who had the most supporters last night?

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche said 2 500 people had arrived to hear him deliver his speech.

The National Party's officials maintained that the rugby stadium where Mr P W Botha had spoken, could provide seating for up to 1 800 people.

An NP member estimated the crowd at 1 600. But AWB "spies" said only 900 people had turned up.

More independent observers were of the opinion that Mr TerreBlanche could have drawn "slightly" more supporters than Mr Botha.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche addressing a capacity crowd in Potgietersrus last night.

MBSA makes R4m start on social plan

DURBAN — Mercedes-Benz has committed itself to the social upliftment of its employees in East London in the fields of housing and education.

By ROBIN ROSS-THOMPSON
Motoring Editor

MR SCHREMPP — company committed to bettering the quality of life.

And R4 million has already been set aside as a start to the project.

It has also been revealed that the company has acquired the entire area of the Chloride plant for future expansion.

The chairman of the management board of Mercedes-Benz South Africa, Mr Jürgen Schrempp, announced at the press launch of new models in the company's S-Class range of cars at Umhlanga Rocks near here, that his company was committed to a social programme which was in the process of being instituted to better the quality of life of all population groups, specifically in housing and education.

In an interview after his address, Mr Schrempp said Mercedes-Benz was looking at ways of improving the lot of its staff in East London and was consulting with the Urban Foundation on ways to achieve this.

It could involve the funding of a multi-racial primary and secondary school, he said. "There is a tremendous shortage of qualified teachers in the black areas and we may do something to improve that, too.

"Adult education is another facet we are investigating. We may enlarge our own training centre at the factory to enhance technical skills for adults so that they can provide a service to the community.

"These people could be trained in skills that will improve their position in the labour market, and not only for employment at the factory. We have a social responsibility to the community in which we operate."

On the subject of housing, Mr Schrempp said he would like to see amendments to the Group Areas Act that would enable his company to provide high quality housing for employees.

At present the company was working on a package that could include an improved housing subsidy scheme. Assistance would be given on a non-racial basis but was aimed primarily at blacks and coloureds.

The main emphasis at present, however, would be aimed at improved education with housing improvements coming later. "The two are, of course, complementary to each other," he said.

Mr Schrempp leaves South Africa at the end of the year to take up a position at Daimler-Benz in Germany with responsibility for world marketing and sales of all the company's commercial vehicles.

He will, however, still have an interest in the South African operation, remaining on the board of directors here.

He will be succeeded as chairman in South Africa by Mr Sepp van Hullen who is the present finance executive.

The management board member responsible for manufacture in East London, Mr Gunter Kamuf, said the property formerly occupied by Chloride had been acquired as a long-term strategy to consolidate the area around the plant. The buildings would be used as storage space for the time being before a final decision was taken on how best to develop it.

"Let this be further proof of our desire to remain in East London," he said.

● The Mayor of East London, Mrs Elsabe Kemp, reacted to the announcement yesterday by congratulating the company on what she called a fine gesture

"If we as a city council can be of any assistance, we would be only too happy to do so, especially on the housing aspect."

● Officials of General Motors in Port Elizabeth remained tight-lipped yesterday on any possible moves to quit SA.

A Daily Dispatch correspondent reported that in the absence of any official statement, speculation was rife in motor manufacturing circles that "there is no smoke without fire".

The general consensus was that any moves now by local GM management to seek alternatives, such as a buy out or a partnership, have been left too late.

"By their silence they are damaging their own market. We are going to see buyer resistance after the proceedings of the past few days," said an industry source.

"The feeling is that GM in America is looking for an out. Maybe not immediately but certainly early next year. An emphatic statement from PE refuting the Automotive News allegations would have done a lot to restore confidence."

The industry was abuzz on what is to happen to the company's forthcoming launch of its Opel Monza on which about R30 million has been spent on tooling up.

Analysts said it looked as if the company would take the loss.

See also page 8
Editorial opinion P12

Rall defection: New NRP step deathward?

3044

Cape Times 17/10/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE New Republic Party took another halting step towards its seemingly inevitable death this week when the party's former MPC for Greytown, Mr Adrian Rall, defected to the Progressive Federal Party.

The loss to the party comes at a time when speculation is growing that at least three of its remaining five MPs are likely to join the PFP.

The three are the Natal leader of the NRP and MP for Umbilo, Mr Derrick Watterson; the Cape leader and MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, and the MP for Mooi River, Mr Ralph Hardingham.

Political observers are tipping the former leader of the party, Mr Vause Raw, and the party's MP for Umhlanga, Mr Brian Page, to join the National Party or retire.

However, they might — along with other more conservative members of the NRP like its leader Mr Bill Sutton — postpone deciding on future moves until the outcome of the KwaNatal Indaba becomes known.

The NRP's Natal congress which starts today should help to shed some light on what is to become of the party.

At least one NRP MP is known to favour the party joining the PFP "lock, stock and barrel" but any such move is expected to be vigorously opposed by Mr Raw and Mr Page.

Should those determined to keep the sinking party afloat prevail, the best the PFP can hope for is more defections before the next general election.

304A FIN MAIL 17/10/86

ECONOMIC STRATEGY

What November 7 may hold

As the meeting between business and government on November 7 shapes up there is clearly a growing amount of scepticism among the 200 or so businessmen who will be taking part.

No one wishes to be quoted ahead of this "mini conference" which promises to be something of a watershed in the relationship between business and government. So it has become a highly sensitive subject. It could set the scene for renewed business confidence in the political economy or place in jeopardy future investment trends.

Business needs to know how far down the line Pretoria plans to go both in terms of reform and redesign of our political structure and what this will mean for the business environment. For example, businessmen have been hearing about deregulation and privatisation for so long, yet nothing has happened.

And there is still remarkable confusion in government on the workings of the economy, which is probably why there is such dithering over economic strategy; and also why business has been increasingly criticised for "not getting things going."

Government seems to want to encourage the co-operation of businessmen on the formulation of economic policy but views political commentary as a matter of interference. Business takes the view that the two are inextricably linked.

From the remarks of some Cabinet ministers what appears not to be sufficiently understood in Pretoria is that an economy cannot be revived by decree. At the best of time, business confidence is a delicate phenomenon depending on a number of factors, among them political stability and adequate and sustainable real returns which, in turn, depend on a stable general level of prices.

The free flow of information so that scarce resources are allocated efficiently by the forces of supply and demand is another important component of rising business expectations.

Unfortunately, information flows remain restricted and fears that sanctions will encourage greater official intervention in the allocation of resources do little to ginger up business activity.

The November 7 meeting is intended to provide a forum for business to discuss the State President's "blueprint" for the economy, drawn up by a sub-committee of the Economic Advisory Council.

But what *should* they be talking about at this mini-conference? Will it be fruitful? And will government act speedily to restore consumer and business confidence, not only in the economy, but in its own ability to manage the economy, too?

Says an economist: "It would be pointless for government to come to the meeting and tell business it must invest more.

"What must be discussed is the business climate. Government must explain how it's going to improve it sufficiently for business to prosper, and must create the impression that it will actually carry out what it says."

For the economy to grow there must be reasonable certainty and stability enough for businessmen to make long-term decisions, he says. "Business must be reassured, not by long speeches, but by action with timetables."

Says an industry representative: "Government has become very critical of the business community, largely because of party political views expressed by some businessmen." Contacts with the African National Congress (ANC) are also a sore point.

He says the sharper political statements from business leaders come at a time when external pressures on politicians have brought them to breaking point. Government is now saying: "Why don't you chaps get on with making money and leave us to run the country?"

But it is impossible to disengage politics and economics. "Indeed, the previous attitude of government was to invite business community involvement in political issues. Besides, it's not employer groups but business leaders in their individual capacities that have made strong politicised statements.

"Unlike them, we don't follow party political lines, yet government has lumped us all together. I believe the mini-conference will exclude political matters and be confined to economic strategy and policy.

"I suspect some businessmen will be wary on this score and may sup with a longer spoon. They won't want to come out of the meeting compromised."

As a leading businessman points out, the long-term picture is still bleak. "When you still have a State of Emergency and unrest in the townships it's difficult to take any long-term view," he says. "The key to the underlying lack of confidence is clearly the political problem. Only when this is tackled will all things fall into place."

Indeed, politics has been a sticking point for many entrepreneurs. For example, there was the August "austerity measures" in 1983 that were introduced to curb inflation and spending. They were sudden and extremely disruptive. In September 1984 Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said he planned to control government spending "vigorously" and "consult the private sector on strategies." Both objectives are in jeopardy.

By March 1985 GST had hit 12%. It was then announced that provincial councils would be scrapped. This was followed in July by the State of Emergency and in August by the Rubicon speech, which further disappointed a business community looking for "meaningful social and political reform."

Low ebb

Then came the debt standstill on September 1 1985. Small wonder confidence reached such a low ebb. To "get things going again" will take more than government injunctions to business.

Blaming businessmen for the situation is a nonsense. One industrialist says governments the world over always look for scapegoats. "We have a first-rate crisis on our hands; its roots are in apartheid. I'm not too confident about the November 7 meeting. But I expect deregulation, privatisation and this thing 'inward industrialisation' will be on the agenda, which are good and constructive ideas. Let's wait and see."

There comes a time when people realise they can't go on wringing their hands indefinitely; the economy seems to have adjusted to many of the shocks described earlier, which is why confidence generally seems to have improved considerably. But this is only short term.

This mood must be sustained and translated into a long-term view, an area still underpinned by political factors. Government must use November 7 to put a long-term strategy in place so that certainty of the future and stability of the present at least can be counted on by those waiting in the wings to create jobs. ■

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position of the company. If benefits are actuarially valued, the statements should include an opinion from the actuary.

The statement on discontinued operations was prompted by SA's downturn in economic activity. One aim is to clarify the accounting determination of the profit or loss, and encourage separate disclosure of results where appropriate.

Compliance with AC 117 will show the impact of a distinct area of activity on overall trading operations. It gives guidelines how and when expenses and income should be treated as extraordinary and not normal trading items.

(304A) BUSDAY 17/10/86 THE WITNESS

President strikes a defiant note at Potgietersrus meeting

MAX du PREEZ

SOUTH AFRICA will do all that is necessary to maintain its freedom and independence and the integrity of its borders, State President P W Botha told a National Party meeting in Potgietersrus last night.

Botha said it was a hard reality of international relations that friendship was nothing more than the extent to which governments believed their national interests coincided and overlapped.

"We make no demands and claims on our neighbours. But our neighbours should not allow their territories to be used as bases for terror against SA."

Botha said the struggle in SA was an ideological one between the advocates of freedom and those who wanted to impose "a socialist dictatorship led by a small power clique." He said the final objective of the onslaught against SA, including the Western sanctions campaign, had nothing to do with freedom, justice and democracy.

"I am convinced that the majority of the people who are so eagerly involved in the struggle against us are aware of this. That includes those in SA — particularly in certain political and media circles — who have become parrots for the evil forces against us."

Referring to sanctions, Botha said: "We will not allow ourselves to be threatened by anyone about anything. If other countries choose to adopt legislation under the illusion that in so doing they will bring about unacceptable change in SA it is their prerogative. It is indeed anyone's right to make fools of themselves."

Botha expressed his concern about the financial position of farmers. He said that the total debt of the agricultural sector had increased from R2 000m to R11 000m between 1975 and 1985.

The total amount granted to agriculture for emergency aid over the past three years amounted to more than R2 300m.

Botha said his government was committed to reform and would seriously seek those mutual values, interests and objectives which the majority of all South Africans shared.

Learn to play — then don't delay now! Get a "CASIO" today

Ackerman tells EL pupils of new SA

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — South Africa was not a country without problems, but it was also a country with a bright future, the chief executive of Pick 'n Pay, Mr Raymond Ackerman, said here last night at the Hudson Park High School prize-giving.

The country was heading toward an apartheid free society, Mr Ackerman said, and if there were enough people who cared about developing a future which was free of prejudice and violence, "nothing can stop South Africa from going ahead".

He added that he appreciated that some people, particularly parents, had worries about the country's future and some were perhaps thinking about leaving South Africa, or sending their children overseas.

"I appeal to them to stay, keep their children here and help build the new South Africa: we are not a country without problems right now, but there is a bright future ahead," Mr Ackerman said.

All that was required was for South Africans of all races to reach out to each other.

"Black leaders, including high-ranking members of the African National Congress, are talking about peaceful change. This is also the desire of young blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians I have spoken to during the past months. They all want the same thing for South Africa — peace, a democratic government, a multiparty political system, protection of minority rights and a non-racial society.

"If black leaders, including some radicals, are talking about the need for peaceful change, including the fact that they do not want to destroy South Africa, then there is hope," Mr Ackerman said.

He added, however, that the chief solution to the country's problems would only be found once leaders of all colours and political pursuasions sat down and sorted out a constitution which would satisfy the hopes and aspirations of all South Africans and allay the fears and worries of others.

Business and industry also had a role to play in shaping South Africa's future as well as "driving home the message" that South Africa was working towards a prejudice and apartheid-free South Africa.

"We have to show the outside world that blacks and whites can work together in the boardroom, in the factories and in the shops; that we can play together and socialise ... and this is what we are doing. In doing so we can show the rest of the world that we are worth investing in.

"We need to concentrate our efforts on this. We need to, for jobs, otherwise we will be in trouble," he added.

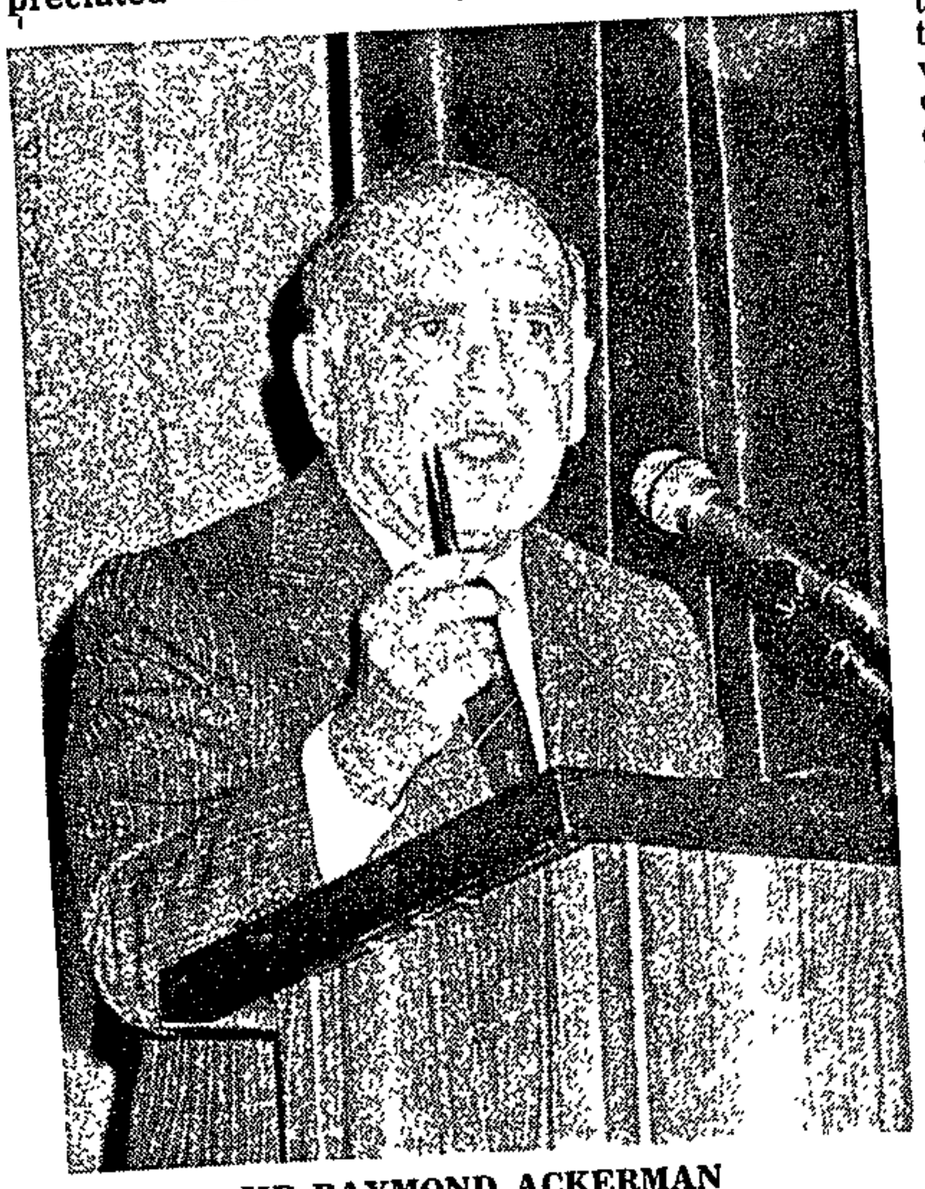
Mr Ackerman said he had spoken to many overseas people who openly propagated sanctions against South Africa, and shown them around his supermarkets where blacks and whites worked together. He had also taken them to a country club founded by his father, at which men of all races and religions relaxed and played sport together.

"Many of the vistors were reluctant to admit after seeing what I had shown them that there are many countries in the world — including America and the United Kingdom — where prejudice is more rife than in South Africa," he added.

Mr Ackerman said he was not trying to a paint a "rosy picture" of South Africa, "it is not", but he added he wanted to stress that there were positive aspects to South Africa which should be developed.

Mr Ackerman closed by appealing to the school's staff, students and parents to fight prejudice, not only racial discrimination, but discrimination against the elderly, less educated or lower social classes.

Equally important, he added, was the fight against drug abuse, and he urged young people not to be tempted into experimentation with drugs.



MR RAYMOND ACKERMAN

Pik's the man, but Van is next

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha is the white public's overwhelming choice to succeed President Botha, according to the results of an opinion poll publicised widely this week.

But what was not given so much publicity was that former Opposition leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, according to the same poll, remains the white public's second most popular choice.

However, Mr Botha draws 14 times as much support as Dr Slabbert.

The full finding of a recent Markinor Gallup Poll on who the public wanted as the next State President, carried out by the Markinor Research Group among 1 000 white adults in the metropolitan areas, was:

- Mr Pik Botha, 54 percent;
- Dr Slabbert, 4 percent;
- Mr Colin Eglin (Progressive Federal Party leader), 3 percent;
- Mr F W de Klerk (National Party Transvaal leader and the man most likely to succeed Mr P W Botha), 3 percent;
- Dr Andries Treurnicht (Conservative leader), 3 percent;
- Mr Chris Heunis (National Party Cape leader and the other close contender for the Presidency), 1 percent;
- Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (kwaZulu Chief Minister and President of Inkatha), 1 percent;

Other names mentioned by respondents — but who drew less than 1 percent support — included Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, Transport Minister Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Development Aid Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

The question asked was: "If President P W Botha were to resign tomorrow, who would you like to see replace him?"

More than 41 percent of English-speakers polled named the Foreign Minister as their choice for President, while the corresponding figure for Afrikaners was 65,2 percent.

Of those earning more than R3 500 a month, 44 percent support Mr Botha. The R2 000 to R3 500 group gives him 51 percent, the R1 250 to R2 000 group 56 percent and those earning less than R1 250, 62 percent.

Of those educated up to Std 8, 68 percent want to see Mr Botha as President. The Std 9 and 10 group gives him 53 percent support and the post-matric segment 42 percent.

Scholtz says apartheid is fundamental 'evil of our time'

18/10/86

304A

W/E Post

MARITZBURG — Apartheid — "the primary and fundamental evil of our time" — was still alive because it had been an effective instrument in ensuring white domination, the Rev John Scholtz, president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, said today.

In his keynote address to the annual Methodist conference in Maritzburg, the newly-elected president blamed apartheid for the level of violence in the country and said renewal would come only with the creation of non-racial democracy and a concerted programme of social upliftment.

"If civil war is conflict between fellow countrymen and the maiming and killing of fellow citizens, then civil war is upon us," Mr Scholtz said.

More than 2 000 people had died in unrest since September, 1984, and some sources reported 13 000 to 14 000 had been detained under the emergency, he said.

"It has been a time of vigilantes and comrades, of cross-border raids and of the laying of landmines and the planting of bombs in public places."

But the "suffering of the people" included daily experiences such as getting up at 3am to be at work by 7am and "watching the mental and intellectual development of your child coming to a standstill".

Although many important reforms had been made, apartheid — "the origin and cause of so much which we experience" — was still alive because "it has been such an effective instrument in ensuring white domination and maintaining white privilege", Mr Scholtz said.

Despite suspicion on all sides, it was possible for negotiation to achieve a post-apartheid society including the following key features:

- Universal franchise and a non-racial democracy.
- A concerted programme of upliftment, of improvement in the quality of life in terms of the upgrading of services and the infrastructure of residential areas.
- Equal and unitary education for all and a need "to take the children of this land seriously as being among the chief of the undeveloped riches with which we have been so greatly blessed".
- Solidarity with the people and extensive talks with the trade union movement and civic organisations. — Sapa

PW warned: don't bring blacks into Parliament

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, was warned last night that he would create a resistance movement among his own people if he brought blacks into Parliament.

"We warn him: don't do it," said the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, when he addressed a public meeting in the City Hall.

Dr Treurnicht's wide-ranging speech to more than 200 people focused on two main issues: a possible general election, and a defence of his party's stand on separate states for the various communities in South Africa.

Dealing with the election, Dr Treurnicht said he would not put his head on a block for an April date.

"The State President will study the political situation, and, if it is good for the National Party, he may call an election. Before he calls an election, he will want to talk to black leaders who are now setting conditions for particpation in his National Statutory Council.

"These include the release of Mandela and scrapping of the Group Areas Act and other apartheid laws," Dr Treurnicht said.

Defending apartheid — which he defined as separateness — he said it was practised in Europe, where the borders of states were drawn on these lines, and in Israel, which would fight to the death to protect its borders for the same reason. It was also practised in India and Pakistan.

"The State President is now saying the Group Areas Act is flexible. He says it is no longer a holy cow. We all know what happened to other laws he said the same thing about."

Dr Treurnicht said separateness was a natural phenomenon as "soort soek soort".

"Other races do it, so why can't we whites do it?" he asked, and quoted the theologian, John Calvin, as saying that forcing disparate communities together was tyranny.

He said the reality of the South African situation had to be looked at, as it was not a case of 32 million South Africans, but a society of communities.

Bringing blacks into the highest echelons of government would mean domination, because there were 166 MPs now for five million whites, 80 for three million coloureds, 40 for nearly one million Indians — and there would have to be 530 for the 16 million blacks outside the national states and the self-governing areas.

"Work this out and it is easy to see there will be a black president. Bringing blacks in would create a revolutionary move, and I don't think the State President realises the implications.

"We must resist this with all the strength possible."

Dr Treurnicht also issued a warning on the "new Nats" — whom Mrs Helen Suzman had allegedly said were "more radical than I am".

"You have one here in East London," said Dr Treurnicht, and referred to how Mrs Suzman affectionately called Mr Albert Nothnagel "our Albert".

"Mrs Suzman's scenario for the future is that she will be sitting in parliament with these new Nats. There are 45 and the PFP believes it can win 50 to 55 seats. They can then have the majority and take over the government."

Dr Treurnicht said the respected political writer, Stanley Uys, had predicted that the National Party would not be torn apart. It would merely fall apart.

"P. W. Botha told me to go and I am not sorry that I left that party. I tell them power sharing is power shedding," he said.

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(304A) DD 10/10/86

Mr Gastrow

Parties hit at Botha's security

Dr Hartzenberg

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

OPPOSITION parties yesterday criticized the war-footing security deployed by President P W Botha to "defend" his Potgietersrus meeting and said the time had clearly arrived for him to step down.

About 400 special-task policemen, many with rifles and sniffer dogs, surrounded the local rugby stadium when Mr Botha arrived by helicopter to address about 1 500 people, our Johannesburg correspondent reports.

Also included in the security measures were Casspirs, Hippos, bladed-coiled wire and strict surveillance of those entering the stadium.

Mr Botha was even presented with a sjambok "to put something in your hands if a certain (AWB) element should turn up".

The PFP national chairman, Mr Peter Gastrow, said the "unbelievable" security measures showed Mr Botha must feel unsafe "even within the laager". He said Mr Botha should be replaced.

"This blatant misuse of police and Defence Force resources is plainly a shocking waste of taxpayers' money and is reminiscent of the way certain South American dictators used to operate."

The PFP spokesman on law and order, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said the security precautions were "beyond reason" since the meeting was not threatened by "an army of guerillas bent on killing people", but rather ran the risk of being disrupted by "a bunch of AWB thugs".

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said he was shocked by the "totally excessive" security measures

The deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said the fact that Mr Botha felt he needed to resort to such extraordinary measures to talk to his own people was a clear signal he should resign.

The AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, who held a rival meeting attended by about 1 200 people in Potgietersrus on Thursday night, said he was grateful that he could speak to his people without razor-wire, Casspirs and machine-guns.

Police spokesmen in Pretoria yesterday dismissed allegations that the police presence at Mr Botha's meeting was excessive.

Cape Times 18/10/86 (30cm)

Cracks after Indaba advert

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Cracks have developed in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba after the announcement of a R109 000 newspaper advertisement campaign to keep alive public interest in the talks.

Disagreements among the delegates about how best to protect minority group rights in a united, non-racial, democratic Natal and KwaZulu have followed the announcement.

Yesterday the representative of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) at the Indaba, Dr P J Steenkamp, said the advertisement gave the mistaken impression that all Indaba delegates agreed completely with the Bill of Rights.

At a meeting, which he described as heated, Dr Steenkamp presented the Indaba with a statement dissociating the FAK from parts of the Bill.

He said five other groups, which he declined to name, agreed with the FAK's views.

Dr Steenkamp said he had made the statement to clarify the FAK's position on the Bill. This would not have been necessary if the running of the advertisement had been postponed until after the Indaba, he said.

"The Indaba is being marketed like a can of beans, and this is a mistake."

Dr Steenkamp said one of the articles in the Bill could lead to forced school integration. "The FAK ... holds the view that the said article could impair the self-determination of population groups in this regard."

He said another article scrapped the Group Areas Act. This was "a ham-handed approach to a delicate issue".

He said the FAK was not considering leaving the Indaba.

The Indaba chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence, said he wanted to read the FAK statement before deciding whether to comment on it.

Inkatha cancels Afrikaans talks

STAR 18/12/80

By Susan Fleming

The Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday cancelled a joint political congress with the Afrikaans youth movement Jeugkrag — three hours before the congress was due to start.

About 60 delegates had already arrived in Johannesburg.

The congress was to have been held at the Rand Afrikaans University and Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, was due to open it.

Jeugkrag president Mr Martinus van Schalkwyk received a telex from Inkatha which said: "For reasons beyond our control we will not be able to attend."

No merit in majority system, says Sutton

W/E Post (304A) 18/10/86

MARITZBURG — A Third World majority was not able to run a First World economy, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, told his party's Natal provincial congress today.

Delivering his keynote address in Maritzburg he said there was no "basic merit in the majority".

"In fact the recent experience of the world has brought about a profound distrust of the majority and its capability to cope effectively with political and economic problems."

Mr Sutton said a proposal for a majority system in the Natal-Kwazulu Indaba, in which the NRP was eminently involved, would result in its becoming "merely another academic exercise".

"I go so far as to say that without a proportion of haves and to have-nots of 65% to 35%, the majority is not able to withstand the demands of the less privileged for the use of the mechanisms of the State to redistribute wealth beyond the economic capacity of the State."

He said only "real reform" and involvement of the discontented in the "real processes" of government would allay unrest in South Africa.

Mere talk of reform created more unrest than oppression, he said.

"Reform does not consist of removing the stupid and discriminatory legislation that you have yourself put on the statute book.

"It involves including in the political process those who are part of the power structure in the country. Anyone who believes that blacks are not part of the power structure must get his head examined," he said.

Mr Sutton said his party's policy was based on the recognition of the group structure of the country and provision of guarantees for minority groups.

The guarantees would provide a feeling of security without which the white group in particular would be unable to participate to its maximum capacity in the future development of South Africa.

Mr Sutton said his party insisted that there should be a fourth chamber in Parliament, not to perpetuate apartheid, but to implement the party slogan, "saamheid" (togetherness).

"Reform can only come through Parliament and it is our conviction that all groups should be represented either in Parliament or in an inter-government body such as the Brussels Council of Ministers.

Black trade booms at Cafe AWB

ON the main street of a small northern Transvaal town two cafes face each other.

The window of one boasts the swastika-like symbol of the AWB — and the shop is crowded with black customers.

On the other side of the street the cafe displays the white and red emblem of the Coca-Cola company. It is, remarkably, a great deal quieter.

Cafe owner Louis Nel, twice unsuccesful HNP political candidate, has built a little piece of "boere heaven" in Naboomspruit.

He has succeeded in giving "PW se mense" the proverbial two-finger salute, retained his black business, and can spend hours discussing his particular brand of political philosophy with anyone who will take the time and trouble to listen.

"After the police threw teargas us at Pietersburg I decided to stand up and be counted," he said.

SHOPOWNER LOUIS NEL
"A fair deal for customers"

Life IS great on right side of street

Stories and pictures by HILTON HAMANN

"Man, if a guy says he's giving you five minutes to clear the hall, then he must give you those five minutes, not so?

"A man must play it fair and square. You don't just throw teargas into a hall where women and children are."

And so in "a gesture of defiance" to President Botha and the Nats the signs and the flags went up.

"Hell man, the Nats couldn't wait to tell me how it would affect my business. They had all these horror stories about how I would be blacklisted, about how the blacks would stop coming.

"But now they're laughing on the other side of their faces," he said.

"Last weekend I took R27 000. Ninety-nine percent of that was from blacks. They come to me because I give them a fair deal."

He scratched his chin and offered a Chesterfield.

"PW is not only misleading the Afrikaner, but also the black man — and the black man's not going to forget it."

A couple of black schoolkids come into the shop and the conversation is temporarily suspended while he serves them.

"You know I come from the same place as PW — Paul Roux. Of course he denies it now, but he even rode a horse into people's lounges to break up SAP (South African Party) meetings.

Okay

"In those days it was okay. Now it's not. Nowadays the Nats have to have more policemen than they have supporters at their meetings."

He stubs out his cigarette.

"Look, I'd love to talk to you some more but I've got to go to an AWB meeting and there's no more potatoes for chips and we're expecting a big rush of customers."

"BLACKLISTED" . . . despite the extreme rightwing symbols, the black trade is booming at Oom Louis' cafe

The battle of the Boere titans

IT WAS the clash many had been waiting for — Afrikanerdom's heavyweight leader versus the presumptuous middleweight challenger on the right.

The prize: the hearts and minds of the volk deep in the Afrikaner heartland of Northern Transvaal.

For months, since the battles of Brits and Pietersburg, when Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging strongmen routed the Nationalist Party "veldkornets" Louis Nel and Pik Botha at political meetings in what was traditionally Nat country, the AWB had claimed that they had the beating of the Government.

But this week things were different ... no lieutenants here. This was to be the battle of the generals, the supreme heavyweight contest between General P W Botha and the upstart "Boer" general, Eugene Terre Blanche.

The winner could claim to represent the true wishes and aspirations of the "Boere volk".

The battlefield chosen was deep in the heart of the Northern Transvaal, about 50km from the "slagveld" of Pietersburg.

For days the conflict lines were drawn and sporadic shots fired, the AWB drawing first blood when they daubed bright red "V" signs across PW's face as it beamed down from posters in the town. ('V' stands for 'veraairer' — traitor, as well as being the symbol of the resistance in an American television series).

President and Mrs Botha acknowledge the 2 000-strong cheering crowd in Potgietersrus

First salvos in the war for hearts and minds of rural volk

TERRE BLANCHE
Challenge

The Nats retaliated quickly. "It just shows their mentality," a spokesman said. But it was all rather low key, as though both sides were waiting for the big guns.

Rumours

By Thursday afternoon the town was buzzing. Rumours ran like wildfire through the territory.

"Eugene has given the President an ultimatum to set a date for a meeting between them," said a heavily-built, bearded farmer in the pub at the Orinoco hotel.

He said his name was Gert. "Not Oom Gert, I'm not married to your bloody auntie. I'm not your Oom."

"If PW doesn't answer tonight I don't know what the manne will do. Maybe they'll march to his meeting at the rugby stadium."

But by the afternoon it was obvious that any attempt to disrupt the Nat Party meeting would be as effective as trying to hold back the sea.

Razor wire, standing almost 2m high, was strung all around the stadium. Casspirs were strategically placed and hundreds of policeman, many of them in riot gear, threw a tight cordon around the venue.

Entry was strictly controlled, with bag searches the order of the day. Anyone who looked vaguely like an AWB supporter was politely, but unceremoniously, turned away. This was a public meeting that was not all that public.

As darkness fell over the town the battlelines were drawn. Both 'generals' made triumphant entrances, though in different ways.

A military helicopter dropped out of the sky into the confines of the "internment camp" and President Botha and and his entourage, which included a beaming Mrs Elize Botha and the Transvaal leader of the party, Mr F W de Klerk, entered the stadium to be greeted by a 2 000-strong crowd of the faithful who, throughout the course of the evening, had been constantly reminded what a great day this was.

At the local primary school AWB leader Terre Blanche was getting into full swing in front of a similar-sized crowd.

"It's a sad day when a President has to speak from behind barbed wire and machineguns," Terre Blanche raged.

"This 'papbroek' Government has lied to everyone. It has lied to Renamo, it has lied to the Boer and it has even lied to the black man."

"Skande, skande!" bayed the crowd.

Yet the big guns appeared unwillingly to lay down a barrage. Perhaps an honourable draw was the solution.

The President seemed reluctant to tackle the AWB. Except for a few mild remarks, he concentrated on the tattered Nkomati Accord.

Terre Blanche on the other hand accused the Government of cowardice, attacked the Jews, the Indians, the blacks, the Coloureds, the Press, Riaan Eksteen, the communists, Samora Machel and anyone else who interfered with the freedom of the volk.

And then as a final gesture he threw down the guantlet to the Government. In a move designed to counter a ban on members of the police belonging to the AWB, Terre Blanche offered free legal aid to any policeman victimised as a result of membership of his organisation.

"Louis le Grange claims there are only four policemen who are members of the AWB," he yelled.

"Well I've never had much respect for Le Grange's arithmetic abilities but I never realised he could only count to four.

"Our advocates will defend, free of charge, any policeman whose case is right. The time has come to stop this witch-hunt among our sons in the security forces."

And so the battle of Potgietersrus ended in a stand-off. But as the barbed wire was rolled up, ready for the next battle, the hundreds of policemen boarded their buses and Casspirs and the yellow and blue helicopter disappeared into the sky, few locals believed it was a wholly honourable draw.

Majority of black people don't support the ANC, claims PW

(304A) 20/10/86 Eve Post

BONN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, says the African National Congress does not enjoy the support of the majority of the black population.

He told the newspaper Die Welt in an interview published today that he would not recognise the ANC "as long as it is pro-communist and avows the use of force".

Mr Botha said he had invited all peaceful elements in the ANC to talks but none had shown up.

This had forced him to conclude that the organisation was communist-controlled.

He said the ANC had its headquarters in London.

"It knows it is not supported by the majority in South Africa . . . South Africa is not in a state of insurrection, just as little as is Europe."

Citing examples, he said problems existed with only 200 of the 12 000 black schools, but the media used these to blow up the problem and suggest all schoolchildren were refusing to attend school.

"But 11 800 schools are peaceful," he said.

"I personally believe sanctions will harm South Africa to a certain extent. They will destroy jobs in some sectors if they are actually implemented. In other sectors, however, they will strengthen our economy."

SA had been a staunch member of the Western alliance but in view of the threat of sanctions, he was not sure this would continue.

The Republic must weigh its own interests, he said.

There was nothing wrong in the principle of one man, one vote, but how this should be realised depended on a country's social structure.

"Majority rule cannot be applied in South Africa because we are a country with many different structures, he said." — Sapa-Reuter

Calls for reform 'not unreasonable'

By KIN BENTLEY

RECENT calls for major political reforms, made by the heads of multinational giants General Motors and Shell, were "not unreasonable", the PFP spokesman on trade and industry and MP for Walmer, Mr Andrew Savage, said today.

However, the National Party MP for Uitenhage, Mr Dawie le Roux, said the overseas companies were "asking a bit much" and did not look at "both sides of the coin".

If organisations like the ANC foreswore violence, Mr Le Roux said, negotiations on a new constitution could take place through the National Council, thereby breaking the political logjam.

They were commenting on the speculation surrounding GM's future in PE after comments by the chairman of the parent company in the United States, Mr Roger Smith. He blamed falling sales, the lack of political reform and pressure from the anti-aparthied lobby as reasons for reviewing his company's position in SA.

The chief executive of Shell SA (Pty) Ltd, Mr John Wison, while committing Shell to staying in SA, also called for far-reaching change.

If lack of progress "significantly impacted the group's financial performance", he would be faced with a "very unhappy choice", Mr Wilson said.

Mr Savage said the reform calls were not new.

"The majority of South Africans have already called for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners, the legitimising of groups like the ANC provided they operate within the law, and a start to negotiations with such leaders for a non-racial democracy".

Calling on the Government to make "significant reforms immediately to assist these companies, who are doing all they can to continue operations in SA", Mr Savage said such companies were "under immense pressure (to disinvest)".

He said if GM could not satisfy its shareholders and public, it could not remain in SA.

Mr Le Roux said GM's present review of its SA operation was "surely motivated by economic factors" which he did not feel were overridden by political factors.

He agreed that GM and other multinationals were under pressure from their shareholders, but said the Government would do "all we can possibly do" to assist them on the political front.

To this end he pointed to the proposed National Council which he said was aimed at negotiating a new constitution with all movements which foreswore violence.

"Is it unfair to ask the ANC to foreswear violence and come and talk?"

He said there was a "moderate side within the ANC as far as I can see".

304A N/M 20/10/86

Govt must build on blacks' good will, says Steel

THE LIBERAL PARTY leader David Steel returned to Britain last week after a 10-day whistle-stop tour of southern Africa, and the Mercury's London bureau chief, JOHN BATTERSBY, asked him what role he saw for business in the transition to a post-apartheid society.

Battersby: Mr Steel, what is the most abiding impression of your trip?

Steel: I was genuinely impressed by the amount of continuing good will that exists between the races in the country. I was particularly struck by the fact that on my visits to places like Crossroads and Soweto and khayelitsha there wasn't a single episode of the cold-shoulder or aggression. If you visited areas of stress in this country — which are nothing like as bad as in South Africa — you would certainly get a mixed reception regardless of what party you represented. The natural warmth and eagerness to talk to outsiders was very surprising and noteworthy. If the South African Government had any sense it would build on the resevoirs of good will, the lack of bitterness and a readiness to overlook the past.

I notice that you have made a clear distinction between the changing mood of the South African people as opposed to the intransigent mood of the South African Government. Could you elaborate?

Yes, it was very striking when compared with my last visit in 1971. It was very difficult then to find any substantial body of white public opinion — outside the then Progressive Party — which was deeply troubled by the apartheid system. But now among people engaged in trade and commerce and industry there is universal and positive pressure for change which is encouraging

Do you think that businessmen have a special role to play in the transition to a post-apartheid society?

Yes. I think they have a special role internally in their own businesses. Many of them have already bent the rules as far as they can. It is well known that quite a lot of companies have breached the Group Areas Act — one of the worst and most rigid aspects of apartheid. And the encouragement of multiracial trade unions by employers is also a goo d sign

As far as external relations are concerned I was struck in the meeting I had with the African National Congress leaders that they spontaneoulsy said that they would welcome the continued and growing contacts with the business and academic leaders. They positively welcome these visits rather than feel that they have been imposed on them. I think that ought to be a reassuring sign to the white minority that the ANC are reasonable and intelligent people with whom a dialogue is possible.

Do you not think that sanctions will hamper businessmen in their efforts to act as an agent of change?

No. I don't think the businessmen have any answer to the question posed by the Commonwealth mission: namely that if we, outside the country, do not support the armed struggle we have got to come with some other proposals which distance ourselves from the S A Government so that we no longer treat it as a normal government.

I do not believe that the sanctions policy will have the effect of pushing S A business opinion into the arms of government. I think they are quite capable of doing their best for their own companies without changing their views on the basic principles of the government.

Has your visit changed your attitude towards sanctions at all?

In the light of all the discussions I had I believe we ought to be trying to co-ordinate much more effectively in the Western countries on political sanctions — sanctions that will have more effect on the Government directly rather than general trade sanctions which some countries will implement and others will not and which will simply have the effect of putting people out of work and not affecting the Government directly.

In other words I think we have got to be very selective and targeted in the pressures that we would apply.

You spoke about a co-ordinated Western political approach. Do you support moves by the U S Congress and the West German Government to convene a conference between South Africa and its major trading partners to discuss a Western-backed Marshall Plan in return for an agreement by Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC and black leaders about political power-sharing?

Yes, that is precisely the kind of initiative I am talking about. I think it is a good idea.

So, you would not favour the comprehensive and mandatory sanctions called for by your own Liberal assembly at their annual conference last month.

I never have I know a lot of people argue for it. But when I spoke to Robert Mugabe he also took the view that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions were a non-starter. I think it is more rhetoric than practicality The Liberal assembly passed a resolution supporting comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. We in Parliament have always been pro-sanctions but on a selective and targeted basis.

Do you think there is a role for British business interests in assisting the process of change in South Africa?

I think the most constructive help the private sector in Britain could give would be to switch a lot of their investment in South Africa to the front-line states. In this way you would not get quite such a dependence by the front-line states on the South African economy — particularly the drift of population seeking employment in South Africa.

It would be healthier for the economies of southern Africa as a whole if they were less dependent on South Africa. There is a natural economy in the region. At present the front-line states are importing many items from South Africa which could just as well be made in their own countries.

Do you think that the front-line states should put pressure on the ANC to bring them to the negotiating table?

Well, the point is that I don't think there is any chance of getting the ANC to the negotiating table until the S A Government has got some proposal to put before them. As long as their leaders are jailed and their organisation is banned there is really no other outlet for the mother than the campaigns that they have already begun.

The S A Government demands that they should renounce violence before proceeding any further. But renounce violence for what? That is the question that I put to Pik Botha. We would all like to see some alternative proposal to violence as a means of securing constitutional change. Until the S A Government has thought that through and has got some proposals to make, there really isn't any leverage that the front-line states can operate, in my view.

So, you are saying that the ball is firmly in Pretoria's court?

I think so. And that is the view of the governments in Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia that I spoke to

Do you agree with United States moves to urge the ANC to re-examine its links with the South African Communist Party?

There has never been any doubt in my mind that at least a part of the ANC is orientated towards communism. But it is a broadly based liberation organisation in which communists are a part. I think the strength of the communists within the ANC is likely to increase the more the ANC is cold-shouldered. I think the initiative lies with us to say that it is perfectly possible to see transition to a free and open society. That will encourage the non-communists within the ANC to greater efforts.

(304A) DD 20/10/86

NRP may dissolve in bid for alliance

Dispatch Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG — The New Republic Party might dissolve and become part of a broad-based, anti-government alliance, the Natal leader of the NRP, Mr Derrick Watterson, said after the party's Natal congress here at the weekend.

The congress passed a resolution calling on the NRP and other parties dedicated to reform to initiate a similar forum to the so-called KwaNatal Indaba to work towards a multiparty, multiracial alliance to offer a "credible alternative to present government paralysis".

Mr Watterson said provided the resolution was ratified at the NRP federal congress in November, the party would immediatelty make contact with various groups which believed in "true democracy" and the free enterprise system.

Discussions would be held to establish common ground among the groups and this might lead to a new party being formed.

Mr Watterson, who was was re-elected Natal leader, said: "I believe this party has only one function for the future, and that is to actively work towards the total rationalisation of politics in South Africa, even if it means the end of the NRP as a separate political entity."

The National Party alone would never effect necessary changes because the majority of non-whites did not trust it and the Progressive Federal Party was not trusted, particularly by whites.

"Therefore I believe that, as in the case of the indaba, we could serve as the catalyst for a similar forum, to negotiate either a new political alliance or a constitutional framework that would be generally acceptable for first tier government," he said.

Another report P9

DD 20/10/86

NRP: reform is more than scrapping laws

(304A)

PIETERMARITZBURG — Only "real reform" and involvement of the discontented in the "real processes" of government would allay unrest in South Africa, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, told his party's Natal Provincial Congress at the weekend.

"Reform does not consist of removing the stupid and discriminatory legislation that you have yourself put on the statute book.

"It involves including in the political process those who are part of the power structure in the country ... anyone who believes that blacks are not part of the power structure must get his head examined," he said.

The NRP, through its involvement from the inception in the Natal-KwaZulu "Indaba," had been in the vanguard of reform. However, what the Indaba would produce was anybody's guess, he said.

Mr Sutton said his party's policy was based on the recognition of the group structure of the country and provision of guarantees for minority groups.

Mr Sutton said his party insisted that there should be a fourth chamber in Parliament, not to perpetuate apartheid, but to implement the party slogan, "Saamheid" (togetherness).

"Reform can only come through Parliament and it is our conviction that all groups should be represented either in Parliament or in an inter-government body such as the Brussels Council of Ministers." — Sapa

NRP delegates admit Indaba may be last hope for party's survival

304A STAR 20/10/86

Political Staff

MARITZBURG — The New Republic Party in its Natal power-base this weekend grasped at the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba as a final straw of survival — and admitted it was doing so.

The bravado of the past was gone as its re-elected Natal leader, Mr Derrick Watterson, practically admitted at the NRP Natal congress that the party no longer had the ability to win seats, attract the youth and generate financial support and enthusiasm.

Its survival, the roughly 200 delegates at the congress decided, depended on forming an alliance of moderates across racial and party lines using the Indaba as a base.

The party came close to dumping its policy in favour of whatever the Indaba produces. There were, however, hints that the NRP would insist on an agreement at the Indaba that would contain firm minority group protection measures.

The Indaba and its role dominated much of the congress, featuring in four of the seven resolutions debated.

The main debate was on two resolutions. The first, introduced by national leader Mr Bill Sutton, stated NRP policy would have to be adjusted to the as yet unfinalised dispensation negotiated at the Indaba.

The second resolution moved by Mr Watterson asked the congress to recognise that only a broad multi-party, multi-racial alliance would be able to offer a credible alternative to the Government, and called on the NRP and other parties committed to reform to initiate a forum similar to the Indaba to achieve the alliance.

Only one member spoke out against the motions, saying he did not consider Inkatha to be a moderate organisation.

Former party leader Mr Vause Raw also seemed to throw some cold water on the plans in a lengthy explanation on when he would be prepared to join the National Party if it finally took over not only the policy, but also the philosophy of the NRP.

Dealing with the party policy, Mr Watterson said the bottom line was a free enterprise democracy in which no group could be abused.

Mr Sutton said the party was arguing at the Indaba for group rights, but he said the NRP was prepared to fall in with any reasonable finding of the Indaba — and he expected other parties to do the same.

He warned, however, that a "majoritarian system will result in the Indaba becoming merely another academic exercise".

"I do not believe the Government will accept it, and the Government has the final responsibility."

In an interview, Mr Watterson said he was confident that, if the Indaba succeeded, it would make the job of bringing together the broad centre of South African politics far easier.

He said he had already started talking to other political groups with this in mind.

Apart from the Indaba issues, the congress was much the same as previous recent congresses.

Despite the calls for alliances, the delegates still enjoyed a good dig at the "Progs" with a bit of Press-bashing to get them going.

Whether the NRP will survive past the next election was still doubtful and there did not seem to be much confidence that it would.

One thing the delegates and leaders were sure of was that, if they could not get the Indaba to work for them, the fate of the NRP would be finally sealed.

Sutton confirms President's Council wants local government to decide group areas

Political Staff

MARITZBURG — New Republic Party leader, Mr Bill Sutton, has confirmed that the President's Council, of which he is a member, intends to recommend that group areas be decided at local government level.

He told the party's Natal congress that the NRP policy of local option was one of the things that would come out very strongly from the President's Council constitutional committee report on the Group Areas Act.

The report is expected to be published towards the end of November.

Mr Sutton appealed to whites to be open-minded when changes came in group areas.

He warned that whites would paint themselves into a corner if they were not prepared to mix.

Whites, he said, would wither on the vine if they did not mix, because increasingly economic power was passing into the hands of people who were not white.

Mr Sutton said he wanted NRP members to be active in seeing a new policy on group areas applied on a sensible and just basis.

It was easy for people to fancy they were secure but security lay in everyone being secure.

Publicity for Indaba opposed

Political Staff

MARITZBURG — The New Republic Party has publicly opposed the current kwaZulu/Natal Indaba publicity campaign.

NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton has warned the Indaba that the Government would not agree to the proposals of the Indaba unless group rights were taken into account.

After months of only releasing details on issues on which there is agreement, the R1-million publicity campaign which started this weekend has brought the disagreements out into the open.

The NRP's Natal leader, Mr Derrick Watterson, wants the publicity campaign stopped and the Indaba's Image Committee, headed by Natal industrialist Mr Chris Saunders, scrapped.

The NRP, which initiated the Indaba along with Inkatha, and some other delegations believe the Image Committee is trying to paint delegates into a corner before full agreement is reached.

Others feel it is not worth the division it could cause.

The row over the publicity campaign came into the open on Friday when a delegate of the Federasie van Afrikaner Kultuurvereniginge (FAK), Dr P J Steenkamp, issued a statement rejecting the publicity campaign and expressing reservations about the already-agreed-to Bill of Rights.

Mr Watterson said at the NRP Natal congress at the weekend the NRP had opposed the formation of the Image Committee from "day one".

"It is a very disruptive element and should be nipped in the bud very quickly."

Mr Peter Miller, a nominated Natal MEC, told the congress a mistake had been made in inviting people to the Indaba who had no real constituency but were merely individuals expressing a

Referendum on cards, says Page

Political Staff

MARITZBURG — A referendum is on the cards for next year, with little chance of a general election before 1989, Mr Brian Page MP (NRP Umhlanga) predicted at the weekend.

Mr Page, who is the NRP member on the parliamentary select committee on the Electoral Act, said there were a number of reasons, including the chaotic state of the voters role, why the Government could not hold elections.

Speaking at the NRP Natal congress, Mr Page said the state of the voters role had definitely ruled out an election this year.

Because the Department of Home Affairs could not start its campaign to register voters until January next year it would also be impossible to hold an April election.

He also felt an election in November next year was unlikely as it would be limited to whites, but within the next 18 months, in terms of the constitution, an election would have to be held for all three houses of Parliament.

The situation was further complicated by the developing fight for the heir to President P W Botha. This was boiling down to a contest between the north and the south.

Without the voters role being brought up to date, the Cape, on the number of existing registered voters, stood to lose 10 seats to the Transvaal and the Free State would also have to cede one to its northern neighbour.

Mr Page was convinced the Government would rather hold a referendum in November next year to isolate the right wing. He predicted the issue would be black rights and the question would be framed in such a way that everyone except the right wing would accept it.

Mr Page urged the Government to use local authorities, Escom and even television licences to assist in the campaign to track down people.

Group areas: PC wants local option

ARGUS 20/10/86 30 CA

Political Staff

MARITZBURG. — The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, has confirmed that the President's Council intends to recommend that group areas be decided at local government level.

Speaking at the party's Natal congress, Mr Sutton said the NRP policy of local option was an aspect that would emerge strongly from the report on the Group Areas Act by the President's Council's constitutional committee.

The report is expected to be published towards the end of November. Mr Sutton is a member of the council.

The New Republic Party, in its Natal power-base, this weekend grasped at the Natal/Kwazulu indaba as a final straw of survival — and admitted it was doing so.

The re-elected Natal leader, Mr Derrick Watterson, practically admitted at the congress that the party no longer had the ability to win seats, attract the youth or generate financial support and enthusiasm.

The 200 delegates at the congress decided that the party's survival depended on forming an alliance of moderates across racial and party lines, using the indaba as a base.

And the party came close to dumping its policy in favour of whatever the indaba produced.

INDABA

However, there were hints that the NRP would insist on an agreement at the indaba that would contain firm minority group protection measures.

The role of the indaba dominated much of the congress, featuring in four of the seven resolutions debated.

The main debate was on two resolutions. The first, introduced by Mr Sutton, stated that NRP policy would have to be adjusted to the as yet unfinalised dispensation negotiated at the indaba.

The second resolution, moved by Mr Watterson, asked the congress to recognise that only a broad multiparty, multiracial alliance would offer a credible alternative to the Government and called on the NRP and other parties committed to reform to initiate a forum similar to the indaba to achieve the alliance.

Mr Sutton said the party was arguing at the indaba for group rights but it was prepared to fall in with any reasonable finding of the indaba — and he expected other parties to do the same.

In an interview, Mr Watterson was confident that if the indaba succeeded it would make the job far easier of bringing together the broad centre of South African politics.

He said he had already started talking to other political groups with this in mind. He would step up these talks.

NRP looks to form anti-Govt alliance

Political Reporter

THE New Republic Party might dissolve and become part of a broad-based, anti-Government alliance, Mr Derrick Watterson, NRP Natal leader, said after the NRP Natal congress in Pietermaritzburg at the weekend.

The congress passed a resolution calling on the NRP and other parties dedicated to political reform to initiate a similar forum to the Indaba to work towards a multi-party, multiracial alliance to offer a 'credible alternative to present Government paralysis'.

Mr Watterson said provided the resolution was ratified at the NRP federal congress on November 8 and 9, the NRP would immediately make contact with various groups which believed in 'true democracy' and the free enterprise system.

He said discussions would be held to establish common ground among the groups and this might lead to a new party being formed.

Mr Watterson was re-elected as Natal leader and in his acceptance speech said he had accepted nomination for the post only because the congress had elected him with the clear understanding that he would be actively working for a new political alignment across party and colour lines.

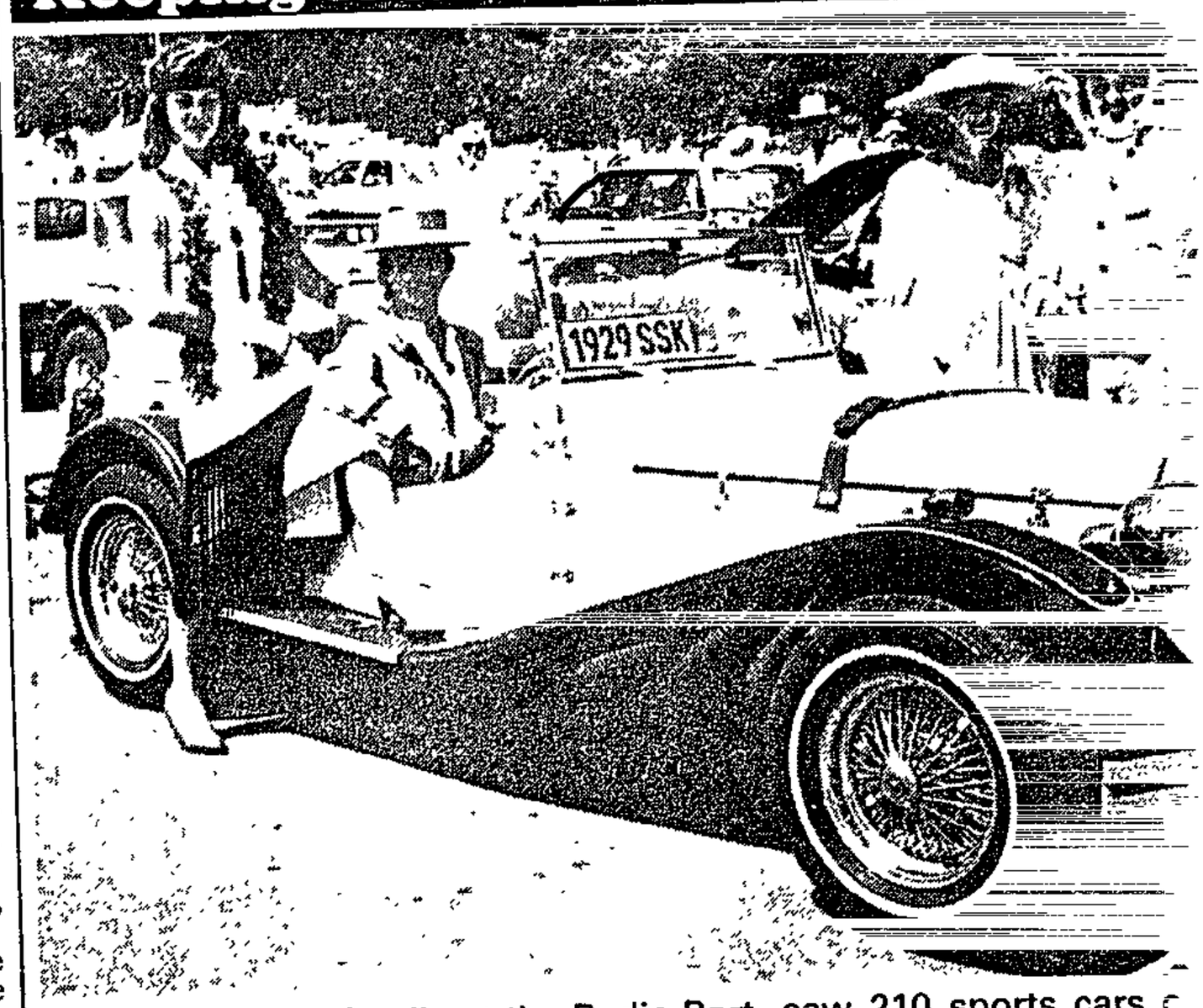
'I believe this party has only one function for the future, and that is to work actively towards the total rationalisation of politics in South Africa, even if it means the end of the NRP as a separate political entity.'

Mr Watterson said the National Party alone would never effect necessary changes, because the majority of non-whites did not trust the NP.

He said the Progressive Federal Party was not trusted, particularly by whites.

'Therefore I believe that as in the case of the Indaba, we could serve as the catalyst for a similar forum, to negotiate either a new political alliance or a constitutional framework that would be generally acceptable for first tier government.'

Keeping it in the family



Keeping it in the family at the Radio Port Natal/Wild Coast Sports Car Run held yesterday are Mr Rowan Marais snr, his wife Margo, son Rowan and Rowan's girlfriend Susan Schaller. The foursome, who won a prize for dressing the most authentically, are seen here with a replica of a 1929 SSK. Yesterday's run, which saw 210 sports cars c. success, said the org Day. 'Next year we i national rally starting eventually ending up Casino. We also hope ber of well-known in car fundis,' h

Reform must include blacks, says Sutton

Political Reporter

REFORM does not consist of removing the stupid and discriminatory legislation which 'you have yourself' put on the statute books, but involves including blacks in the political process, New Republic Party leader, Bill Sutton, said at the party's Natal congress in Pietermartizburg at the weekend.

Mr Sutton said the NRP had been in the vanguard of reform by being involved in the start of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

'The policy of this party is based on the recognition of the group structure of our country and the provision of guarantees for minority groups which will provide a feeling of security without which the whites in particular will be unable to participate to the maximum capacity in the future development of this country.

'If the idea cannot be sold to the Indaba, it has no hope of being accepted in any other future forum in South Africa.'

Mr Sutton said group protection was not racist but designed to avoid racism by defusing the atmosphere of distrust that pervaded deeply divided societies.

'The NRP policy of management government calls for a balance between those elements of the population that are experienced in financial and political management and those whose experience is more recent.'

Two die in latest unrest

Crime Reporter

TWO people were killed in two of 13 unrest incidents reported to the Bureau for Information for the 24-hour period up to 6 am yesterday.

In Alexandra, Witwatersrand, and Tembisa, East Rand, two unknown men were reported to have been necklaced.

No arrests have been made by security forces, the bureau said.

In one of five incidents of unrest reported from

Slain woman 'abhorred' necklacing

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Masabata Loate, a prominent Soweto Youth Congress activist and former beauty queen who was killed on Friday, lost her life because of her abhorrence of the necklace killings.

This was claimed by members of her family yesterday.

Masabata, who has been in and out of prison for security offences since 1976, died near her Orlando West home about 8.30 p.m. on Friday after her comrades allegedly came out of a street committee meeting to hunt her.

The family said the 21 people who were seen killing her and mutilating her body were her undisciplined comrades

Relly: narrow management labour gap

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa would not have a functioning economy at the turn of the century unless it constantly sought to narrow the differences between management and labour, the Anglo American Corporation chairman, Mr Gavin Relly, said yesterday.

He was addressing the King of Lesotho, King Moshoeshoe 11, members of the Lesotho goverment and the business sector in Maseru.

Business, he said, can only have a future in South Africa if it structures its institutions and practices to accord credibly with the non-racial and democratic future of the country.

The onus, he said, lay heavily on South African businessmen to demonstrate that the free enterprise system they advocated could provide a future in which economic growth would be accompanied by a more equitable spread of its benefits.

Mr Relly said corporations in South Africa had no choice but to remain large so as to bring sufficient capital to bear on the risky endeavour of extracting precious metals and minerals under difficult conditions.

"They also need to be large in order to compete on the international markets where the commodities they produce are sold," he said.

He said that although some of these enterprises — such as the gold mines — were labour intensive and the opening of new mines might bring some new employment possibilities, these job opportunities would be limited, he said.

Employee participation in project planning and development had improved both the implementation of new projects and the general motivation of the workforce, he said.

21/10/86 (354A) DD

SAIRR: constitutional plans grind to a halt

JOHANNESBURG — The government's constitutional initiatives are grinding to a halt, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) said in its latest Quarterly Countdown, published yesterday.

Apart from Parliament's failure during its recent second session to enact the National Council Bill, Regional Services Councils were being attacked by blacks and by business, the institute reports.

Countdown — which is designed to monitor every three months whether or not the government is fulfilling its promises to move away from apartheid — also reported that government plans to entrench segregation in local government were being resisted by coloured and Indian MPs, while attempts to introduce "own affairs" hospitals were proving unworkable.

The publication said the third quarter of the year was marked by fears that forced removals had not been abandoned. Referring to the replacement of influx control by aliens legislation, Countdown said this was a form of "backdoor apartheid," which it defined as the "perpetuation of discriminatory practices on an ostensibly colourblind basis."

Countdown noted that "the third quarter did little to promote confidence in the government's commitment to political change capable of meeting even non-revolutionary black demands." The publication pointed out that spending on black education had been increased "very substantially" but that continuing apartheid in education left blacks "unconvinced that Verwoerdian policy has really been abandoned".

BUSDAY 21/10/88 (30CM)

Verwoerd's war with Assocom

Relations between business and government have undergone a radical transformation since the days of former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. As the Assocom annual congress opens in Johannesburg, ANTHEA DUIGAN examines the bitter correspondence — just released — between Verwoerd and Assocom

. 1960, shortly after Sharpeville, Dr Hen- k Verwoerd rejected suggestions from Assocom to avert a national crisis. Today, with the nation again in crisis, President P W Botha is actively seeking business opinion.

Such a change in government attitude spans 26 years since Verwoerd, through his assistant private secretary, warned the president of Assocom not to meddle in political issues. An angry Verwoerd said he would have nothing further to do with Assocom and cancelled his intended presence at the opening of the Assocom congress in 1960.

The statement which caused the furore was issued at the time of Sharpeville and dispels any theory that business has taken a back seat on the reform front.

Although the statement was published and received widespread Press comment, the bitter correspondence between the Prime Minister and Assocom has only just been released.

The five points which caused the upheaval are today accepted without question by government. Published in the Assocom publication *Commercial Opinion*, the offending recommendations read: "... fully realising that the proposals in this memorandum will necessitate the greatest degree of care, patience and tolerance in their implementation, the Association of Chamber of Commerce of South Africa recommends that:

(a) "The Union should be developed as a single economic entity;
(b) "Restrictions which prevent members of any race from conducting business operations in any part of the Union should be progressively relaxed with a view to their ultimate withdrawal;
(c) "The work reservation provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act should be repealed;
(d) "Restrictions on the mobility of labour should be progressively relaxed; and
(e) "Trade unions should, with the effluxion of time and with suitable safeguards, become representative of workers of all races."

Verwoerd's reaction was expressed in a letter from his assistant private secretary: "The attempt to pass this off as purely business reasoning and non-political because of the character of your organisation, which says that it does not intervene in politics, makes no impression upon the Prime Minister or government. You have taken a political stand in this matter of colour policy as active opponents of government and the opposition Press recognised this and made the most of it. It will, therefore, serve as little good purpose to discuss your political statement with you as to discuss the same points of policy with an opposition party.

"In the light of your separate attempt at intervention for political reasons, in spite of the common approach by the various Federated Chambers, the Prime Minister can no longer see the value of attending and addressing your association's annual meeting and therefore withdraws his acceptance of the invitation."

Subject of controversy

The President of Assocom Mr D H G Mosenthal replied: "I want to emphasise that the Chamber of Commerce movement is essentially an economic organisation concerned with furthering the economic interests of its members and the country at large. It deals only with economic issues. Some of these issues happen also to be the subject of controversy between political parties, but the Chamber of Commerce movement is stricly non-political and is in no way concerned with furthering the interests of any political party.

"The fact that we hold different views from government on the question of separate development no more implies that we are desirous of furthering the interests of the opposition political parties than does the support of other business organisations for the policy of separate development imply political activity on their part.

"This statement was made publicly because we regarded it was in the interests of SA that our views on the way in which the Union can achieve optimum economic progress should be known."

Verwoerd was not to be moved. This time his private secretary replied: "The Prime Minister cannot agree that your association's statement was of an economic character. It was nothing less than a brief resumé of United Party policy on points with which the government party has consistently and openly differed in principle and in practice. Those points were the subject of continual political controversy during the past 10 years at least ... No address or statements which try to persuade people that, when your chamber suddenly actively propagates these United Party policies, they suddenly become non-political and economical can be accepted as correct ...

"The Prime Minister therefore regrets that your organisation, by this action, has disrupted the good relations which he and his government always sought to maintain with your association ..."

The fact that the two letters came from Verwoerd's assistant private secretary and his private secretary and not from the Prime Minister himself could be construed as a put-down.

It was at least 10 years before government and Assocom made any direct contact. In the early Seventies, Prime Minister B J Vorster was persuaded to open an Assocom congress, but warned Assocom to stick strictly to business.

On November 7, President P W Botha will show how receptive he is to the suggestions put forwar by present business leaders.

The Natal Mercury, W

Apartheid in everything of God's, says CP

22/10/86 (304A) NM

Mercury Reporter

THE general secretary of the Conservative Party, Dr Frans van Staden, says everything God created is 'full of apartheid'.

Dr van Staden, a former dominee of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in the Transvaal and who is now MP for Koedoespoort, was commenting yesterday on decisions of the General Synod of the NGK in Cape Town.

These include acceptance of a report which said racism was a 'serious sin'. Yesterday the Synod decided to open Church membership to all races.

Dr van Staden said God had created different plants, different animals and different people.

'We must recognise what God has done,' he said.

Dr van Staden said that historically the NGK had recognised different churches for different cultures.

'They must explain what has happened in the meantime,' he said.

'What has happened to the cultural differences?'

Dr van Staden said that if racism meant the rejection of the fact of different races, then he could not agree with the acceptance of the report.

Mr Flippie Schutte, a Natal CP spokesman, said racism in the sense of hate was wrong.

'However, being proud of the fact that you are a Zulu, does that make you a racist?' he asked.

Many questions over 'Carlton' conference No 3

Argus 22/10/86

304A

by DICK USHER
Labour Reporter

BUSINESSMEN will be going to President Botha's next "Carlton" conference — but who will be there, and what mood they will be in, remains to be seen.

Government foot-dragging on setting a clear agenda for reform, the debt standstill that undermined business confidence, Pik Botha's "the sooner sanctions come the better" remark, the continuing political crisis, and too many uncrossed Rubicons, have all helped create an atmosphere of cynicism about government intentions.

And the perception of many businessmen that they are carrying the can for overnment ineptitude has only widened the fissure that has split the earth between the two since the euphoric days of the original Carlton conference.

One industrial relations analyst this week likened South Africa to a factory with three boilers — one political, one social and one economic — all linked and with raging fires stoked under them.

Through reforming industrial relations, and bringing black workers into the industrial relations framework, an inadequate safety valve had been fitted to the economic boiler. Because there was an outlet there, all other pressures were flowing into that boiler.

"It's been suggested that the government knew that's what would happen when they implemented the Wiehahn reforms," he said.

"I wish we could give the government credit for any thinking, let alone something as devious as that," was the comment of one businessman.

BUT the fact is that the lack of outlets on the other two boilers has placed tremendous pressure on the collective bargaining system.

With trade unions as the only generally acceptable legitimate expression of any black aspirations, elements which do not properly belong in the industrial arena are turning up at negotiating tables.

Managements sympathetic to the situation and their employees' grievances in the political and social fields, understand why it is happening, but they also complain that in the collective bargaining system they are bearing the costs of a systems failure.

They had to deal with the hiatus in industrial relations caused by detentions of unionists under the states of emergency — some even gave shop stewards paid time off to look after union business while officials were in jail.

They are having to pay the increased wages that an increasingly frustrated black proletariate demands; they are having to face up to the social responsibility of business and help with education and home-ownership schemes, they are required to adhere to Sullivan and EEC codes; they are going to have to find their way round sanctions; they will have to continue to make profits; they will carry the stress and tension of negotiating with alienated workers; they will largely have to finance the regional services councils ...

All these, many feel, are costs that have been sloughed off on to them by government foot-dragging on providing safety valves on the other boilers.

WHILE government dithers, influential elements of the business community are already looking to the future.

The preamble to the Federated Chamber of Industries' business charter, *Post-Apartheid South Africa — Business and the Process of Change*, said: "Organised business as well as many businessmen have publicly and jointly begun to play a very active role in transforming the country from an apartheid society to one in which human dignity and justice would prevail ... business is clearly stating its intention that apartheid is very bad for business and must be removed from the statute book in its entirety."

As government grumbles about this and other statements as "interfering" in politics, business says it can hardly be accused of "interfering" in issues that circumstances have dropped squarely on its plate.

Given the impossibility of separating economics and politics, any business strategies that Mr Botha puts forward on November 7 will have to be backed by political initiatives if the conference is to go anywhere.

Business is rather sceptical that its own initiatives will be matched by government.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters gather in Potgietersrus for a meeting called by AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

'Security overkill' at President's meeting angers AWB, PFP

Political Correspondent

POTGIETERSRUS — A political row has started over the massive police protection given to President P W Botha at the National Party public meeting in Potgietersrus last night.

The Conservative Party today described the arrangements as almost unbelievable and excessive while the Progressive Federal Party criticised them as an abuse of authority and a gross waste of taxpayers' money.

Both parties are likely to ask questions in Parliament as to the cost and extent of the operation.

The Potgietersrus rugby stadium, where Mr Botha held his meeting, was protected by hundreds of policemen equipped for riot control, including Casspirs and other armoured vehicles, razor wire, dogs and a police helicopter.

Local National Party organisers said last night that no official request for the massive security arrangements had been made.

"What you saw was the normal protection afforded to a head of state in these difficult times," said an organiser.

"You must remember we had information that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) intended to break up the meeting."

Sources said that, if the AWB and the National Party had been involved in a brawl at a meeting of the State President, or if the impression were created that Mr Botha could no longer hold a speech in his own country, the overall political stability of the country could have been seriously affected.

● Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, has withdrawn his request for a meeting with President Botha.

He told a crowd of cheering AWB supporters in Potgietersrus last night: "I have decided that I don't want to talk to P W Botha any longer.

"He had his chance to talk to me and he blew it."

● See Page 11.

Young supporters wave flags as Mr F W de Klerk and President Botha arrive at the NP meeting in Potgietersrus last night.

22/10/86 Bus Day (30 CA)

Business should confront politicians, says De Beer

Own Correspondent

● DE BEER

THE business community should publicly propagate its beliefs at the risk of displeasing politicians, executive director of Anglo American and former Progressive Federal Party MP Zach de Beer said last night.

Speaking at a UCT Graduate School of Business Association dinner, he said the business community needed to keep politicians informed of realities, since political leaders were very often surrounded by "self-seeking sycophants" who told them only what they wanted to hear.

He was "maddened" by politicians who said the business community should not interfere with politics, because the crisis in SA was business-related in very important aspects. Politicians should realise they were the servants of the people and as such business was entitled to call politicians to account.

He said politicians only had to answer to a white electorate which was selfish and wanted to live by First World standards in a Third World country — "so politicians pretend that blacks are not there".

The business community was more aware of the realities of the situation since their customers and work force were largely black.

He said the business community should lobby government properly and present it with researched solutions, such as the recommendations made to government which led to the scrapping of influx control.

BUSDAY 22/10/86

304A

● BUTHELEZI

Business urged to pressure govt

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called on big business to start putting pressure on government to draw up a negotiating agenda which will encourage black participation in the proposed National Council.

Business could play a pivotal role in SA's future if its representatives put such demands to President P W Botha when they meet him on November 7, he said yesterday.

Botha had, in the proposed council, established a mechanism with objectives enabling blacks to negotiate about things which really mattered.

He told Standard Bank executives H P de Villiers and Conrad Strauss he doubted whether Botha would have gone ahead with the present constitution if it had been opposed totally by business leaders.

In fact, although he had summed up the views of many when he warned that the tricameral constitution would lead to polarisation and increased violence, big business had largely supported Botha's referendum campaign, Buthelezi said.

No boards of directors could have given such support if they had done their social and political homework.

There was something very wrong in corporate decision-making when even major companies made such a small investment in the executive expertise which would be capable of helping "charter their course through the landmines in the SA situation".

The Inkatha president found it appalling that some businessmen — and some leading churchmen — were helping the ANC mission in exile to clothe itself in respectability for Western consumption.

Revolutionaries wanted total victory and their intention was to set up a government which would militate against free enterprise, he said. — Sapa.

Cape Times 22/10/86 (Stop) 30647

SA liberals irrelevant as they ignore majority's cries

From CHARLES VILLA-VICENCIO (Rondebosch):

"WHO is collaborating with whom in the Cape Times editorials?" This question was posed a little less diplomatically by a student attending an Azaso/Nusas meeting on the O'Brien-UCT fiasco.

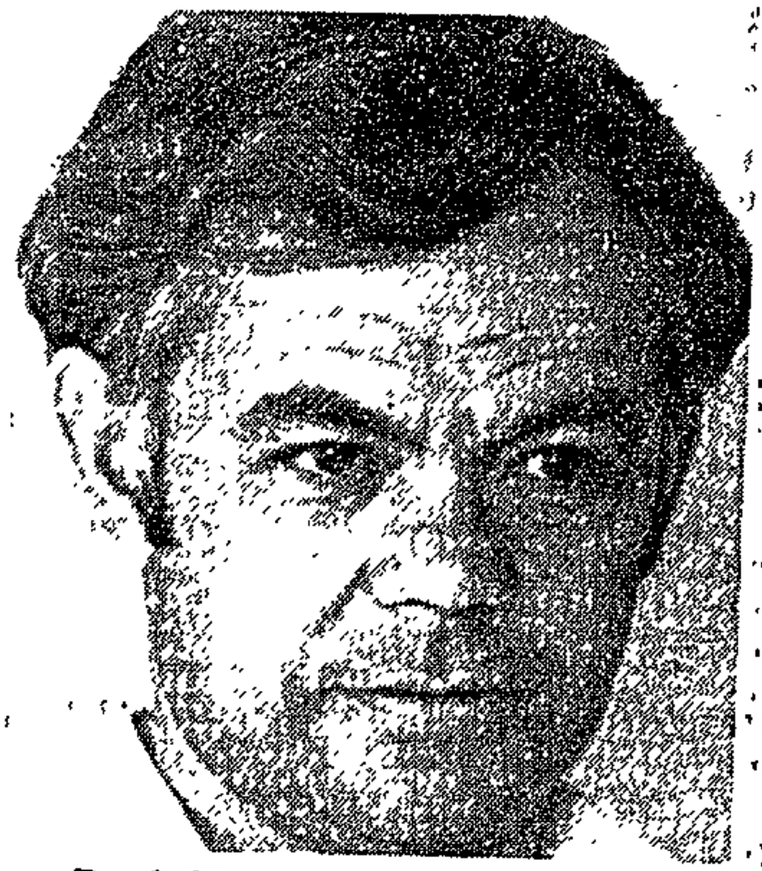
It is certainly a long time since this paper has produced a series of editorials without any nuance or qualification, and so insensitive to the prevailing political climate. Academic freedom is to be highly honoured and certainly the disruption of any lecture must be deeply regretted. In this respect the decision of the UCT Council to investigate the incident is a wise and good one.

But, why do Cape Times editorials not show the same frenzied partisanship concerning the violation of academic freedom when the police occupy township schools and detain black teachers, when black schools and universities are closed, and when lectures are delivered at gunpoint at the University of the North?

Among the cardinal principles of liberalism is a willingness to hear all sides of any story, and the affirmation of the innocence of the alleged perpetrator of a crime until proved guilty. It is a pity that editorial comment in a good liberal paper such as the Cape Times has forgotten to sound this rational bell — while baying for student blood. There is reason to believe that the appropriate UCT bodies will analyse these issues with less emotional hubbub, and will have to note O'Brien's admission that his mission was more than an academic one.

Perhaps the explanation for the editorial onslaught is to be found in an apparent alliance between conservatism and liberalism in this time of crisis. Both call society to consistency with its own ideals, when what is being asked for by the majority of the people is a radically transformed society.

Both tend to be inherently elitist, seeking to tell the masses what is best for them, instead of joining them in their struggle. And, inevitably



Prof Charles Villa-Vicencio

both tend to suggest that the present order is worth salvaging, albeit in some modified form. What is worth salvaging are those great values of the past, whether liberal or conservative, without which a new society will be impoverished.

However, in attempting to preserve these values without facing the reality that most people in this country are calling not for reformed apartheid but a qualitatively different society, will lead to the rejection of such values, not their affirmation.

Indeed, liberals in South Africa, even while affirming democracy in principle — and therefore academic freedom — are in danger of becoming a peripheral minority because they are not heeding the cries of the majority.

It is sad that in our hour of crisis liberals find themselves outflanked by people demanding genuine democratic change.

This is what will make them so damned irrelevant when the chips are down.

(If the professor has not noticed our condemnation of cases of police abuse of power, and our urgent calls for transformation and not mere reform in South Africa, he is either blind or suffering from selective amnesia.— Editor, Cape Times.)

ARGUS 23/10/86 (304A)

Let people vote on apartheid, Assocom urges

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Government has been challenged by the Association of Chambers of Commerce to allow individual towns and cities to sweep away racial segregation in housing and schools if they wish.

The issue was the centre of debate at the annual congress of Assocom in Johannesburg where big business was asked to give full backing to a motion urging the Government to make amendments to the Group Areas Act.

Mr Pat Corbin, president of the Johannesburg chamber, which framed the proposals, believes that approval of the resolution by Assocom will bring the Government to a crucial test on the sincerity of its reform promises.

Business

If delegates approve the resolution, Assocom will formally urge the Government to hasten the process of reform with the removal of all remaining discriminatory measures and take immediate steps to open all business, commercial and industrial zones, as defined in terms of local town planning schemes, for occupation or ownership without restriction based on race.

It will also urge the Government to amend the Group Areas Act to facilitate the removal of restrictions which inhibit ownership or occupation of land for residential purposes "in accordance with local circumstances and wishes".

A background document to the motion paid tribute to Government progress in "the slaughtering of many sacred cows" such as acceptance of the permanence of urban blacks, labour legislation and abolition of influx control.

There was no longer any valid reason to maintain the fiction that many central business districts and their peripheries were "white" areas. The Johannesburg CBD and Hillbrow were only two examples of "grey" areas and should be formally opened to everyone.

Sandton was among a number of municipalities that wanted group areas restrictions removed from its own jurisdiction, and should be allowed to make its own choice.

With a surplus of housing and schools for whites in contrast to grave shortages for other population groups, "total residential segregation by race is impractical and discriminatory".

The document continued: "The phasing out of segregation in housing and schools is a complex and difficult undertaking, but properly managed, evolutionary change will be far more comfortable and constructive than the revolutionary alternative."

The Government also came under pressure to axe spending by applying acid tests of "value for money" on the work of civil servants and all public-sector operations.

The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce moved that all Government departments be forced to face regular audits of efficiency and effectiveness as was done in private businesses.

The issue has been sharpened by arguments by Mr Rocky Ridgway, president of Assocom.

He has worked out that while every R1 in fixed capital stock contributed about 83c to the economy every year as a national average, in the Government sector it sank to only 14c.

AWB will 'step in' if existing order collapses

23/10/85 30 AW STAR

By Andre du Toit

The AWB would "step in" and "resist violently" if the existing order in South Africa collapsed, but the organisation remained committed to non-violence, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche told students at the Rand Afrikaans University yesterday.

Thousands of students packed RAU's auditorium to hear Mr TerreBlanche explain his movement's goals — which included a "Boerestaat" for the Afrikaner people, consisting of the old South African Republic, the Orange Free State, and northern Natal, together with Richards Bay.

Questioned by the multiracial audience on the issue of violence, Mr TerreBlanche said his movement had never propagated violence.

But the AWB was on record as stating that should the existing order in South Africa collapse, its members would step in to save the land for the Afrikaner.

"We shall then offer violent resistance."

The AWB, Mr TerreBlanche added, did not want the whole of South Africa, only those parts of the country that were traditional Boer land.

STAR 23/10/86

SATS to thrash out city plan

By James Clarke

The impact of the South African Transport Services (SATS) plan to develop vast city centre areas in Johannesburg and Pretoria — 250 ha in all — is to be discussed at a public seminar in Sandton next week.

The SA Property Association (Sapoa) has initiated the seminar at the Sandton Sun on October 28.

Mr H J "Fuzz" Loubser, head of SATS new business development department, said this week the selling off of "air space" — the column of air above railway property — should positively affect South Africa's big cities.

His department, charged with making SATS's huge land holdings pay, has pledged to do so only in co-operation with municipal councils and private enterprise.

Among speakers at the seminar will be Mr Tim Middleton of Johannesburg municipality who wll discuss the city's attitude.

For further details telephone Mr Kelly or Miss Leggatt at 331-2637.

Differences with HNP 'are cleared up'

CP pushes for unification

STAR 304A 23/10/86

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Conservative Party will take another step towards unification with the Herstigte Nasionale Party at its national congress in Durban at the weekend.

One of the major items on the agenda is a resolution calling for party approval for unification with the HNP.

CP general secretary Dr Frans van Staden said this week that as far as the CP was concerned all the problems that had existed in preventing the two parties joining forces had been cleared up in recent negotiations.

POLICY PROBLEMS

There were no significant policy differences and the problems about the policies of former Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster and the CP connections with the AWB had been resolved as far as the CP was concerned.

After the CP congress confirmed the resolution it would then be up to the HNP to decide what it would do.

The congress will be opened tomorrow by party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, at a public meeting in the Durban City Hall.

The congress proper is to be held at a beachfront hotel on Saturday. Other issues up for discussion are education, foreign affairs and the economy.

'Africa needs SA food exports'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's greatest potential food export market lies to the north on the African continent, said Mr G Kotze, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, this week.

Mr Kotze was the guest speaker at the opening of the new R8 million Phesantekraal mushroom farm near Durbanville.

He referred to a recent United Nations report which warned that Africa's agricultural sector was in such a poor state that worse famine would result unless agricultural efforts were improved.

Mr Kotze said the report noted that Africa's agricultural problems were owing mainly to neglect rather than drought.

Unchecked, rapid population growth, overgrazing and a reduction in the quality of agricultural land were part of the pattern of ne glect.

An annual 100 million tons of grain would have to be imported by the rest of Africa if UN predictions were correct.

"South Africa continues to export surplus food to the north in spite of the present abnormal agricultural conditions in our own country, due to the drought and the inflation rate.

"Our export market lies to the north as the rest of the African continent will need to take all the food it can get," he said.

Householders to clean up verges

Municipal Reporter

Suburban householders have been asked to clean their own verges as the cleansing branch's budget has been cut by R500 000, according to a city council Press release.

However, maintenance of certain pavements in business areas of Johannesburg will be taken over by the city council.

The budget cut may force the council to stagger its present mowing programme three times during the seven-month summer season, the statement said.

About half of the city's residents keep their own properties tidy while another 20 percent have paved sidewalks.

The obligation that city property owners with "street projections" have to maintain their own footways, kerbing and guttering underneath the overhang falls away.

ASSESMENT RATES

The council will foot the addional bill by levying a six-monthly charge of R150 for each 15,7 m stretch of veranda or balcony extending over the pavememt. Businesses adorned with colonnades, bay windows, pavement lights and showcases will also be affected.

The additional fee will be added to assessment rates.

The levy will be charged on the full length of the street frontage of the building because of the difficulty of establishing the extent of the encroachment.

Where the overhang is less than the entire length, property owners are asked to notify the city engineer by writing to the Roads and Works Branch, at PO Box 4323, Johannesburg.

Item was no longer exclusive to the Post Office

304A DD 23/10/86

Business has duty in SA says Reddy

JOHANNESBURG — The business sector had a duty to play an active and positive role in influencing change in South Africa, Dr J. N. Reddy, the Minister of Budgetary and Auxillary Services of the House of Delegates, told the Assocom congress.

The future of the free enterprise system depended on the creation of a constitutional framework acceptable to all.

It would also have to recognise "the need for the widest possible involvement and participation in the economic life of our country by the people of colour who have thus far, to a lesser or greater degree, been precluded by the existence of legal constraints and impediments," he said.

The government had already taken certain steps and other measures were in the pipeline to remove contraints, which had effectively blocked the economic progress and development of the non-white people.

Only an expanding economy could contribute to a climate conducive to reform.

Instead of imposing sanctions, there should be joint efforts by major trading partners to extend financial aid in the way of soft loans for programmes in the fields of education, economic development, health and housing.

"To retain public confidence in the years ahead, business must demonstrate that it has the resources, the vigour, the intelligence — and above all, the will — to meet its obligations in a free economy." — Sapa

304A DD 23/10/86

PFP to probe boy's death in shooting

Fact-finding team in Q'town

Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN — The Progressive Federal Party has announced it is to investigate the death of 12-year-old Sherlock Rhyno Davids after a shooting incident at a roadblock here on Sunday night.

And the Labour Party's branch here has issued a statement calling for an official inquiry and expressing its "abhorrence" at the incident.

The branch chairman, Mr Winston Jasson, said yesterday the contents of the statement had been passed to the party leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, and the MP for Border, Mr Peter Mopp.

In a PFP statement, the party's regional Outreach manager, Mr Ian Bentley, said a PFP fact-finding team visited the town yesterday and collected a number of affidavits in connection with the incident.

"The team was cordially received by the district commandant of the South African Police, Lieutenant-Colonel Fourie, and was informed that a high-level investigation was underway," Mr Bentley said.

"A number of other people, including the mother of the victim, were interviewed and a number of affidavits collected.

"The team is still trying to arrange a meeting with the local army commander, Colonel Bouwer of Group 39."

Mr Bentley said the PFP was "very disturbed that an incident like this should have taken place, serving as it does to exacerbate an already tense situation in the area".

The party was also perturbed that Sherlock's father, a warrant officer in the police, should not have recognised the roadblock.

"The lives of other innocent members of the public could be endangered in similar circumstances.

"Strict roadblock procedures should be adhered to and the general public should be made aware of these procedures as a matter of urgency."

Meanwhile, Sherlock, who had been confirmed the day before his death by the Bishop of Grahamstown, will be buried in the municipal cemetery after a service at St David's Anglican church in Victory Park on Saturday.

The service, during which a choir of Sherlock's former schoolmates at St Theresa's will sing, will be conducted by the family's pastor and friend, Father Louis Flint.

Sherlock's mother, Mrs Daleen Davids, who was injured in the incident, will go to hospital today for a minor operation to remove gunshot.

Police have said the incident occurred when a car driven by Sherlock's father, Mr Johnny Davids, allegedly drove through a roadblock.

● In a separate statement, the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said yesterday it was "virtually impossible" to lay down any hard and fast procedure governing the setting up of roadblocks as each one was prescribed by prevailing circumstances.

"Although there are basic guidelines that apply, roadblocks can be set up in a number of ways, depending on the purpose of the operation, the vicinity in which it is set up, available manpower, amount of traffic and time of the day or night," the statement said.

The procedure to be followed when a motorist failed to stop at a roadblock could not be detailed since it would also be prescribed by the prevailing circumstances.

"All procedures must, however, be within the confines of existing legal prescriptions," the statement said.

Top fiction

LONDON — The Old Devils, a novel about elderly, alcoholic couples in South Wales by British writer Kingsley Amis, has won the Booker Prize, Britain's top honour for fiction. — DDC

its eyebrow-raising performance.

NM 23/10/86

Reddy warns firms on social change

Mercury Reporter

THE Minister of Budgetary and Auxiliary Services in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, warned big business yesterday that it was living on borrowed time if it did not relate to the changing social needs and expectations of South Africans.

Speaking at the annual congress of the Associations of the Chamber of Commerce (Assocom) at the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg, Dr Reddy said he was disappointed with business and its role in the development of black entrepreneurship.

'I believe that there is a vast reservoir of willing and capable business persons of colour and when I look at the number of people of colour on the boards of your companies, I am shattered.

Training

'There is a tremendous opportunity to co-opt these persons to serve as directors or alternative directors on your boards and articulate at first hand the problems that they have to endure,' he said.

In addition businesses could play an important role in training and assisting the development and extension of the abilities of persons of colour in setting up business ventures on a national scale, instead of their small scale localised 'cottage industry' type of effort.

He said the business sector had a duty to play an active and positive role in influencing change in South Africa. The future of the free enterprise system was dependent on the creation of a constitutional framework which was acceptable to all the people of the land.

Openness

'The Government has already taken certain steps and other measures are in the pipeline, all of which are designed to remove constraints which have effectively blocked the economic progress and development of the non-white people, more especially the blacks.'

Dr Reddy said that while the Government was emphasising its abandonment of apartheid and all its ugly connotations, the replacement of it in society with openness was going to take some time. However, business could narrow the gap.

'Instead of imposing sanctions, there should be joint efforts on the part of all our major trading partners to extend to this country financial aid by way of soft loans to fund programmes which will contribute to the forward mobility of the underdeveloped sectors of our population in education, economic development, health and housing,' he said.

324A 13/10/86

Call to support private reform initiative

LONDON—Mr Jan Steyn, executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, last night urged businessmen overseas to support the private sector's reform initiative in South Africa.

In an address to the South Africa Club in London, Mr Steyn said the private sector's urge for prosperity in a post-apartheid society was, together with black protest, the 'most effective agency for change in South Africa today'.

He said the support of the international business community for this urge was especially important because Western governments were abandoning their leverage over Pretoria by resorting to punitive action.

Actions

The private sector had played a large role in reforms, implemented over the past eight years, which had reached out to 'some of the core areas of the apartheid policies of the past'.

Actions from abroad which will assist the internal reconstruction of peace in our society' included:

- Recognition by governments and pressure groups overseas of the complexity of change in South Africa;
- International groups should set realistic targets to allay heightened expectations and show Government supporters that their actions were well intended;
- Full support for local attempts to promote negotiation; and
- Clear indications as to what 'realistic achievements' were neccessary to end international sanctions and punitive actions.

Referring to sanctions, Mr Steyn said they would not topple the South African Government nor destroy the economy. They would, however, deepen unemployment and leave the real challenges in the South African situation unanswered.

Changes

Mr Steyn said the South African business community had been 'more mobilised for a role in the promotion of reform than any equivalent performance by capitalism elsewhere in the world'.

Among the changes it had helped achieve over the past eight years were the removal of discrimination in labour legislation, full property rights for blacks, the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, opening of central business districts to all, the abolition of the pass laws and restoration of citizenship to some homeland blacks.

The private sector had developed a consensus to work for 'a South Africa united under a single central government, in which all South Africans will participate through a universal franchise'. — (Sapa)

Steyn urges support for reform

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Actions from abroad "which will assist the internal reconstruction of peace in our society" included:

- Recognition by governments and pressure groups overseas of the complexity of change in South Africa. Summary demands for negotiation or universal franchise "as if it were no more problematic than organising an office party ... are distinctly unhelpful".
- International groups should set realistic targets to allay heightened expectations and show government supporters that their actions were well intended.
- Full support for local attempts to promote negotiation.
- Clear indications as to what "realistic achievements" were neccessary to end international sanctions and punitive actions.

Referring to sanctions, Mr Steyn said they would not topple the South African Government nor destroy the economy. They would, however, deepen unemployment and leave the real challenges in the South African situation unanswered.

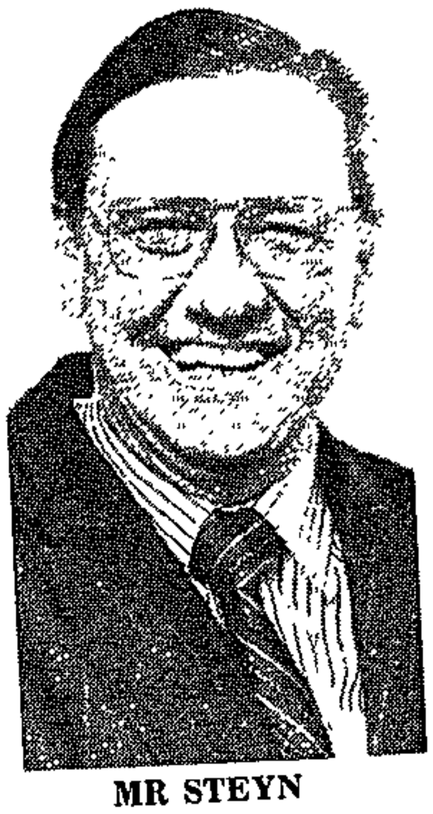
He said the South African business community had been "more mobilised for a role in the promotion of reform than any equivalent performance by capitalism elsewhere in the world".

Among the changes it had helped achieve over the last eight years were the removal of discrimination in labour legislation, full property rights for blacks, the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, the opening of central business districts to all, the abolition of the pass laws and restoration of citizenship to some homeland blacks.

The private sector — an alliance of corporate enterprise, individual business leaders, trade unions, employer organisations and private sector development groups like the Urban Foundation — had developed a consensus to work for "a South Africa united under a single central government, in which all South Africans will participate through a universal franchise".

But many factors were inhibiting rapid change.

These included constraints on economic growth, growing unemployment, a resurgent right-wing and growing polarisation of political views, reduced fiscal revenue and the goverment's view that its reforms had not been recognised.



MR STEYN

Yet he remained optimistic "because South Africans internally have demonstrated their capacity to promote meaningful change".

The private sector coalition also had a number of weapons in its drive for reform.

It had the capacity to gather strategic information, analyse the strength and weaknesses in the situation and to act on the basis of this to achieve an effect at the highest level of government.

Such analysis was crucial because "the South African system of government is not a simple hegemony with a pliant support base where single-stranded initiatives could have a dramatic effect. It is a complex, deeply embedded structure with multiplicities of underpinnings and reinforcements."

The business coalition also included important elements in the "government support base" and people who were in daily contact with government figures.

The private sector was also one of the few "bridge-formations with effective links into the black community" and was receiving signs from government circles and within the black community that "there is a desire to escape from stalemate." — Sapa

Govt hits back over 'dangerous' US report

23/10/86 STAR

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

A scathing report on the South African economy, purportedly drawn up by the US Commerce department in the Johannesburg Consulate, was slammed as dangerous and naive by the Government today.

The document by the Foreign Commercial Service (Johannesburg) said South Africa was closer to becoming just another African state.

The country was criticised as a chronic debtor, import starved, riddled with ethnic diversities, run by a repressive regime unable to manage its domestic constituency, whose only leverage was its ability to manipulate foreign governments.

There was no comment from the US Embassy earlier today.

FALSEHOODS

But Deputy Minister of Finance Mr Kent Durr said the report was dangerously naive and laced with half-truths and falsehoods.

He said South Africa had a siege economy because of US Government actions.

The US Government had created this situation by blackmailing its own country's companies, applying sanctions and helping exclude South Africa from international forums, Mr Durr added.

He said South Africa was not a chronic debtor nation, but owed its debtor status to the actions being taken against it.

The country was import starved because it was obliged to maintain a positive balance of payments in order to pay debts, Mr Durr said.

If the US Government now said it was riddled with ethnic diversities then that was a contradiction of the usual claim.

Mr Durr said it was nonsense to claim South Africa could manipulate foreign governments. If that were true it would not have a siege economy.

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Finance Mr Harry Schwarz expressed surprise that the US Consulate put out such a report in such emotional language.

He wondered if it was reported out of context because, he said, information from the Consulate was usually reasonably accurate and objective.

He added: "This is not a diplomatic report. It is in exaggerated language and it is not a correct assessment."

Mr Schwarz said it was ridiculous to claim South Africa manipulated foreign governments.

South Africa faced difficulties partly through its inability to influence other countries.

He said he was concerned the report might be taken seriously by businessmen in the US.

Steyn calls for support

24/6/86 Sowetan 304A

MR JAN Steyn, executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, has urged businessmen overseas to support the private sector's reform initiative in South Africa.

In an address to the South Africa Club in London on Tuesday, Mr Steyn said the private sector's urge for prosperity in a post-apartheid society was, together with black protest, the "most effective agency for change in South Africa today."

He said the support of the international business community for this urge was especially important because Western governments were abandoning their leverage over Pretoria by resorting to punitive action.

The private sector had played a large role in reforms, implemented over the past eight years, which had reached out to "some of the core areas of the apartheid policies of the past".

Assist

Actions from abroad "which will assist the internal reconstruction of peace in our society" included:

- Recognition by governments and pressure groups overseas of the complexity of change in South Africa. Summary demands for negotiation or universal franchise "as if it were no more problematic than organising an office party . . . are distinctly unhelpful."
- International groups should set realistic targets to allay heightened expectations and show government supporters that their actions were well intended.
- Full support for local attempts to promote negotiation.

what "realistic achievements" were necessary to end international sanctions and punitive actions.

Referring to sanctions, Mr Steyn said they would not topple the SA Government nor destroy the economy. They would, however, deepen unemployment and leave the real challenges in the South African situation unanswered.

Mr Steyn said the South African business community had been "more mobilised for a role in the promotion of reform than any equivalent performance by capitalism elsewhere in the world." — Sapa.

STAR

AWB gets feeding plan off ground

304A

By Andre du Toit

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has appointed a party stalwart, Mr Giel Groenewald, to get its feeding scheme for poor whites off the ground according to an announcement in the organisation's monthly newsletter.

Mr Groenewald's initial task is to keep statistics to enable "our leaders to fight for the future existence of the volk".

The AWB found there were 35 schools in Pretoria which operated feeding schemes for some 800 children.

The AWB feeding scheme is already in operation, but it will be Mr Groenewald's task "to get it off the ground".

The newsletter says 250 bags of vegetables have been distributed within two weeks of the organisation's inception.

Arrangements have been made to keep the vegetables at the Pretoria market.

Every bag of vegetables will be clearly marked with an "AWB — Ons Gee Om" (AWB — We Care) sticker.

CP congress to discuss 'integration'

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Government's new "integration" policies and power-sharing are to be the main topics of the Conservative Party national congress which will be opened in Durban tonight by Dr Andries Treurnicht.

After the official opening at a public meeting at 7.30 pm at the Durban City Hall, the congress proper will be a one-day affair at a beachfront hotel tomorrow.

Most of the resolutions on the agenda deal with the Government's "integrationist" moves and call for a return to the old apartheid policy of the National Party.

And these policies, one resolution states, should be effectively sold locally and overseas.

The first resolution states that the Republic of South Africa, after the exclusion of coloured and Indian areas, would be the sole property and fatherland of the whites in which other groups would have no political rights.

And the white fatherland would be governed exclusively by whites.

Other resolutions deal with the economy, agriculture and defence.

304A

PW may face business pressure

GERALD REILLY

STATE PRESIDENT P W Botha is under increasing pressure to announce significant moves to defuse the growing sanctions and disinvestment crisis at his November 7 summit with leading SA businessmen.

That is the view of economists who warned yesterday that the IBM, GM, Coca Cola and Honeywell pull-outs could be the tip of the iceberg, and that drastic action was needed to stop the rot.

PFP spokesman Harry Schwarz said the disinvestment snowball had begun to roll, and its momentum threatened to increase.

Although the November 7 summit agenda was limited to two items, businessmen were certain to raise the worsening disinvestment situation under the item on the country's industrial future.

He said there was an alarming attitude taking root that, now that sanctions had been imposed, the worst had happened "and to hell with the world — we'll go it alone". South Africa could, however, not survive in isolation.

"There must be realistic appreciation of the threat now facing the country, and realistic moves should be made to counter it."

An announcement by Botha on November 7 of a positive programme to get stalled reform moving again, with significant action to remove all remaining discriminatory legislation, could help stop the rot, Schwarz said.

Right wing slams NGK race moves

STAR 24/10/86 (304A)

Right-wing leaders yesterday slammed the decision by the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk to open its membership to all races and predicted widespread resistance among ordinary churchgoers.

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party said: "I doubt whether a single congregation in the country will agree with the general synod's decision."

Mr H F Verwoerd, general secretary of the Oranjewerkersvereniging, said the decision will lead to the merging of all the different NG churches.

"The way in which the decision was taken was not fair towards ordinary church members. Local church councils should have deliberated the issue first.

"Instead the decision was steamrollered by a small group of synod delegates in Cape Town."

Mr Marais said mixed worshipping in a mixed congregation would also lead to mixed Sunday schools, which would be unacceptable to NGK members.

He said the past two days he has been inundated with phone calls from people all over the country.

He said he was amazed that Professor Carel Boshoff got involved in the synod's decision on apartheid.

Professor Boshoff had told the NGK delegates in Cape Town: "I am convinced that apartheid which is not founded on a territorial basis but implemented in a mixed society, cannot be morally justified."

● See Page 4.

World 'might not appreciate it', but ...

Relly calls on govt to stay on road to reform

STEPHEN ROGERS

THE possible imposition of total sanctions against SA will make it clear to South Africans they are being singled out for punishment as members of the world's leading pariah state, Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said at the AGM of the SA-Israel Chamber of Commerce yesterday.

He urged government to continue on its road to reform. However, he doubted if the international community would fully appreciate these reforms.

"We cannot be assured of the international community's support for these changes which might not — for a variety of reasons — satisfy the mob rule which pronounces judgment from afar on SA."

The chairman warned against SA adopting the attitude that nothing it could do would please the international community and, as a consequence, slowing down the reform programme.

Should this happen the countries which supported SA — those which saw that sanctions were a foolish and unwise policy — would come under increasing pressure to adopt a more hardline view.

"We must make every effort to convince the international community of the justice and credibility of the cause of reform," said Relly.

The chairman went on to talk about the principles set out by the State President for a new society in SA — one citizenship, full participation by all people and equality of opportunity and education.

The development of a new constitution incorporating these principles should be a matter for South Africans and South Africans only.

Negotiations necessary to produce a new constitution should not take place under duress, he said.

Existing sanctions not only diminished SA's ability to create wealth but would also diminish its ability to pay for reform.

CHERILYN IRETON reports that Anglovaal chairman Basil Hersov, in his annual report, said sanctions would drive SA into a siege position and negate the private sector's ability to influence change.

He called for conditional aid to boost SA's socio-economic growth.

Economic growth was too slow, said Hersov, who suggested that conditions be attached to the financing of schools, housing, teachers and jobs.

Turning to law and order, he called for responsible and disciplined enforcement, answerable to the courts.

End apartheid immediately says church

Dispatch Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG — Nothing less was needed for South Africa than the immediate and complete dismantling of apartheid and its replacement by a system in which all people had a share, the Conference of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa declared here yesterday.

According to a strongly worded resolution the conference, which has been meeting in Pietermaritzburg this week, called on the government to take a number of immediate steps to "help create a climate in which relatively peaceful change becomes a possibility".

These included the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of detainees and political prisoners, the unbanning of proscribed political organisations and the recognition of civic and political leaders who had the confidence of the black community.

The conference viewed "with anger and distress" the present situation in the country which was further embittering relationships between people and groups who belonged together.

"We have long warned this country that it is on the road to disaster and it gives us no pleasure to see our prophecies fulfilled," the resolution stated.

The root of the problem, it added, was the policy of apartheid and the refusal to dismantle it speedily and entirely.

In another resolution adopted shortly before the close of the last session yesterday, the conference agreed to seek an immediate interview with the Ministers of Law and Order and Defence to convey the church's personal concerns about the state of emergency.

The conference further resolved that if the measures were not lifted the church might be "called upon to explore positive acts of disobedience and non-violent resistance to indicate that (it) cannot be inhibited in its ministry and mission".

On education, the conference said it was totally unacceptable that black school children should have to carry identification cards.

Delegates agreed that many children were out of school because of the Department of Education and Training's demand that they carry cards and that the situation had "the most serious implications" for the future of education in the country.

The conference also viewed with alarm the department's failure to consult parents or representative bodies over the presence of security forces on school premises and the issuing of identity cards.

It also resolved that Methodist chaplains in the South African Defence Force are to have their own, non-military uniforms.

(304A) DD 24/1/88

Pik Botha card for report; 'Insult'

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The United States Chargé d'Affaires, Richard Barkley, was summoned to the Union Building in Pretoria yesterday by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and told South Africa 'took the strongest exception' to the document on its economic and political future prepared by the U S Consulate in Johannesburg.

The document launched a blistering attack on South Africa, which, it said, was becoming 'just another African state'.

Mr Barkley was told by Deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller the Government strongly objected to the 'insulting and hostile language' of the document.

Unacceptable

Mr Botha said it was made clear to Mr Barkley that South Africa is part of Africa and therefore objected to the arrogant and insensitive comment that South Africa is 'closer to becoming just another Afri- state'.

e said Mr Barkley indi- d that the document repared for the inter- e of the consulate Ir Botha added that, ding to his informa- the document could be obtained on request.

'Mr Barkley was told this practice was 'most unacceptable and was asked to furnish the department with an explanation as to whether the document reflected official U S opin- ion,' he said.

Describing the document as 'dangerously naive' earlier, Deputy Finance Minister Kent Durr said it was 'neither accurate nor helpful' and would make no contribution to the easing of a difficult constitutional and economic situation in South Africa.

A U S Embassy spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday that the report was a planning document reflecting trends in the South Africa economy.

He emphasised that it also reflected some of the reasons why the Reagan Administration opposed disinvestment.

Leading

It is believed the U S Embassy was not happy about the language used in the report and the fact that it had been leaked.

The vice-president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Lance Japhet, described the report as 'fashionable worst-case scenario painting'. He said: 'It suits the moral and business justification for U S disengagement from South Africa.'

The managing director of the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation, Jan Bouwer, made clear that South Africa was and would remain the continent's leading state economically. 'And it's just as well other countries be aware of this fact,' he said.

● See Editorial Opinion

Plan to honour PW could put mayor in a fix

24/7/86. (304A) STAR

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

National Party plans to grant the Freedom of the City to the State President, Mr P W Botha, could place Johannesburg's "non-political" mayor in an invidious position.

Normal procedure would be for Professor Harold Rudolph, who was voted on to the council on an PFP ticket, to confer the honour on Mr Botha.

In line with a 1983 agreement between PFP leader, Mr Sam Moss, the then NP leader, and with Mr Carel Venter and management committee chairman Mr Francois Oberholzer, the mayoral office was rotated annually between the three parties and placed above politics.

The PFP has refused a management committee request to honour Mr Botha, contending that the award not only honoured the State President, but represented a political perk for the leader of the NP.

If the NP decides to go ahead without PFP support, Professor Rudolph would be forced to decide whether to oppose his own party, citing the impartiality of the office, or to withdraw and allow the deputy mayor, Mr Ormond Fenn, to handle the ceremony.

Another issue at stake is the timing of the ceremony to coincide with the centenary banquet in November. The danger exists that the already beleagured centenary celebrations could be eclipsed by a council row.

Controversy

Professor Rudolph said he was not prepared to comment on the matter.

It is not the first time that the granting of freedom of the city has been shrouded in controversy.

Only seven years ago the Progressive Federal Party refused to honour former State President Mr John Vorster and he was presented with his award in February 1979 in an almost half-empty council chamber.

This was after the National Party dismissed PFP demands to delay the ceremony until after the final report and evidence of the Erasmus Commission into the Information Scandal.

Although NP leader Mr Carel Venter pointed out that the honour had already been conferred on Mr Vorster by a unanimous council decision the previous year, the matter was thrashed out in heated council debate in the monthly meeting preceding the ceremony.

The mayor, Dr J S Otto, rejected Mr Sam Moss's motion calling for a postponement, ruling that it contravened the South African constitution as it damaged the reputation of the State President.

24/9/86.

NP is 'hoodwinking whites over crisis'

STAR (304A)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Whites who believed the country could indefinitely "tough out" the political and economic crisis were grossly misinformed, says Progressive Federal Party strategist Dr Jannie Hofmeyr.

Addressing a "Strategy for a new South Africa" Press conference held by the PFP leadership in Durban yesterday, Dr Hofmeyr said the National Party had largely succeeded in convincing whites that a back-to-the-laager policy was feasible, and that they had contained the current situation.

"That's not the case. We simply cannot afford a war of attrition in which everybody loses."

Dr Hofmeyr said one of the key challenges facing the PFP in their new, aggressive marketing strategy was to convince people of all races that peace was possible, and that a non-racial democracy could work.

Outlining their new "turbocharge" policy which the PFP believes will net them 52 seats and a significant portion of a coalition government by 1990, party leader Mr Colin Eglin said they now planned to force Nat voters to deal with their consciences.

He said many people were uncomfortable with the pace of reform, the authoritarianism, and the sole concern of "volk" as shown by the Government.

Many whites tended to believe that voting Nat was the lesser of two evils as they were keeping the Conservative and Herstigte Nasional Party out. But this was not the case as the right-wing threat was exaggerated.

"The only way to bring about a new South Africa is to get rid of the Nationalist Government.

"The wheels have come off their reform policies. They don't say where they're going anymore, not just because they don't know, but because their supporters themselves are so divided," Mr Eglin said.

Centenary rallyists reach end

24/9/86.

CP, HNP to be helped by British historian

English hirian and author Mr David Irving is to back the South African right-wing parties in their fight for power.

Speaking in Pretoria this week, the author of books such as "Destruction of Dresden" and "Hitler's War" vowed he would return to South Africa every six months — and earlier if a general election is called — to aid the Right in its fight.

"South Africa is the battleground of World War 3 — like a pawn in a chess game to further their own ideals toward mineral wealth," he said.

"Why don't you use your mineral wealth as a weapon? If you adopt sanctions, there will be instant peace, because the West cannot do without your minerals".

He added that apartheid was a "red herring" and was being used by the West to break the South African Government.

"If blacks gain power in South Africa there will be bloodshed. In staying in power, the whites are helping the black people".

His opinion was that the sanctions issue was over and that South Africa had won the battle against sanctions.

"A terror campaign is being lodged against South Africa by the outside world and you are being taught to hang your heads in embarrassment."

He said the Americans were funding black unrest in South Africa through the South African Council of Churches.

PFP launches protest at news restrictions

304A W/M 25/1/1986

Political Reporter

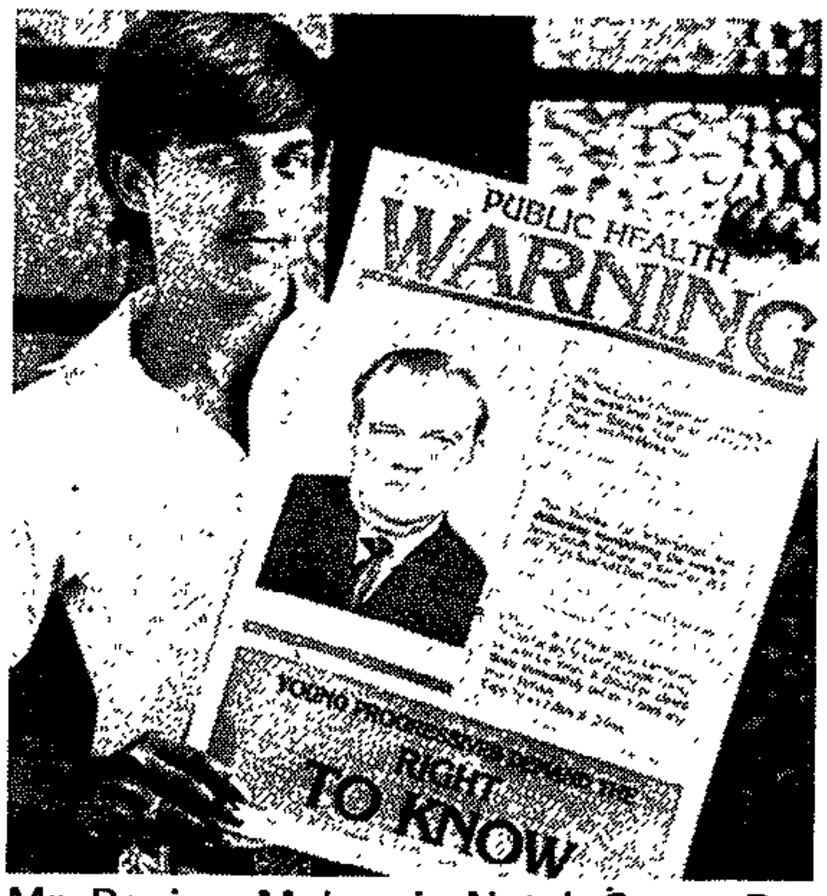
THE Progressive Federal Party youth has launched a national campaign to highlight the, 'restrictive role of the Bureau for Information in the dissemination of news'.

This morning, the PFP youth will staff a table in Field Street where people can sign printed letters to the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, expressing misgivings about the bureau.

The letter states that 'the Rhodesian experience' has shown how dangerous it is for the public to be misinformed about events in their country'.

'I believe I am intelligent enough to be able to weigh up various reports and reach my own conclusions about events. I do not need others to interpret news for me,' the letter states.

Mr Ranjay Maharaj, Natal Coast Regional PFP Youth Director, said the campaign will include handing out stickers which read, 'SABC news is biased,' and posters headed, 'Public health warning,' which contain Mr Nel's photograph and various criticisms of the bureau.



Mr Ranjay Maharaj, Natal Coast Regional PFP Youth Director, shows a poster which is part of a national campaign to highlight criticisms of the Bureau for Information.

Mr Maharaj said he had had some difficulty finding a building owner who was prepared to allow the table to be placed outside his building and several other owners who had refused permission when they learned of the details of the campaign.

He said copies of the letter were being signed in various parts of the country and as soon as they had been collected, the PFP would send them to Mr Nel.

Govt team expelled from international Red Cross conference

SA KICKED OU

GENEVA. — A major International Red Cross meeting today suspended indefinitely the South African Government delegation because of the country's apartheid policies.

By a vote of 159 for, 25 against and eight abstentions, the conference ordered the South African Government delegation to leave

The non-Government South African Society of the Red Cross was allowed to stay.

The South African Ambassador, Mr Jeremy Shearar, told the conference before leaving the room. "It is not we, Mr Chairman, who are humiliated here today."

A bomb threat forced the evacuation of 1 400 delegates from the 144-nation conference yesterday as several countries, including the United States and the Netherlands, fought the expulsion moves, warning that they could destroy the Red Cross

The South African Government delegation is attending as a signatory of the 1949 Geneva Convention on humane treatment of prisoners.

African and Soviet bloc states led the move to expel the delegation.

The move does not include the delegation from the South African Red Cross Society.

Mr Jeremy Shearar

Kenyan delegation leader Mr Denis Afande led the campaign by some 50 African and communist countries to suspend the Pretoria delegation because of its apartheid policy of racial separation.

No delegate spoke in defence of South Africa.

The conference, which groups governments and national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies from around the world, is held every four years.

Some 900 delegates were scheduled to review the records of states bound by the 1949 Geneva conventions on humane treatment of prisoners, wounded, the sick and civilians in international and civil conflicts.

Red Cross statutes say the conference may not deal with political matters or be a forum for political debate, but the South African wrangle has stopped all other work at the week-long meeting which opened yesterday.

Mr Afande said the suspension should last until the scrapping of apartheid, he added.

The president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Mr Alexandre Hay, said the dialogue which was the purpose of the conference would be interrupted if states which violated international humanitarian law were excluded.

He noted that exclusion of such states would leave the victims of these violations defenceless.

Red Cross officials had vainly argued that any move to evict a government delegations from a state adhering to the conventions would set a dangerous precedent and seriously harm the entire Red Cross movement around the world.

Mr Hay, in private conversations, warned that it could make ICRC work even more difficult in Southern Africa.

The conference adjourned and behind-the-scenes efforts were made to forge a compromise.

During the adjournment police said an anonymous caller telephoned the conference centre saying a bomb would explode there. Delegates were asked to leave the building but were readmitted after a search failed to uncover explosives. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Picture PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN, Weekend Argus

Natal's Darryl Bestall plays a forward defensive stroke to a ball from Western Province's Mike Minnaar, with wicketkeeper Richie Ryall looking on, during the Currie Cup match at Newlands today. Match report Page 32.

Train smashes car, kills driver

Weekend Argus Reporter

RAILWAYS signal control personnel watched in horror today as a passenger train smashed into a car, killing the driver.

The accident happened at 11.50am at a private level-crossing at Woltemade signal control centre on the Strand-Cape Town line.

The dead man was Mr R J Koster, 30, of Vrijzee — a train control official at the centre.

Mr Koster was on duty at the time of the accident and was driving to a nearby cafe when his car was struck, said police liaison officer, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher.

The car was dragged about 75 metres along the line. Metro Emergency Unit members used mechanical jaws to free the body.

All Up betting gives a big boost to tote

By JAN BOTHA, Racing Editor

ALL UP betting has given a big boost to the tote win and place pools and it has also helped to increase the overall tote turnover.

Mr Richard Mitchell, manager of the Totalisator Agency Board, said racing administrators were happy with the response to All Up betting

"When it was introduced two weeks ago the tote win and place pools were increased by 140 percent and we can safely assume that from now on the tote win and place pools will be more than double what they were before," Mr Mitchell said

"This is just what we wanted to achieve By increasing these pools [illegible] attractive"

Mr Mitchell said tote turnover on the past two Saturday meetings was about 17 percent up on the corresponding meetings last year

All Up betting at the past two Wednesday meetings at Milnerton generated R52 000 and at the two Saturday meetings R75 000

"This is what we expected as the official double [illegible]

Furore Britain, break t with Sy

LONDON — An international furore has and Syria cut diplomatic links over a jetliner

Britain announced it was severing its day after a Jordanian was found guilty ning to destroy an El Al Jumbo jet in the which implicated the Syrian ambassador

Damascus retaliated by excluding space and ports

The US then said it was withdr its ambassador to Syria in support Britain

Administration officials said the mov ranked above mere recall of the ambassador for consultations but below breaking relations, and was regarded as an extremely serious action

"It is a sign of great displeasure with that country's policies," an official said

At least for the moment, the US Embassy in Damascus will continue to operate under the guidance of a charge d'affaires

"In the coming days we will be in close consultation with Her Majesty's gov gard ing additional steps that we and House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said gan's plane

When Nezar Hindawi was sentenced prison, the move set off a swift diplomatic

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoff ment that the Syrian ambassador, Mr I been told to close his embassy and with

"There is conclusive evidence of Syrian official involvement with Hindawi," Sir Geoffrey said, adding that the 19-strong British Embassy in Damascus would also close

Damascus accused Britain of "racist imperialist malice" against the Arabs and said British embassy and cultural staff had just seven days to leave the country.

No comment

Syrian air space — overflown by 70 British flights a week at present — would be closed to British air traffic and the country's ports would be closed to British ships

The British Foreign Office had no immediate comment on the Syrian moves, which halved the 14 days Sir Geoffrey had allowed for the embassy closures

The loss of the British Embassy in Soviet-allied Syria will deprive Britain of an important listening post in the Middle East

The Israeli ambassador in London welcomed the British moves, while Canada said it was recalling its ambassador to Damascus for consultations

But the official Soviet News agency Tass [illegible]

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Cape Times 25/10/86 (304A)

'Democracy still possible in SA'

Staff Reporter

DEMOCRACY is still possible in South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine has said.

However, this could only happen if those in power — in government, business and society — could show now they were committed to such an ideal and were prepared to use democratic and non-racial means to bring it about.

Dr Boraine, a director of the newly formed Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, was addressing a lunchtime city audience at the Institute of Citizenship.

He said the judiciary was almost powerless in upholding justice and cited the trade union system and extra-parliamentary organizations as models for a future democratic and non-racial South African society.

Essentially South Africa was anti-democratic.

"This will surprise many who recognize that apartheid must go but believe that 'we must preserve our democratic values'."

These "values" hardly served as models for the future and included the economy, the bureaucracy, education, the constitution, the legal system and the media.

The free-enterprise system ensured whites were "on top of the heap" with blacks at the bottom. "It is no wonder that more and more blacks associate capitalism with apartheid."

Parliament was witness to the total lack of democracy in the country's law-making. Cabinet ministers spoke of extending democracy when the overwhelming majority of South Africans had no representation there whatsoever.

"The rule of law has for a long time been abandoned and thousands upon thousands are detained without trial, have banning orders served upon them and although many judges and advocates seek to uphold justice, they can do nothing about the laws made in Parliament, where there is no black representation."

The two measures to identify democracy by were accountability and a mandate to act on behalf of an organization, society or state, he said.

"Ironically, one of the organizational models which reflects both accountability and a mandate from its members is the trade union system; the much maligned group in our society.

"Equally ironical, some of the extra-parliamentary organizations, particularly community based organizations, demonstrate a far greater awareness of fundamental democratic principles than those in authority who deny them the democratic right to organize, to organize or even to exist," he said.

30PA W/E Post 25/10/86

Top guest list for Slabbert's PE conference

By DIRK VAN ZYL

INTERNATIONALLY renowned politicians and academics are expected to be among participants at a major conference on democracy being planned for Port Elizabeth in May next year.

It will be the biggest showpiece yet of Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Idasa's newly-appointed national co-ordinator, Mr Wayne Mitchell, of Port Elizabeth, said this week various aspects of democracy would be probed in speeches and workshops at the conference.

Papers presented and resolutions taken would be widely distributed locally and abroad after the event, expected to last up to three days.

Apart from international figures, the guest list will include Dr Slabbert and Idasa's Director of Planning and Policy, Dr Alex Boraine, who were both directly involved in organising it.

Mr WAYNE MITCHELL . . . has resigned his executive positions in the PFP.

Mr Mitchell, who will take up his position with Idasa on November 1, said other participants could not be named yet as formal invitations were still being sent out.

PE had been chosen as the venue as it was seen as a crucible of South African politics across the racial divide.

"What happens in PE now tends to happen in South Africa five to 10 years later," Mr Mitchell said.

Public launch meetings of Idasa are to be held in PE, East London and Cape Town in January and February next year, with the Transvaal and Natal to receive attention after that.

- Mr Mitchell, who is doing an MA degree in political science at UPE, said he had this month resigned his membership of the Progressive Federal Party's Eastern Cape regional executive and of the federal council as he wanted to have a clear road ahead for research in Idasa. "I want to be objective," he said.

He would remain an ordinary party member but might have to review this if he were to find it an obstacle in future.

This is also the stance Dr Slabbert, former PFP and Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, and Dr Boraine, former chairman of the party's federal council, are adopting.

Mr Mitchell added: "It is a question of strategy. I also believe the PFP's policy needs to be modernised. I want to see if I can find any answers through Idasa research."

CP warns of bid to 'get rid of Natal'

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Conservative Party is to launch a "major and urgent" investigation into the kwaZulu/Natal indaba and its implications for the whole country.

This was decided at its national congress at the weekend.

Congress delegates were not only concerned the indaba would lead to total integration in Natal, but that Government intentions were to use the region as a model for the rest of the country.

Delegates accused the Government and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, of "wanting to get rid of Natal".

Natal delegates warned those from the other provinces that they would have to come to their assistance as an integrated Government in Natal would have implications for the rest of the country.

For example there could be a threat to water supply of the PWV region.

Another Natal delegate, a Mr Reynecke, complained that Durban was already integrated — the business districts were open as well as the beaches.

Dr Treurnicht opens fire

27/10/86 (309A) STAR

Political Staff

DURBAN — Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has fired the first salvo in the Conservative Party battle against last week's decisions of the Ned Geref Kerk, warning the Church could be headed by a UDF moderator — "a second Bishop Tutu".

Clearly stung by the decisions of the Church in withdrawing biblical support for apartheid and the opening of church membership, Dr Treurnicht devoted a major part of his speech at the CP national congress to the NGK decisions.

To the cheers of the 300 people at the opening meeting, he said: "My party and I are not prepared to concede that a policy of separate development and fair partition is, as such, unjust, un-Christian or in conflict with neighbourly love."

He warned CP members against overhasty action, but as a party which believed in self-determination and self-government on its own land, "we have been directly affected by the synod decisions".

"I feel the synod was one-sided in the rejection of hurtful apartheid, while there should be positive appreciation for separate nations and nationhood."

He warned that decisions to open membership of the Church could lead to a black president.

He challenged the moderator of the NGK, Professor Johan Heyns, to consider whether there was not a parallel between open membership for the Church and open membership for political parties.

If it was possible to have a black moderator of one church for whites, Indians, coloureds and blacks, then it was possible to have a black president of the country.

He asked if a "black racist" who admired the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, and his support of armed rebellion, could become Archbishop of the Anglican Church, what could prevent a "Tutu or a Boesak becoming a moderator of the NG Kerk through open membership".

Dr Treurnicht doubted some Press reports on decisions of the synod, but there were people who pointed at the CP, saying: "The Church has decided your policy is a sin. The Church has rejected and condemned your party."

From this it had to be concluded that integration, power-sharing, mixed residential areas, mixed schools, one voters role and a single Parliament were biblically justified.

"In no circumstances can I identitify with that."

He could not accept that a responsible Church meeting would condemn all forms of separation.

The CP stood by its policy of separation, but he rejected domination of one group over another.

Domination could only be avoided by separation.

HNP issue goes behind closed doors

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Conservative Party congress in Durban at the weekend was a very quiet affair.

Apart from aftershock of last week's rejection of apartheid by the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the only major issue facing the congress was what to do about the Herstigte Nasionale Party. This was debated behind closed doors.

For the rest, it was an occasion for the delegates to reaffirm their commitment to opposing integration and power-sharing with other races.

Despite the NGK deserting their cause, the CP's target remained specifically an all-white fatherland in which only whites would have any real rights.

Delegates tabled a string of resolutions condemning the dismantling of apartheid.

Few people spoke to the motions, and no one against. It was left to members of Parliament to expand on just how the Government had lost the will to protect white interests.

Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht criticised the NGK, saying its decisions were contradictory.

God, he said, had created different groups and nations and the CP was merely maintaining these boundaries.

Of particular concern to the delegates was the way the "liberals" were negotiating away segregation in Natal at the Natal/kwaZulu indaba.

Dr Treurnicht attempted to warn the people of Natal at a very poorly attended public meeting in the Durban City Hall that there would be no sharing of power with blacks as a result of the indaba.

Chief Buthelezi, he said, was a man who had stated he wanted to co-operate with ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

There would be no sharing of power, only a handover to black majority rule with the same consequences as in other African countries.

And the consequences would include whites leaving the province.

The party leadership went to great pains to prove blacks were not entitled to be South Africans or have any rights within South Africa.

White South Africa, said party chairman Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, "is all the land currently owned by white South Africans."

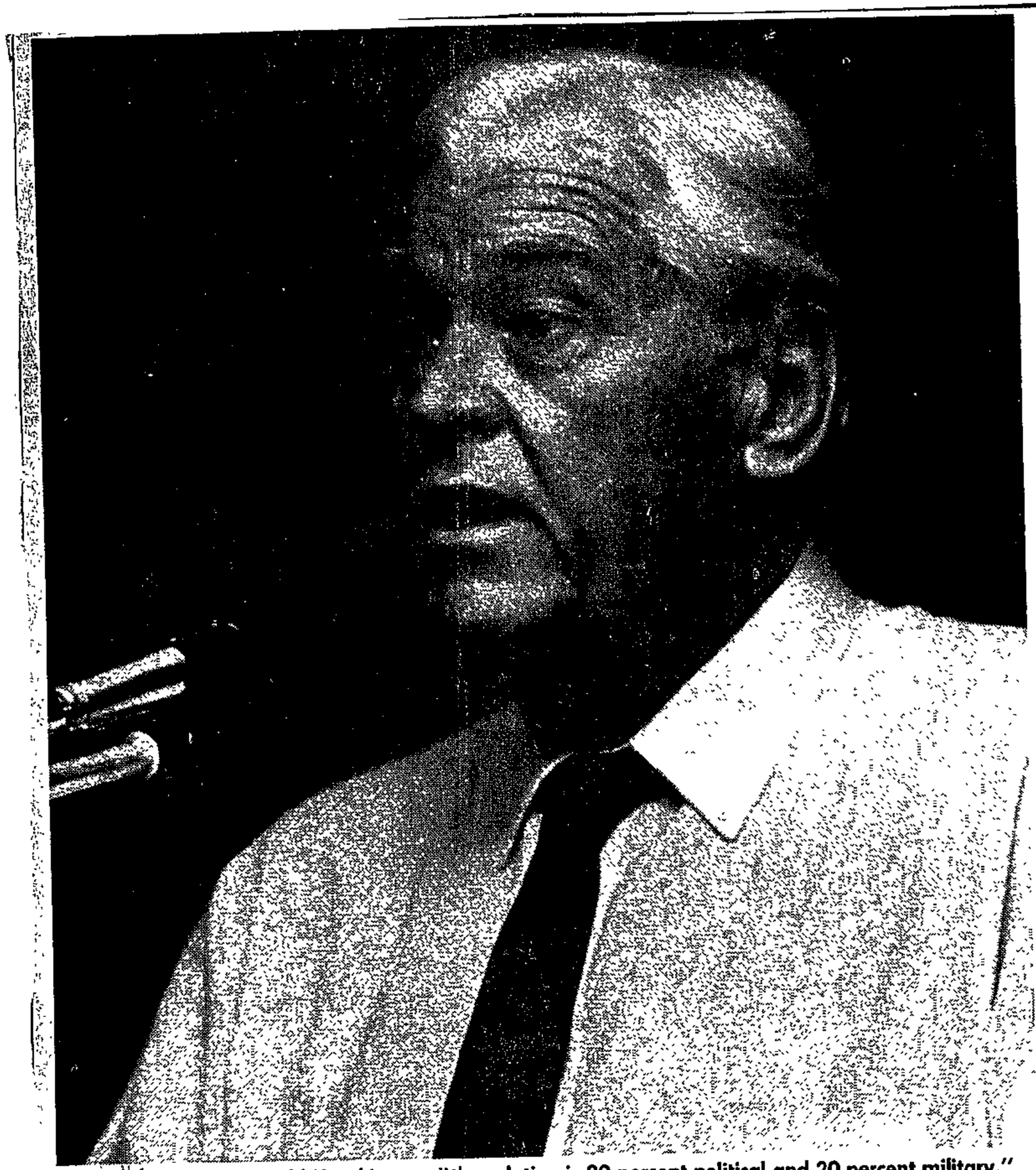
This was not unfair, said Dr Treurnicht.

"The policy of the Conservative Party is a freedom policy but separate freedoms."

Dr Hartzenberg dealt at length with statements that there were many blacks who had no links with the homelands or tribal links.

"There is no such thing as a black man without a tribe. I have always tried to find a black man who does not know his tribe. I have never found one."

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was target number one in what the CP delegates considered to be a government that had lost the will to rule.



Air Vice-Marshal Harold Hawkins . . . "the solution is 80 percent political and 20 percent military."

Talk before it's too late, SA leaders urged

(304 A) STAR 27/10/86.

By Toni Younghusband

The solution to South Africa's internal problems lies in negotiation and not military might, Air Vice-Marshal Harold Hawkins — a former Rhodesian delegate to Lancaster House — told a gathering in Houghton, Johannesburg, last night.

He said South Africa's leaders must negotiate now before its partners around the negotiating table became too bitter and unapproachable.

The vice-marshal added: "The longer you allow organisations like the ANC to stall and not negotiate, the higher their credibility becomes while yours falls.

"Negotiations must get under way soon if you are to prevent this.

Political solution

"If anyone suffers from delusions that South Africa's solution is a military one, they are wrong. The solution to this country's problems is 80 percent political and 20 percent military.

"The military is there to protect our borders and maintain a bit of leverage when it comes to finding a political solution."

Negotiations must be under the aegis of the State President and all races must be represented, he said.

Air Vice-Marshal Hawkins was addressing the question "Rhodesia/South Africa: Is there a parallel?"

He said a definite parallel could not be drawn as vast differences existed.

"South Africa is a unique situation which requires a unique solution — and soon," he said.

Air Vice-Marshal Hawkins said South Africa was far stronger constitutionally than Rhodesia had been and said South Africa would "last a lot longer" than Rhodesia had.

He pointed out that Rhodesia put up with sanctions for 15 years and fought an intense bush war.

"I don't see South Africa ever fighting that type of bush war.

"They will go an as they are now — protecting borders and fighting small skirmishes," he said.

Air Vice-Marshal Hawkins agreed, however, that no other country could identify as closely with South Africa and its problems than Rhodesia.

"But South Africa is not going the way Rhodesia did," he concluded.

● Air Vice-Marshal Hawkins, who was born in Australia and fought during World War 2, was a member of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force for many years before coming to South Africa.

He was also appointed a member of the Rhodesian delegation to the Lancaster House talks which culminated in the change to majority government.

New initiative is NRP's last chance — Pat Rogers

ARGUS 27/10/86

3064

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE New Republic Party has decided on a "coalition of moderates" initiative as its last chance of survival. It will try to create a broad multi-party, multiracial alliance in politics.

Itself the product of the failed effort of 1977 to have a broader based-based Opposition around the remains of the old United Party and the virtually non-existent Democratic Party, the NRP is now clinging to its role in the KwaNatal indaba

Its leadership believes that its role in those negotiations which was launched by the NRP along with Inkatha can help it to act as a catalyst for a new realignment.

According to the NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, South Africa is rapidly reaching the point where only such an alliance will be able to offer a credible alternative to present government paralysis.

He says the NRP has demonstrated this as it was the only white party, along with Inkatha, that has been able to bring a broad spectrum of groups to the negotiating table.

The party, he says, will seek to expand this process urgently in association with other parties in all population groups.

An attempt will be made to reach out to interested leaders in all groups to form an alliance of moderates dedicated to the maintenance of parliamentary democracy and the free enterprise system.

On its own at present the NRP is clearly going nowhere fast and against this background its latest efforts appear rather pointless.

Its Cape provincial congress on Saturday, the first since 1985, was attended by only some 70 delegates, most of them formerly supporters of the old United Party.

THERE was some nostalgia for the old days.

One of the key speakers recalled on several occasions how he had first attended a congress, of the old South African Party, in 1930. He said he was "crying for General Smuts".

The NRP has been an unmitigated disaster since it was started in 1977, yet its leadership is continuing to clutch at straws and to see new hope just around the corner

Just like the old United Party it is emerging stronger after each setback — at least in the eyes of its leaders.

At the weekend congress even its defeat in the recent two by-elections were seen as vaguely hopeful signs.

Soon after it was formed in 1977 it could win only eight seats in the general election of that year. Three of these MPs have since defected to the National Party.

The disbanding of the United Party meant that its followers were left free to join other parties and many did so, going off to the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party and, in some Transvaal and Free State platteland areas, even to the HNP. Few identified with the NRP and it was soon clear that the old UP had abandoned its last real asset — its name.

The main reason why there are still some NRP MPs is mainly because the life of the present House of Assembly was extended in the new constitutional system. Few, if any, of them would now win their seats under an NRP banner.

It may be too early to judge but so far no other political party has shown any interest in the NRP's latest so-called initiative.

Following the example of 1977 the NRP now seems to be ready to sacrifice itself for what it regards as a greater ideal.

BOTH Mr Sutton and Mr Pat Rogers MP, its Cape leader, made it clear at the congress that they were willing to see this happen because they thought that the party's policies were more important than the party itself.

There were some realistic remarks from Mr Rogers who said that the new initiative was the party's last chance.

If an election was held now, he said, the NRP would probably be wiped out and the PFP would suffer heavy losses.

The NRP would have to build up its organisational structure in an effort to have something to offer in negotiations.

"If we lose this initiative we will be further up the creek than we are today.'

As it has no organisational structure worth mentioning left the initiative is bound to fail. It may, however, take years before the party finally keels over, especially as long as it has some foothold in Parliament.

Natal Mercury, Monday, October 27, 1986

304A

NRP's 'days are numbered'

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The New Republic Party is set to disappear as a separate entity from the political map.

But the NRP leadership appears determined to ensure that when this happens, the party will be swallowed by a broad multiracial 'alliance of moderates' and not by a 'mere' merger with the Progressive Federal Party.

Indications are that the NRP will attempt to link up with — and eventually become subsumed under — groups like Bishop Isaac Mokoena's recently formed United Christian Conciliation Party and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha.

Cape leader of the NRP Pat Rogers warned delegates at the party's Cape congress at the weekend that the next general election would in all likelihood be the last one for the NRP.

'If we don't get together in a broad alliance of moderates we will disappear. But if the NRP does disappear it will not be under a PFP umbrella.'

Mr Rogers predicted that if a general election were called now 'the PFP will lose out horribly and we will lose out totally'.

He warned delegates not to look at recent by-election setbacks suffered by the party 'through rose-coloured spectacles'.

'We cannot remain as we are, bumbling along without a far bigger, broader, all-embracing unity that will spark initiative among opposition voters.'

Mr Rogers urged delegates not to 'limit your vision to a back-to-the-wall NRP exercise' but to prepare for the 'dangerous road ahead that has to be started'.

The NRP, he said, was an unselfish party.

"If that means we disappear, so what if we bring about the desired goal of a new broad-based moderate party.'

NRP leader Bill Sutton noted in his closing address to the congress that his party was in 'deep water' but emphasised that the remaining support enjoyed by the party should not be allowed to 'drift over to the Government by default' or 'swing behind the Official Opposition'.

He pointed out that while the NRP 'is at one with the Government in seeing the future of South Africa in group terms', he was also 'sick and tired of having my country crucified on the tree of Afrikaner indecision, separatism and intransigence'.

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

'Fate of 20 000 at stake' as Red Cross meets Govt

Argus 27/10/86

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The fate of 20 000 Mozambican refugees and 300 Southern African "sentenced" prisoners is likely to be high on the agenda of "urgent talks" between the South African delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross and government officials today, a ICRC spokesman confirmed.

The spokesman said: "More than that I cannot say. We regard the talks as highly confidential and of an extemely delicate nature.".

The prisoners include South African Defence Force officer Captain Wynand du Toit, who has been in custody in Luanda since his capture by Angolan forces in May last year and on whose behalf the ICRC has since been negotiating.

The spokesman confirmed that the Government had agreed to today's meeting after the weekend announcement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, that the 24-strong Southern African delegation of the ICRC had been ordered to leave South Africa within "an unspecified period".

The banning was a response to the suspension in Geneva of the South African Government delegation to the ICRC's 25th international conference.

Unique

The spokesman said no deadline had been set for the ICRC delegation's expulsion. "This could also be discussed at today's talks," he said.

In response to South Africa's expulsion from the Geneva conference, Mr Botha said: "The International Red Cross movement claims a unique position in the world, based on fundamental principles of humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality. South Africa's suspension is in violation of these principles.

"The South African Government will now have to consider whether the movement can still play a useful role in this country."

"The ICRC says it fears the expulsion of its representatives from South Africa will have "serious consequences" for the people it helps here, including 20 000 Mozambican refugees.

But it took a strong stand against the decision to suspend South Africa, saying the move was "against the rules and procedures of the conference".

ICRC president Mr Alexandré Hay said any state which was party to the Geneva Convention — as South Africa is — was by right a member of the conference. "Therefore the exclusion of the delegation of a member state runs contrary to the statutes as they stand."

The International Conference of the Red Cross is the supreme body of the Red Cross movement and is composed of the 165 states party to the Geneva Convention, 144 national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies, the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the ICRC which, like other parties, has a single vote.

In South Africa, ICRC representatives visit prisoners, including about 300 sentenced prisoners, and give aid to the destitute, among them the Mozambican refugees. They also assist the national Red Cross Society.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1986

Stop Norweto, says Treurnicht

DURBAN — The boundaries of Soweto should be frozen and plans for the so-called Norweto township should be stopped, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said here.

Responding to debate at the CP's general congress, he said the party was often asked about the overflow in townships which stemmed from natural population growth.

"Surely its not a black's right that we must make room if the place where he is born is full.

"If a residential area is full, then it is full," Dr Treurnicht said.

"This is our people's (volk) country — we will decide about the extension and allocation of land."

If the state had so much money for urbanisation, it should ensure urbanisation took place in black states.

"And that means there simply cannot be a Norweto. We must stop them taking a final decision," Dr Treurnicht said.

It was a sensitive area and one should consider what effects it was going to have on the environment, Haartebeespoort Dam and tobacco farmers.

Answering a question from the floor on detribalised blacks and their position in the party's policy, Dr Treurnicht said there were not many such blacks.

There were those who had lost ties with their smaller tribal connections, but had not done so in terms of their broader ethnic group.

The party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, also responded by asking: "Have you ever met a black man who does not know what tribe he is from? I have never met such a man. This is the one great face being employed to advocate integration." — Sapa

DD 27/10/86 (304A)

NGK flayed for opening to all races

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — It was not unthinkable the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk could have "its own United Democratic Front moderator — a second Tutu", the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said here.

Opening the CP's national congress at the weekend, Dr Treurnicht said if it were not possible for the NGK to have "a second Tutu" as moderator, the church should explain why.

He criticised the opening of the NGK to all races, but said journalists had deliberately misinterpreted some of the synod's decisions.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP was working to get a majority in Parliament and would elect a State President.

"We will then put together a cabinet — a white cabinet. We will change the constitution. The House of Assembly will be a sovereign Parliament," he said to loud applause.

The House of Representatives and House of Delegates would continue but would deal only with "own affairs".

"The President's Council — that we will scrap before breakfast."

He said a CP government would stop black people moving into "white" areas.

Red Cross must leave 'soon'

CAPE TIMES 27/10/86

Own Correspondent 3047

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa has told representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross to leave the country "as soon as possible", a Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed last night.

This follows a statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, on Saturday of the government's decision to expel the ICRC soon after South Africa was barred from the International Red Cross conference in Geneva.

Independent visits to some 300 political prisoners, including ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, by the ICRC are in jeopardy, the president of the South African Society of the Red Cross Society, Mr Gurth Walton, said yesterday.

The spokesman said the ICRC delegation would be allowed to return on condition that SA was given a platform to speak at international Red Cross conferences. "Until then, their representation here is suspended."

It is believed about 20 Swiss nationals — all with diplomatic status — must leave by the end of November.

No official timetable for the withdrawal of the ICRC delegation has been received by the ICRC.

An ICRC spokesman said in Geneva last night that it was weighing the consequences of having to curtail its "humanitarian activities" in SA, which included aid to Mozambican refugees, visiting political prisoners and supporting the efforts of the South African Society of the Red Cross.

Delegates at the Geneva conference voted 159-25 to oust SA in a move that pitted Africans, Arabs, Third World and communist states against Britain, Commonwealth countries and the US.

ICRC president Mr Alexandre Hay said in Geneva yesterday that he had declined to vote against SA's participation at the conference on grounds that it would be against the conference's rules and procedures.

The US delegation expressed concern over the posible effects on limiting Red Cross work in South Africa in the future.

And some Western and non-aligned speakers forecast the move would cause SA to join Iran and Arghanistan in banning Red Cross activities.

Margaret Smith reports that the four-yearly conference of the International Red Cross resumes today amid a crisis atmosphere after the vote on South Africa.

The West, the all-Swiss International Committee of the Red Cross and some other Red Cross societies said the vote violated its policy of impartiality and and would make efforts to aid "victims of apartheid" more difficult.

Saturday's vote was the first time in the organization's 100-year history that a government, party to the Red Cross convention, had been banned from the conference.

Independent visits to some 300 political prisoners, including ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, by the ICRC are in jeopardy, the president of the South African Society of the Red Cross, Mr G Walton, said yesterday.

Call made for indoctrination

DURBAN — The Conservative Party has called on its supporters to indoctrinate their children against mixed sport and the history syllabus.

The CP's chief secretary and spokesman on educational affairs, Dr Frans van Staden, made the plea in debate at the party's general congress here at the weekend.

He said the CP opposed mixed sport and it was supporters' duty to carry out the policy.

"Every parent must indoctrinate their children to reject intergration at school level," he said.

Referring to school syllabuses, he said the government could continue writing Afrikaner history out of textbooks.

"But when we come to power we will rewrite them again and set right what this government has wrecked.

"Conservative parents must ensure that they have the history of the Afrikaner nation at their fingertips to ensure that their children are not incorrectly indoctrinated.

"They must ensure that their children are properly instructed in that history so that they will be updated when we rewrite the history books for them," Dr Van Staden said. — Sapa

Govt given stick over its perceptions of US

(304A) 27/10/86

DURBAN — The government was exaggerating the capability of the United States to sway South Africans towards integration, the Conservative Party MP for Soutpansberg, Mr Tom Langley, said at the weekend.

Responding to resolutions put to the party's general congress, he said constructive engagement was nothing more than a policy of constructive involvement which reflected on South Africa's sovereignity.

"It is also South Africa's admission of its own inability to deal with its problems," he said.

He had heard there

MR LANGLEY

was talk of a switch to a policy of "active engagement" and that would probably mean the carrot would disappear in favour of the US's stick.

There were other American friends who needed US advice and who came to a sad end — such as the Shah of Iran and Mr Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines.

"The US has no record as masters of the art of foreign relations when measured against the Soviet Union.

"The United States is busy with a dangerous game when they try and twist South Africa's arm to move towards majority rule.

"The government is exaggerating the US's ability to sway us towards integration," Mr Langley said. — Sapa

304A

Statement expected on CP link with HNP

Political Reporter

THE Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party are expected to issue a statement today about a possible merger or closer co-operation.

The matter was discussed behind closed doors for about two hours at the end of the CP national congress in Durban at the weekend.

It is believed that the congress took some important decisions about the CP's relations with the HNP, but the party is anxious to discuss these with the HNP before issuing a public statement.

After the congress, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said there was a swing towards the CP and the party's supporters were becoming more confident.

He said the CP was not discouraged by the recent NGK synod decisions because the decisions were 'vague and open to interpretation'

'We firmly believe that the policy of separate development, justly applied, can be Biblically justified,' he said.

The congress passed resolutions reaffirming the CP's belief in 'separate development' with 'homelands' for coloureds, Indians and blacks, and the rest of South Africa as a white fatherland.

The congress also accepted resolutions criticising recent Government reforms such as the relaxing of influx control, and the inclusion of blacks in second-tier government.

Mr Tom Langley, CP spokesman for foreign affairs, said the Government had failed to exploit the opportunities provided by the fact that United States President Ronald Reagan was well disposed towards South Africa.

Mr Langley said the two terms of President Reagan could have been exploited, 'but this spineless Government failed to do so'.

He said the Government's acceptance of constructive engagement was an acceptance of its own inability to handle its own affairs.

'If it is true that the Americans will replace constructive engagement with active engagement, then the carrot will disappear and the stick will come out more and more.'

'What makes me shudder about America's involvement in South Africa is when I think about what has happened to other American friends — think about the Shah of Iran and President Marcos of the Philippines.'

The congress passed resolutions opposing constructive engagement, 'the Government's concessions in the face of foreign pressure', and 'the misuse of taxpayers' money for National Party propaganda by the Bureau for Information'.

Toasts

Mr Langley proposed a resolution, accepted by the congress, criticising the SABC for 'open propaganda in favour of the NP and its power-sharing policy'.

'The SABC is busy denationalising, Americanising and indoctrinating people for integration,' he said.

The congress passed a resolution calling for toasts to be made to the country and not the State President.

The resolution also called for the South African Defence Force not to be integrated and that defence should be an 'own affair' in Parliament.

MP Mr Koos van der Merwe said whites, Indians, coloureds, and the black national states should each have their own defence forces which were allied but not integrated.

CP, HNP expected to announce merger

Cape Times 27/10/86 (304A)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party are expected to issue a statement today concerning a possible merger or closer co-operation.

The matter was discussed behind closed doors for about two hours at the end of the CP national congress here at the weekend.

After the congress, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said there was a swing towards the CP and the party's supporters were becoming more confident.

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"We firmly believe that the policy of separate development, justly applied, can be Biblically justified," he said.

The congress passed resolutions reaffirming "separate development", with "homelands" for coloured people, Indians and blacks, and the rest of South Africa as a white fatherland.

The congress passed resolutions opposing constructive engagement, "the government's concessions in the face of foreign pressure" and "the misuse of taxpayers' money for National Party propaganda by the Bureau for Information".

Mr Tom Langley maintained that good German films and documentaries had been replaced with American police series on SABC-TV because these series contained "at least one black person and this indoctrinated children".

Mr Langley was proposing a resolution, accepted by the CP national congress, criticizing the SABC for "open propaganda in favour of the NP and its power-sharing policy".

The resolution also criticized "the attempt at conditioning whites to accept integration through racially mixed advertisements and films".

The congress asked the authorities to provide separate TV channels for different races, allow equal opportunity for white political parties to explain their policies and ban sport and political broadcasts on Sundays.

MP Mr Koos van der Merwe said President Botha was a "divisive factor" and ought not to be toasted at functions; he further maintained it was possible for the State President and Minister of Defence both to be black, which would mean defence would beyond white control.

A resolution called for the South African Defence Force not to be integrated and that Defence should be an "own affair" in Parliament.

The party's general secretary concluded by saying Conservative Party-supporting parents should "indoctrinate" their children to reject integration at their schools.

Langley thumbs his nose at SABC

DURBAN — The Director General of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, Mr Riaan Eksteen, was trying to "denationalise" South Africa's people.

So said the Conservative Party MP for Soutpansberg, Mr Tom Langley, at the CP's general congress at the weekend.

The reason so many American crime films were being shown in South Africa was because they all featured black people.

"The Afrikaner never was what he is being shown as nowadays," Mr Langley said.

"I hope the SABC are (sic) going to provide us with a parallel of Shaka Zulu for Afrikaners so that Afrikaner children can also become proud of our history.

"The SABC is Americanising us," he said.

"The Director General of the SABC, Mr Riaan Eksteen is calculatingly trying to denationalise South Africa.

"Nowadays you only find American film material where there used to French and German productions in the past and it is for one very obvious reason — they all have at least one black in them and it is aimed at conditioning us and our children.

"If we allow our children to watch these programmes uncensored, they are going to lose their identity in the end." — Sapa.

'Yankee go home' bills

306A

ARGUS 27/10/86

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Anti-American pamphlets urging "Yanks go home" are being circulated in Pretoria in their thousands.

Commuters were today greeted with bright yellow posters with the slogan "Yankee, you have nothing to contribute to the future of the RSA. Go home" pinned to bus stops.

In Sunnyside a pamphlet saying "Yankee go home. IBM is bankrupt, GM is bankrupt, politics is a good excuse for bankrupt companies", was distributed at the weekend.

Mr W Zavis, Press attaché for the American Embassy, said he was unaware of the leaflet but would investigate.

A spokesman for the Conservative Party denied the party was responsible, but added: "I wish it was us, because the Americans have brought it on themselves."

HNP leader claims CP is trying to destroy his party

STAR 30/4/87

28/10/86

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

A major row is threatening the fragile alliance in right-wing Afrikaner politics — with Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais accusing the Conservative Party of trying to destroy his party in its bid for unity.

Mr Marais has slammed a letter sent to him by the CP calling for the unification of the two parties and inviting the HNP to a unity congress on January 24 next year.

In a statement, Mr Marais said the CP's call for unity, which emerged after its weekend general congress in Durban, was "opportunistic and irresponsible".

He said the CP was trying to threaten the HNP and wanted the party to "disappear in a false unification".

The Conservative Party leadership, apparently frustrated at the HNP's stalling tactics on a possible merger over the past year, have brought the issue into the open by issuing a public statement.

In the statement, CP and HNP members have been invited to a joint congress to form a united right-wing party.

CP spokesman Mr Clive Derby-Lewis told *The Star* the time had arrived "for members of the two parties to get together and face the common danger".

"Mr Marais is going to have to be led by the decisions of his people. We know the HNP people want unity as much as we do," he said.

In his statement, Mr Marais said the nation would have to pay the price for the CP's "error of judgment".

He said the HNP had striven for right-wing unity for 13 years while the CP leaders preferred unity with the Government.

The HNP planning committee is meeting tonight to discuss the issue and the CP has called a Press conference to explain its stand on the proposed merger.

It's straight repression without reform — Soal

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The Government has reverted to a policy of straightforward repression and its reform programme is in neutral, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, said last night.

Addressing a PFP report-back meeting in Rosebank, Mr Soal said the Government had backed down from its reform policy after finding itself squeezed into a corner earlier this year.

"We previously had a situation of reform and repression and I believe the decision that was taken was to revert to a programme of straightforward repression and that is where we will remain for some time," said Mr Soal.

He said the Government had made some meaningful reforms earlier in the year, but "the central issue is power and that issue the Nats are not prepared to address".

The halt in the reform programme began in May when the State President made a speech hitting out at "meddling, interfering outsiders".

"The following day we raided the three neighbouring Commonwealth countries. I believe that whoever makes the decisions in the Nat Party came to the conclusion that we had gone far enough for the time being."

Mr Soal said another factor inhibiting reform was the power struggle in the National Party, since "P W Botha cannot remain president forever". Top contenders were Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Chris Heunis, with Mr Pik Botha "prowling around the edges".

Referring to the Bureau for Information, Mr Soal said he was dismayed by its activities.

"Parliament voted R28,8 million for the activities of the bureau for the current financial year, which I think is nothing short of a national disgrace.

"It would appear that the main activities of the bureau are to promote the National Party at taxpayers' expense and to deliberately manipulate the news to keep South Africans in the dark," he said.

Mr Soal said he believed the bureau should be closed "before it sinks into another Info scandal".

Mr Soal said the PFP stood to gain if the Government delayed calling a general election for another two years since the party had recently launched a new initiative to increase its support.

New crime prevention scheme launched

A new suburban crime prevention scheme — Neighbourhood Watch — was launched in Johannesburg last night.

Progressive Federal Party city councillor Mr Christopher Newton Thompson introduced the crime-fighting plan at a meeting in Rosebank attended by ratepayer association representatives.

At a report-back meeting, Mr Newton Thompson emphasised the scheme was a non-profit making, non-vigilante concept.

The founder of Neighbourhood Watch in South Africa, Mrs Gaye Neille, said the main idea was to promote neighbourliness. Neighbourhood Watch was a non-violent, peaceful organisation not aligned with any political party.

Mrs Neille had launched Neighbourhood Watch in two suburbs in Randburg last year, which lead to a big drop in burglaries in the areas.

She said participating householders were encouraged to engrave their identity numbers on valuables and also attach yellow warning stickers to these items and on walls in their homes.

Residents should be observant and take an interest in the security of their neighbours.

The movement is popular in the United States, Canada, Australia, Britain and Chile.

● PFP MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, announced at the meeting that the temporary police station opposite the Rosebank Hotel is to be moved to a vacant house in the area.

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Siljander warns of Soviet threat

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — South Africa is faced with two options — to abdicate and hand over power to the African National Congress (ANC) and communism or to change in an "orderly fashion" to preserve its government as well as its position as an ally of the United States.

This was the opinion of a US Republican congressman and a member of the House of Foreign Affairs sub-committee on Africa, Mr Mark Siljander, in a letter to the Daily Dispatch.

Mr Siljander is also a member of the Selous Foundation in Washington DC, which campaigns for support for President Reagan and "conservative interests".

"As a United States Congressman I have taken the liberty of sending you a Soviet strategic military map that exposes why President Ronald Reagan is desperate to stop the communist takeover of South Africa," Mr Siljander said.

"This crucial battle plan exposes the Soviet attempts to completely cut off the three major strategic choke points that will leave the United States and her Nato (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) allies helpless to Soviet conquest."

If the communists won control of South Africa, the United States military would be virtually helpless and its economy would begin to crumble, he said.

"But the pro-appeasement liberals in Congress refuse to see the danger America is in. Further, the liberal news media will only show you the side of the story they want you to see.

"The leftist lobby in Washington only wants the choice to be between apartheid and communism," Mr Siljander said.

The United States was in danger from growing communist control in South Africa. The Soviet Union was also swiftly making Africa a communist continent, he said.

"Right now the Soviets have communist allies all across the African continent. They have over 45 000 Cuban, East German, Bulgarian and Russian troops and advisors in Angola.

"Right now the Soviets also have over 4 000 Soviet bloc troops in Mozambique. There are also over 15 000 communist-supplied Zimbabwean troops inside Mozambique helping to prop up their repressive, Soviet-backed Marxist regime," Mr Siljander said.

"And now the Soviets have targeted for destruction the six African nations surrounding South Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean."

By gaining control of these six surrounding nations the Soviets could successfully isolate South Africa, incite economic sanctions and disinvestment from the West and cause major internal havoc and uprising.

"As history shows us, conditions such as those are ripe for communist picking. Unless we take immediate action to stop the spread of communism in South Africa, the Soviets will win and America will lose. Freedom and democracy will lose too," Mr Siljander said

South Africa was economically and strategically vital to the US as it was the source of over 80 per cent of America's chromium mineral supply and 86 per cent of non-communist platinum group resources.

South Africa also had 96 per cent of the world's chrome reserves.

"There is no substitute for chrome in the US military and industrial manufacturing industry. Without South African chrome no engines for modern jet aircraft, cruise missiles or armaments could be built.

"The US air force would be grounded, our military would be disarmed. Without South African chrome, power stations and nuclear reactors could not function, our nation's vital energy supply would be critically drained," Mr Siljander explained.

Without South African chrome, surgical equipment and utensils could also not be manufactured, leaving US hospitals and doctors virtually helpless.

"By gaining control of South Africa, the Soviets would control the vital minerals America needs to survive. The Soviets would have America by the throat and the liberals in Congress only see what the Soviets want them to see.

"The liberal appeasers turn a blind eye to the communist inspired violence of the terrorist African National Congress. If the Soviets gain control of South Africa, the vital sea passage of the Cape of Good Hope will be cut off from the free world travel and shipping," Mr Siljander said.

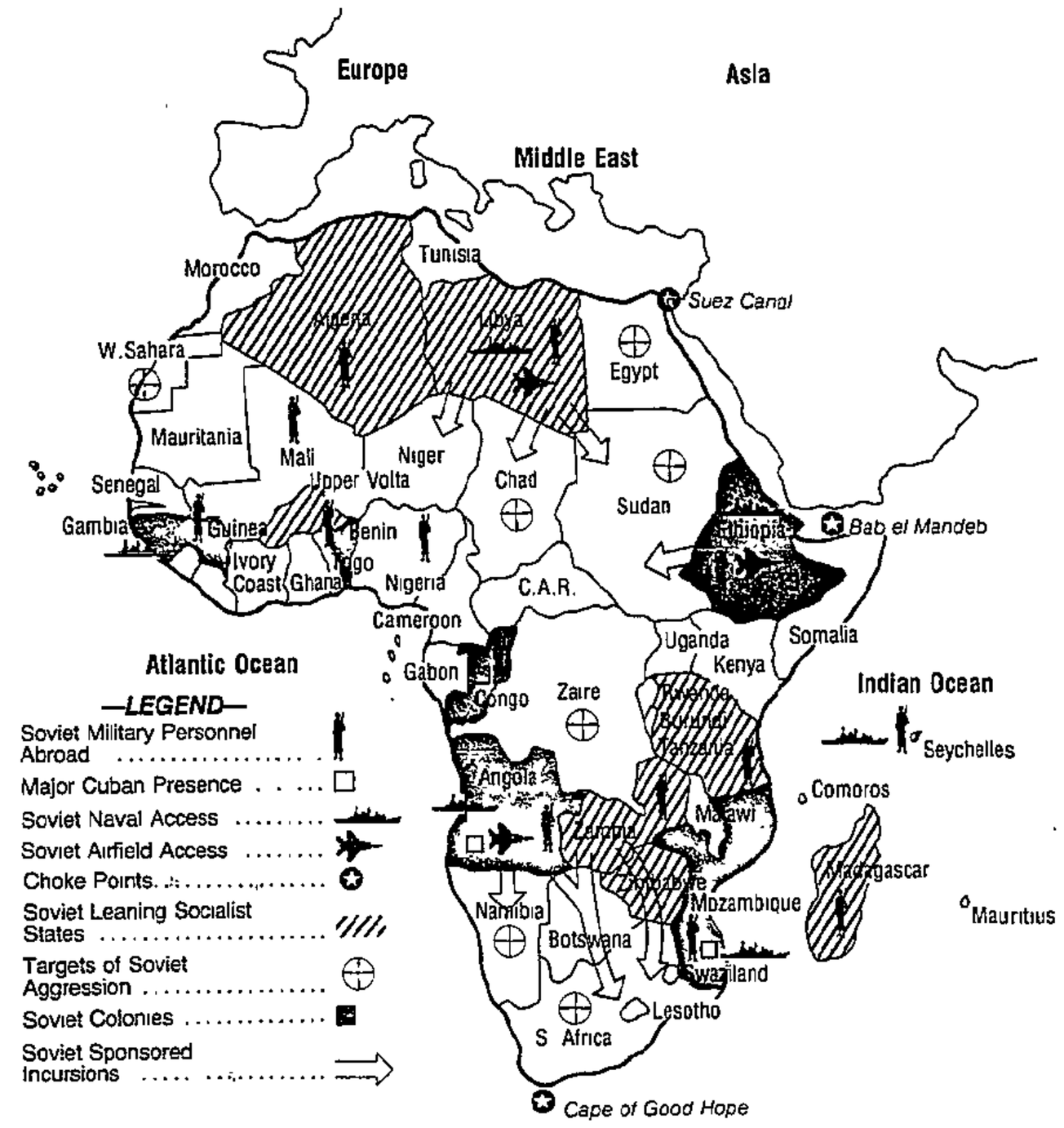
"The Soviets would have control of three vital strategic choke points and our military would be helpless. The Soviets have already moved into battle position. Right now South Africa is in grave danger from Soviet conquest.

"If we allow South Africa to fall I shudder to think of the consequences. South Africa bravely fought alongside the US in World War I. It supported the US and fought by our side in World War II and Korea. South Africa is surely the one true ally to the US on the African continent," he said.

"As a ranking member of the House of Foreign Affairs sub-committee on Africa, I can tell you that I rely on the work of the Selous Foundation to fight for support of President Reagan and our conservative interests.

"Now, in the face of growing communist control in South Africa, I must rely on the Selous Foundation to amass public support against the liberals who would sell out South Africa to the Soviets," Mr Siljander said.

Strategic Importance of Africa



The map shows the strategic importance of South Africa and the Soviet presence on the continent.

'ndertaking
Elizabeth,
Springs,

HNP object to CP merger 'on their own terms'

HKGen S 30 CA 28/10/86

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party efforts to form a new rightwing political party through a merger with the Herstigte Nasionale Party have come up against strong HNP objections.

The CP is trying to arrange a conference for January 24 to bring about a rightwing "unity front", while the HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, has strongly objected to the methods of the CP and efforts to force the issue.

The CP invited the HNP to the "unity conference" after a decision taken at the party's national congress in Durban at the weekend.

Mr Marais said today the CP were trying to force unification on their own terms. He called for further negotiation.

The CP, he said, wanted the HNP to disappear in false unification. This was opportunistic and irresponsible.

If the HNP did not agree to the CP's conditions it would be made to appear as if the HNP did not want unity.

He also pointed out the HNP were in the political wilderness for 13 years while the present CP leaders remained in the National Party.

Dr Frans van Staden, MP, national secretary of the CP, said today the CP were honest in their efforts to effect rightwing unity. A letter inviting the HNP to attend the January congress had been sent following the congress decision.

The CP felt there was some urgency about rightwing unity against the Government.

In negotiations with the HNP over the past few months virtually all policy differences except possibly those on the official languages had been cleared up.

It should not be necessary to have renewed negotiations every time there was an election or by-election.

The CP felt there was an urgent need for one rightwing party.

Unique situation in SA requires unique solution

ARGUS 28/10/80 (304A)

The Argus Correspondent in JOHANNESBURG

THE solution to South Africa's internal problems lies in negotiation and not military might, Air-Vice Marshal Harold Hawkins — a former Rhodesian delegate to Lancaster House — told a gathering in Houghton, Johannesburg.

Addressing the question: "Rhodesia/South Africa, is there a parallel?", Marshal Hawkins said South Africa's leaders must negotiate now before its partners around the negotiating table became too bitter and unapproachable.

"The longer you allow organisations like the ANC to stall and not negotiate, the higher their credibility becomes and less, yours. Negotiations must get underway soon if you are to prevent this happening," he said.

"If anyone suffers from delusions that South Africa's solution is a military one, they are wrong. The solution to this country's problems is 80 percent political and 20 percent military. The military are there to protect our borders and maintain a bit of leverage when it comes to finding a political solution," he said.

Negotiations must be under the aegis of the State President and all races must be represented, he said.

Marshal Hawkins said a definite parallel could not be drawn between South Africa and Rhodesia as vast differences existed between the two countries. "South Africa is a unique situation which requires a unique solution — and soon," he said.

He said South Africa was far stronger, constitutionally, than Rhodesia had ever been and said South Africa would "last a lot longer" than Rhodesia had.

He pointed out that Rhodesia put up with sanctions for 15 years and fought an intense bush war which they never lost.

"I don't see South Africa ever fighting that type of bush war. They will go on as they are now — protecting borders and fighting small skirmishes," he said.

Marshal Hawkins, who was born in Australia and fought during the World War 2, was a member of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force for many years before coming to South Africa.

He was also appointed a member of the Rhodesian delegation to Lancaster House which culminated in the change of government in that country.

Cape Times 28/10/86 (304A)

CP invites HNP to unity conference

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party wants to have unity talks with the Herstigte Nasionale Party and has invited them to a joint conference in January, according to a CP news statement released yesterday.

The CP general congress held in Durban at the weekend decided in favour of unity with the HNP and set January 24 as a joint conference date, the CP chief secretary, Dr Frans van Staden, said in the statement.

Earlier yesterday the HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, said the CP was trying to force unification according to their own terms. He called for negotiations. — Sapa

CP and HNP no closer to unity on the Right

(304A)
STAR 29/10/86

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

South Africa's right-wing Afrikaner parties face the prospect of splitting the conservative vote in the next general election as the row between the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nationale Party rages on.

Yesterday the CP threw down the gauntlet to the HNP, threatening to go ahead with a right-wing unification conference with or without the support of the HNP leadership.

Addressing a Press conference in Pretoria, CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the right wing was running out of time and would have to unite if it hoped to defeat the Government.

He called on all CP, HNP and right-wing supporters to attend a unification conference at the Skilpadsaal in Pretoria on January 24.

He said if the HNP still existed as a separate entity when the next general election was held, the new united right-wing party was likely to oppose it.

Later, angry HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais called a Press conference and warned that the HNP would not be bulldozed into accepting instant unity.

He said the HNP leadership would not take part in the unity conference, describing it as a one-sided CP plan.

The informal arrangement whereby the parties do not contest the same by-elections, is shelved, he said. Asked if the HNP would contest the North Rand by-election, he said the HNP had no plans to do so.

Mr Marais does not rule out further co-operation with the CP but said an alliance must be based on genuine negotiation and not on an instant plan.

He accused the CP of trying to gloss over important policy differences between the two parties. After a year of negotiation, little progress has been made on resolving these issues.

Mr Marais said issues of serious disagreement are:

- On Indian policy — the CP favours the same treatment for Indians and coloured people in an apartheid state. "We say the Indians can't be handled like the coloureds ... they don't have the same loyalty," said Mr Marais.
- On the AWB — the CP allows its members to join the AWB while the HNP opposes this.
- On the issue of Mr John Vorster — the HNP continues to oppose Mr Vorster's policies while the CP feels this is now history.
- The language policy — the HNP favours Afrikaans as the only official language while the CP rejects this.

Mr Marais said the CP had made a serious mistake in trying to threaten the HNP and it was only the National Party Government that stood to gain.

Earlier, Dr Hartzenberg said the differences between the CP and HNP do not warrant the existence of two rival parties.

He said the HNP leadership had rejected proposals for a unification congress "and so now it is up to the people to decide what they want".

'Youth for SA' branch established in PE

(SOYA) Eve Post 29/10/81

By KIN BENTLEY

A BRANCH of Jeugkrag SA (Youth for South Africa) was formed last night at the organisation's first meeting in the Eastern Cape.

The multi-racial political organisation springs from a split that emerged in the Afrikaanse Studentebond earlier this year.

Last night's meeting in Port Elizabeth was addressed by Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, national chairman of Jeugkrag SA.

According to a statement released by the branch's chairman, Miss Mariette du Plessis, a B Sc student at the University of Port Elizabeth, 35 people have signed up as members of the local branch which is open to "young moderates" between the ages of 16 and 35.

She said it was formed "in response to the lack of political awareness among SA youth and more specifically white youth."

The organisation was committed to "promote rapid reform by influencing public opinion in SA by means of conferences and congress" and to "make decisions regarding matters of importance".

Other committee members elected at the meeting were: Miss Debbie Machard (vice-chairman), Mr Mark Crompton (treasurer), Miss Durelle van Greunen (secretary) and Mr Pieter van Vuuren.

Cape Times 29/10/86

CP, HNP agree to differ violently

304

Political Staff

THE country's two white right-wing parties, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte National Party, have locked into battle and right-wing unity now seems more remote than ever.

It is likely to mean the formation of a new party in the place of the CP and the slow death of the HNP.

Deputy CP leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg and HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said yesterday that negotiations between the two parties were on the rocks and that there was nothing left to negotiate.

Personality differences and power struggles between the leadership of the two parties caused the breakdown, and the CP decided to capitalize on the obvious desire of right-wing whites to have one party fighting government. It will hold a meeting in February to determine the new party's shape.

Mr Hartzenberg told a press conference yesterday that the right wing could not afford to wait for unification much longer.

He said it was obvious that the supporters and leadership of the HNP did not feel the same about unfication.

"The people (volk) want one right-wing party. We will give it to them," he said.

Mr Hartzenberg said that if the CP disbanded it would be replaced with "something much greater and more powerful".

"You can write in your newspapers that that new party would be the next government of South Africa."

Call on P W Botha to scrap Group Areas

29/10/86 Eve Post

CAPE TOWN — Businessmen will demand the scrapping of the Group Areas Act when they meet President P W Botha for the Carlton III conference in a fortnight's time, according to supermarket chief Mr Raymond Ackerman.

Opening the new Pick 'n Pay hypermarket in Ottery last night, he said a businessman's most important task was to tell the Government "in no uncertain terms" that people had to be able to live and go to school where they liked.

He said: "Believe me, businessmen are getting their act together before this meeting to do just that.

"This is not a political speech. I have been to all universities — black, white, coloured and Indian, English and Afrikaans — and 98% of them want exactly what I have said.

"They want the Group Areas Act and apartheid taken away."

He said the establishment of the R50-million hypermarket complex was a sign of real faith in SA.

"We have seen IBM, General Motors and the Red Cross stories in the past week and I say that whatever the Government and black leaders have to do, we business people have so much we can do to create jobs."

SA business had to save the country by investing and showing faith. — Sapa

Red Cross move 'distressing'

Cape Times 29/10/86

(306A)

DURBAN. — The tit-for-tat expulsion from South Africa of the International Committee of the Red Cross played into the hands of the anti-South African lobby in humanitarian circles, national Red Cross chairman Mrs Inka Mars said yesterday.

For the ICRC — which is only a member of the International Red Cross and not, as has been indicated, the ruling body — actually abstained from voting in last week's suspension of the South African Red Cross delegation in Geneva, Switzerland.

"In other words, they are punishing people who were not in any way responsible for South Africa's suspension," said Mrs Mars in Durban.

"The ICRC only has one vote, like any other representative, and they abstained as, according to the rules of procedure, it is illegal for any signatory to the Geneva Convention to be suspended."

She said the decision to suspend the delegation led by the South African Ambassador to Geneva, Mr J Shearer, was aimed only at the SA Government and not at the SA Red Cross Society.

"The delegation at the Geneva conference was the official state delegation. The SA Red Cross Society is not being penalized."

Although Red Cross work in South Africa would not be affected by the expulsion, Mrs Mars said it was distressing as the ICRC played an important humanitarian role here — particularly in ensuring that humanitarian law was observed.

The ICRC delegation in Pretoria has referred all media inquiries about its position in the Republic to its headquarters in Geneva following formal notication by the South African Government yesterday afternoon that it had to cease activities in the country as soon as possible.

Representatives of the ICRC held talks earlier at the Union Buildings with officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

In a brief statement afterwards, a Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed that the ICRC had been formally told to leave South Africa as soon as possible.

The ICRC delegation had also been told that "all outstanding matters should be handled through the (ICRC's) Geneva office". — Sapa-AP

Rift growing between CP, HNP

ARGUS 29/10/86

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A rift is growing between the two rightwing parties, but Herstigte Nationale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais has not dimissed hopes of unification talks with the Conservative Party.

At a Press conference yesterday the HNP leader said there was still time to iron out differences before a general election.

However, in the Conservative Party laager, delegates plan to go over Mr Marais's head and hold a joint conference on unifictaion without further talks.

Mr Marais said his followers would not go against the party's principles and out of loyalty would not attend the conference.

DIFFERENCES

He had not been consulted about the conference, which he said was one-sided.

He expressed concern over the benefit the National Party would gain from the argument between the two rightwing parties.

The three major policy differences remained, he said. These included the "problem" of the Indians, language and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

"The AWB rejects parliamentary democracy," he said.

He realised the urgency of a merger, but added it was better to work out differences in restricted time rather than rushing into collaboration.

At a CP Press conference party deputy-leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg stressed that his party was not issuing an ultimatum but rather an invitation to HNP supporters to hear what the CP wanted.

What motivates RACIST KILLERS

SOWETAN 30/10/86

FOCUS

By NAT DISEKO

Two young lovers, Miss Ginny Goitseone and Mr Morake Wessie, are out enjoying an evening drive. But unbeknown to them, four young white men are abroad looking for trouble after having drinks.

How the outing ended tragically for the lovers, came out in evidence in the case in which the four, Schalk Johannes Burger, Joseph Scheepers, Daniel Durandt and Jacobus Matthysen were charged with rape and murder.

Miss Goitsione died in the boot of a burning car. Scheepers, whom one newspaper report described as being "as cold and hard as an iceberg," was not moved even when Miss Goitseone begged for mercy crying: "My baas, my baas".

Lately, there have been many brutal murders of blacks by whites and some blacks have been attacked for sport. What drives young whites to behave in such a brutal and barbaric manner?

In an interview, Professor Jill Straker of the School of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand said apartheid and society facilitated this brutish behaviour.

Some of the offenders come from decent backgrounds and in many cases, those close to the accused describe them as "gentle" people.

Invariably, the accused will plead that he was under the influence of liquor when the crime was committed.

Excuse

The South African Law Commission has recommended that being under the influence of liquor or drugs should no longer be an excuse for criminal behaviour. The recommendation was made to Parliament in February.

Prof Straker said the increase in attacks on blacks by whites were the result of rising tensions because of the political climate in the country.

"As tensions increase and conflict mounts, people are polarised and the political positions become more extreme. The murders are extreme acts," Prof Straker said.

She said that in any society there would always be people who were anti-social people who are murderers and sadists.

"But there are societies that easily predispose some people to violence. South Africa is a violent society.

"Whites are not encouraged to see blacks as people. Part of the development of sympathy, empathy and compassion depends on being able to identify with other persons," Prof Straker said.

She said that under apartheid, whites were not exposed to blacks in their neighbourhoods, schools or churches other than in the role of servants. It was this lack of exposure that undermined people's ability to identify and feel with others.

In his evidence in the Rand Supreme Court, Anton Stoop, accused of the murder of a black man, said as a child he had been taught that black people were "kaffirs".

Prof Straker said a "kaffir" was regarded as something that was not human.

Mr Justice Coetzee, sitting with two assessors, sentenced Stoop to death for the brutal murder of Mr David Nthutang in February. The court found no extenuating circumstances.

Stoop's two co-accused, Willem Jansen (22) and Francis Johannes Bester (22) were found guilty of attempted murder and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. Jansen was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and Bester to two years.

The three came across Mr Nthutang in a street in Florida. They assaulted him, locked him in the boot of a car, assaulted him once more before running him over with the car. His body was then set alight. It would appear the body was set alight to disguise the assault by the three.

Rape

Four weeks ago, another similarly horrendous case ended in the Free State Supreme Court. An 18-year-old youth, Johan Wessels (18), was sentenced to death for the murder of Miss Elizabeth Mokoena at Loch Athlone, Bethlehem in January.

Wessels was also sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for the rape of Miss Mokoena (18). Christo Viljoen (20) was sentenced to an effective 15 years. Frederick Swanepoel (25) and Michael Mynhardt (24) were each jailed for eight years for rape.

Prof Straker said: "We live out what we learn. While some societies inhibit violence, ours does not.

"We live in an authoritarian society and authoritarianism and violence go together. Authoritarianism and apartheid allow the expression of sadistic impulses.

"Everybody has the potential for aggression but our upbringing in the family, school and church usually inhibits it or gives it a socially acceptable outlet, like sport.

"We are separated. So the process by which we would identify with our fellows is interfered with.

"It has been more socially acceptable for whites to be rude to blacks than to other whites."

Prof Straker said a white child would be freely rude to the childminder but not to its mother.

"The nanny has the responsibility of looking after the child but not the authority to discipline and correct it.

Cruel

"These people (the racist murderers) are exceptionally cruel. But it is the society that facilitates it.

"Their aggression is selectively directed. Some are described as gentle by their relatives. But their targets seem to be people with whom they do not identify.

"This could be solved by having a society where there was justice and an atmosphere which encourages respect for all human life irrespective of colour, religion, gender or creed," Prof Straker said.

I, Thursday, October 30, 1986

304A Sowetan 30/10/86

MURDERED . . . Miss Ginny Goitseone.

GEORGE Scheepers.

MURDERER . . . Johan Wessels.

EVENING POST, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1986

(304A)

PE Idasa office gets going on Monday

Post Reporter

AN OFFICE of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa) — the brainchild of former PFP leaders Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine — opens in Port Elizabeth on Monday.

Idasa's national co-ordinator, Mr Wayne Mitchell, said today he and a part-time secretary would man the office.

From December a regional director of community affairs will join them and from February a director for research and publications.

Their names would be released later.

Mr Mitchell said the official launch would probably be towards the end of January.

In the meantime, the office, which is on the fourth floor of Standard House in Main Street, would involve itself in further groundwork as well as making arrangements for the holding of a national Idasa conference in PE. About 150 delegates, including international politicians and academics, would be invited to it.

He said a seminar was being planned for the end of January in East London. It was hoped to have an office set up in East London by March 1.

304A

Von Schirnding explains move

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S Ambassador to the UN, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, last night said he was opting out of the foreign service because he could make a greater contribution towards "the national interest" in the private sector.

Mr Von Schirnding, one of South Africa's top diplomats, said from New York that he would leave the foreign service at the end of the year.

He was at present considering a number of offers in the private sector in the Republic.

Mr Von Schirnding acknowledged that it might appear "strange" that he was leaving the foreign service at the peak of his career and at the relatively young age of 55.

"But there is something to be said for leaving at the top. I simply feel that at this time I can make a greater contribution towards the national interest in the private sector rather than in the foreign service."

However, he said he was not resigning as a result of any "basic underlying disagreement, frustration or unhappiness".

Mr Von Schirnding said he did not harbour any political ambitions and had never belonged to a political party. He had not hoped for or expected to be promoted to a senior post in government as had happened with some of his predecessors at the UN.

"I have enjoyed my long career in the diplomatic service and have no regrets but I am now looking forward to making a contribution in another field."

He said one of the jobs he was considering was that of director-general of the South Africa Foundation. He would not say what other offers he was considering.

Asked if he had any advice for his successor in the UN "hot-seat", Mr Von Schirnding said: "Have strong nerves and a good constitution — and don't get panicked by the things that go on in this very strange place."

He would not comment on rumours that he might be replaced by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel. It was his "personal viewpoint" that the specialized nature of the post was more suited to a career diplomat than a political appointment.

Mr Von Schirnding said a "number of capable young men" were qualified to replace him. Sources have named Mr Les Manley, a senior official in the Department of Foreign Affairs, as a strong contender.

Open-air rallies gaining popularity in N Tvl

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — Open-air rallies seem to have become a permanent part of the Afrikaner infighting in the volatile political climate of the Northern Transvaal.

This weekend, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, travels to Pietersburg to address a meeting at the local sports stadium and this is expected to be a huge show of right-wing strength.

Braaivleis and other trimmings have been arranged to attract conservatives from the whole region.

Last weekend, the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terreblanche, was the guest speaker at a "boer carnival" at the same venue.

Coming so soon after the National Party's successful invasion of the AWB's Potgietersrus stronghold, when President P W Botha addressed about 1 000 people at an open-air venue, these rallies are seen by Nats in the north as an attempt by the right-wing alliance to re-assert its authority in the area.

Not that this was necessary as Mr Terreblanche drew a much larger crowd than Mr Botha during his same-night stand at another open-air venue in Potgietersrus.

"The advent of open-air rallies can be ascribed to the fact that political feelings in the north run higher than in other parts of the country and, consequently, more people attend," said a leading Nationalist.

GRASS ROOTS

"But we are doing our homework at grass roots level and have no intention of matching right-wing numbers at open-air rallies," he added.

As if to endorse this view, the NP's Northern Transvaal chairman, Mr Piet du Plessis, will address a public meeting in a school hall in Louis Trichardt tonight.

The meeting is intended to be a launching pad for new NP plans to win back the Soutpansberg seat from the CP's Mr Tom Langley.

In any event, plenty of open-air fist-shaking, featuring the "Big Four" (Mr P W Botha, Mr Pik Botha, Dr Treurnicht, and Mr Terreblanche) is on the cards for the new year.

They are believed to be the only speakers able to consistently draw large crowds in the area.

(Report by Dirk Nel, 79 Van Zyl aLabbert Street, Pietersburg).

TerreBlanche strongly backs right-wing unity

By Hannes de Wet

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) today came out strongly in favour of unity between the right-wing forces in South Africa.

"That is what we are striving for, and that it what the volk is asking," AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche told *The Star*.

But he called on the Conservative Party (CP) and Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) "not to make the AWB the culprit in their struggle to find each other".

He was commenting on the row between the two parties over a CP plan to hold a conference next year to consolidate right-wing support.

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais is opposed to such a conference because there are, in his view, still serious policy differences between the two parties — including views on the AWB.

Mr TerreBlanche said it was not up to him to tell the CP and the HNP how to come to an agreement "as we have as yet not been involved in the negotiations between them".

He said he is due to have talks with the CP on the question next week. So far, no meeting with Mr Marais on the cards.

White teachers launch new body

Education Reporter

The new white teachers' body, the Teachers' Federal Council (TFC), will be launched in Durban tomorrow to replace the Federal Council of Teachers' Associations and the South African Teachers' Council.

The TFC will negotiate conditions of service, deal with professional disciplinary matters and conduct registration of teachers.

At tomorrow's meeting, a chairman, vice-chairman and office bearers will be appointed and TFC policy and constitutuion discussed.

Eight national and provincial associations are represented.

Church links with SA 'dodgy'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Church of England is accused of being "dodgy" over its investment links with South Africa by Canon Sebastian Charles in the run-up to next month's synod where a major debate on church investments is on the cards.

The church commissioners have been resisting pressure to withdraw pension fund investments from firms with SA connections.

Speaking at the Central Hall in Westminster at a meeting where Dr Allan Boesak was guest speaker, Canon Charles said "The church behaves like a secret society when it comes to its investments."

SAIRR: reform halting

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) publication, Countdown, claims that the government's constitutional initiatives are "grinding to a halt".

The special second session of Parliament, which had been called to enact a bill to establish a national council as a vehicle for cabinet-level consultation with black leaders, failed to do so "evidently because the government's proposals evoked little significant support among Africans", the publication said.

It also points out that the proposed regional services councils "again came under attack from a wide spectrum of opinion, including the majority of black political organisations and much of the business community.

"Government plans to entrench segregated local government ran into resistance from coloured and Indian MPs, while attempts to introduce 'own' affairs administration in health and hospital services proved unworkable".

According to Countdown, the third quarter of 1986 had been marred by fears that forced removals had not been finally abandoned.

"In addition, two of the most important reforms that had taken place in the preceding quarter — the abolition of influx control and the passing of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act — were being undermined: it became clear that only a small proportion of denationalised Africans would actually get their South African citizenship back while it also appeared that aliens legislation would be used to perpetuate or even tighten up influx control against denationalised people," the institute said.

The institute said it had introduced a new section, "backdoor apartheid", to monitor the perpetuation of "discriminatory practices on an ostensibly colour blind basis".

For instance, the Aliens Act was ostensibly colour blind but "will clearly be used mainly against Africans from the TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) areas who are not South African citizens, which will be the great majority," the institute said.

Another example of "backdoor apartheid" was the Trespass Act in terms of which "thousands of people were arrested annually for trespassing, most of them Africans".

While the process of gradual desegregation continued, it sometimes stopped short of extending into the next logical areas, the publication claimed.

ARGUS 30/9/86 30A

Sebe power struggle

By HUGH ROBERTON, Special Writer

THE theatrical power struggle in Ciskei between members of the Sebe family on the surface seems to be merely an internecine squabble which only *cognoscenti* of Xhosa tradition and family feuds can unravel. But at the root of it all is an illogical quirk in the Government's Bantustan policy.

In classical Verwoerdian theory, tribal affinity was supposed to be the key factor in determining the creation of "homelands". But instead of this principle being used to create a single Xhosa homeland, two rival Xhosa homelands — Transkei and Ciskei — were created.

Transkei, the more powerful of the two, has been bent upon unifying the historical land of the Xhosa under its own aegis for more than two decades and in the process has exacerbated the paranoia and absurdity which has characterised the regime of Lennox Leslie Wongama Sebe, the "President for Life" of Ciskei, who has held authoritarian power over his mini-state since its "independence" at the end of 1981.

Why the Government created two Xhosa homelands, especially in the light of the Quail Commission's finding that Ciskei was not viable as a separate state, has never been satisfactorily explained.

But Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwazulu probably came close to the truth in 1981 when, in his comments on Ciskei's "independence", he revealed that the Government also had tried to create two Zulu homelands in order to fragment the power of the Zulu people, but had failed.

The creation of Transkei and Ciskei into two separate states, he said, was "the ultimate in Pretoria's political chicanery".

As long ago as 1963 Transkei's former president, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, caused a stir by publicly laying claim to all land between the Fish River (now Ciskei's southernmost border) and Kwazulu. The claim was haughtily ignored by Dr Verwoerd and his Ministers.

From time to time the claim was repeated and as Ciskei was relentlessly prepared for "independence" and Lennox Sebe and his family were being groomed to take power, Transkei launched a campaign to thwart the plan.

The Transkei government formally protested to Pretoria, warning that it would not take part in any move which involved giving Ciskei separate nationhood and pointing out that the two territories — as well as the "white" South African corridor from East London to Queenstown which separates them — had historically always been regarded as one political entity.

Pretoria went ahead regardless and the next step by Transkei was to challenge the legality of the fiefdom which was about to be created for Chief Sebe.

IN July, 1981, a deposed Ciskeian chief, Mr Ford Mpangele, and Mr Kaizer Mnwebe, both living in "exile" in Transkei, brought an urgent application before the Cape Town Supreme Court asking it to prevent President (then Prime Minister) P W Botha and Parliament from debating or voting upon any Bill to give Ciskei independence. Their application was rejected.

An application to the Supreme Court in Grahamstown in November, 1981, ostensibly by two other Ciskeians living in Transkei, sought to restrain Chief Sebe and seven of his Cabinet Ministers from accepting independence. This, too, was rejected and "independence" went ahead the following month.

Transkei responded by announcing that neither Chief Matanzima nor any of his Ministers would attend Ciskei's "independence" and that Transkei would never recognise the sovereignty of the smaller Xhosa homeland. Transkeian police then arrested several Ciskeians who were accused of having entered Transkei "illegally".

Ciskei hit back by setting up road blocks and denying two Transkeian Cabinet Ministers and a Deputy Minister permission to enter Ciskei to attend an important Xhosa funeral.

Later, the Transkei government threatened to walk out of President Botha's homelands "summit" if Ciskei attended, and Ciskei set up yet more road blocks in an attempt to assert its authority over Transkeian's in transit through its territory.

President Sebe began to crack under the pressure. He re-shuffled his Cabinet repeatedly and without warning or explanation, sacking 10 Ministers in his first 30 months in power and summarily firing experts whom he had personally persuaded to join his civil service.

Amidst accusations that Transkei was trying to hatch a coup, he fired the vice-president, the Reverend William Xaba, and later abolished the vice-presidency. He sent key South African Defence Force personnel packing and then dramatically cut short a visit to Israel after claiming that he had received word of moves to topple his regime during his absence.

On his return he ordered the incarceration of his brother, General Charles Sebe, who was then the all-powerful head of Ciskei's security police and military, and the former security advisor to the Ciskei government, Mr Tailefer Minnaar. The latter escaped from custody but General Sebe, and several other Sebe family members, were found guilty in 1984 of subversive actions and given long prison sentences.

GENERAL SEBE was dramatically sprung from a Ciskeian prison last Friday by a group of white "mercenaries" wielding machine guns and Ciskeian government sources claim that he has fled to Transkei and is now at the home of a third Sebe brother, Mr Namba Sebe, who fled to Transkei several months ago after having been charged with fraud.

But General Sebe's son, Kambashe Sebe, and Mr Namba Sebe's son, Toni Sebe, both former members of the Ciskeian state security service and both, like General Sebe, convicted of subversive activities, are still in Ciskeian custody.

In an apparent attempt to bargain for their release, President Sebe's eldest son, Kwane Sebe, was abducted shortly after General Sebe was sprung from prison and is now reportedly being held hostage in the Transkeian home of Mr Namba Sebe.

Who were the white "mercenaries" who sprung General Sebe from prison? That has not been disclosed, but many white South Africans were employed by General Sebe while he was still the security strong man in his brother's government and there has been speculation that some of them might have been involved.

What is significant about the escape of General Sebe and the abduction of president Sebe's son is Transkei's reported role in the affair. The two Sebe brothers in exile reportedly have called on their older brother to resign as president and the Ciskeian government has publicly censured Transkei for being "a springboard for vicious and vitriolic attacks".

The question arises: If the younger Sebe brothers are in Transkei — and reportedly even enjoying Transkeian armed protection — has the Transkeian government asked for any *quid pro quo*? Has it, perhaps, requested an assurance that they would agree to a process of unification if they succeeded in toppling their older brother and taking power in Ciskei?

Whatever the answer, the Sebe circus probably would not have been possible if there had been only one, instead of two, Xhosa homelands and the Government had not shown its true colours by trying to divide and rule the Xhosa people through its often ridiculous surrogates.

31/10/86
STAR

NP man named for poll battle

Northern Transvaal Bureau

LOUIS TRICHARDT

The stage is set for a "legal" battle in the Soutpansberg constituency in the next general election.

The National Party last night introduced its "shadow" candidate publicly to voters in Louis Trichardt.

Mr Renier Pieterse is an advocate and a former Pietersburg NP executive member who also directed the party's referendum campaign in Nelspruit in 1983.

Mr Pieterse started his political career as a leaflet distributor while still at school in Louis Trichardt.

The present MP for Soutpansberg, the Conservative Party's Mr Tom Langley, is also an advocate.

Mr Langley was elected by a slender 400 majority in a by-election caused by the resignation of Mr Fanie Botha.

Mr Pieterse said he was committed to "ridding the constituency of its conservative label". He has played a leading role in the recent resurgence of the NP organisational structure in this constituency.

Minister says Govt will protect white rights

31/10/86 304A STAR

LOUIS TRICHARDT — The Government is committed to the maintenance of existing white residential areas, white State-run schools and the right of whites to rule themselves, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Piet du Plessis, told a National Party meeting here last night.

A system of one-man one-vote in a unitary state, domination by one population group and a takeover by anarchists would not be tolerated, he said.

"The broadening of democracy and the accommodation of the reasonable aspirations of reasonable people is our policy," said Mr du Plessis.

He spelt out the implications of South Africa's cutback on Mozambican workers, saying 63 000 miners, earning a total of R100 million, were involved. However, the gross income of all Mozamican workers affected amounted to R350 million — a substantial slice of Mozambique's national income.

Mr Du Plessis said Mozambique had ceased to honour the spirit of the Nkomati Accord by resuming support for ANC incursions into South Africa.

"Until they come to their senses, our measures in respect of their workers will remain in force", he added.

Possible to negotiate out of crisis — PFP

EVE Post 3/10/86

(304A)

By KIN BENTLEY

SOUTH AFRICA can negotiate itself out of its current crisis, Mr Robin Carlisle, secretary general of the Progressive Federal Party, told a meeting of about 80 invited people in Port Elizabeth last night.

Outlining the party's "Strategy for a New South Africa", Mr Carlisle said the country did not have divisions as ingrained as those, for instance, between the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland.

"Here it's about power and privilege — about how power is shared, how fast, with whom and how much.

"We must eventually negotiate the problem — yet we're cracking our skulls about it," he said.

He said since the implementation of the tricameral Parliament, the National Party had become "frozen into immobility", because it contained within it two "totally irreconcilable groups.

"It is politically enormously powerful, but it can't make major decisions."

For instance, he said, if it took a principled stand and scrapped the Group Areas Act, it would shed right-wing support.

"The ideological differences between Mr Wynand Malan (MP for Randburg) and Mr Magnus Malan are as vast as those between Mrs Helen Suzman and Dr Andries Treurnicht."

Mr Carlisle said he believed there were about 37 NP MPs who were "alienated from the traditional NP line".

However, they would not join the PFP unless it could create a strong base. His research revealed there were a total of 52 seats within the PFP's grasp at the next election.

The resul could be "a new amalgam in South African politics" capable of ousting the NP

However, he warned, it was essential the next political party coming to power should not do so on a "whites-only" basis.

For this reason the PFP was monitoring, mediating, negotiating and working for reconciliation

Commenting on the flux in white politics since the unrest started, Mr Carlisle said recent surveys showed that 40% of young Afrikaners with education of matric or higher no longer had a political home.

SOWETAN, Friday, October 31, 1986

304A

Signing of Lesotho highlands water project treaty

Pik Botha plugs white African theme

Plea for dialogue

Argus Africa News Service

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha of South Africa plugged his "white African" theme for all it was worth when he went to Maseru last week to sign the Lesotho Highlands Water Project Treaty.

For Mr Botha the signing was more than just a legal ceremony. It was a splendid public relations opportunity and he exploited it with his customary gusto.

It was the first time South Africa had signed a treaty with a black African Country since the Nkomati Accord of 1984.

With the Nkomati agreement now in tatters Mr Botha wisely refrained from mentioning it, though the Lesotho military government's representive, Colonel Thaabe Letsie, found it necessary to defend his government against taunts that it was doing a deal with "the people of Nkomati."

MINISTER Pik Botha.

Mr Botha saw the occasion as a chance to voice from the capital of a black state his oft-repeated plea for dialogue with Africa on its demands for majority rule in South Africa.

He used it to promote in particular the concept of South Africa as an African country negotiating a future with its fellow Africans to the exclusion of the Western countries.

He promoted this theme in his formal speech at the signing ceremony in Maseru's Pitso ground before about 10 000 Basotho and the local diplomatic corps.

He pumped it even more ardently in his off-the-cuff speech at a subsequent formal luncheon at which he proposed the toast to King Moshoeshoe II, where he emphasised that he was speaking "as an African."

Mr Botha urged African states, including South Africa, to "determine our own future" instead of allowing the Americans, the Europeans and the Soviets to do it for them.

The loosening of South Africa's once-close ties with the West is a relatively new concept in official rhetoric and appears to have developed in proportion to the growing hostility to apartheid among South Africa's traditional allies.

But the goal of closer relationships with — and better still, acceptance by — black Africa is an old one.

It goes back at least to the efforts to promote dialogue with black Africa that were made while B J Vorster was Prime Minister — and which have had few visible results.

Repeating the Government's assurances that apartheid was being dismantled, Mr Botha asked: "How much more must we do to earn a place in Africa?"

'President's reformist policies dangerous to race relations'

Treurnicht calls for right-wing unity

304A 31/10/86 STAR

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

In Sasolburg last night Dr Andries Treurnicht called on all conservatives to unite and said differences between HNP and CP policies did not warrant the existence of two parties.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night repeated his call for the creation of a single right-wing party, saying the Government could be defeated only if conservatives were united.

At a meeting in Sasolburg, attended by about 375 people, Dr Treurnicht said policy differences between the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party did not warrant the existence of separate right-wing parties.

He called on all right-wingers to attend the CP's unity conference on January 24 next year — so that conservatives would be ready for a general election.

Although HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais has strongly criticised the CP's unity initiative, Dr Treurnicht last night steered clear of directly criticising him. But he rejected Mr Marais's claim that the CP was intent on creating a false "instant unity".

"On the contrary, we have been negotiating this issue with the HNP for four years," he said.

Attack on NGK moderator

Dr Treurnicht delivered a veiled attack on the new moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk, Professor Johan Heyns.

He said "certain people" had taken the NGK's new race policies out of context, saying simply that the church had declared apartheid a sin and claiming that church membership was now open to all races. This was not the case.

Non-whites could apply to become members of the white NGK only if there was no church of their own to care for them — and the decision on admission was then in the hands of individual churches.

Dr Treurnicht said it was not true to say all forms of apartheid were sinful. He cited the NGK synod decision supporting segregated education.

He criticised the State President, Mr P W Botha, describing his reformist policies as dangerous to race relations.

"Granting 17 million blacks citizenship of South Africa will increase tension between blacks and whites, because whites are not prepared to lose their freedom," he said.

Dr Treurnicht also condemned government overspending. He said Deputy Minister of Information "Louis Liedjie Nel" had squandered taxpayers' money on the Bureau for Information's R4,3 million peace song.

WEEKLY MAIL 31/10/86

Some of the top business faces the President won't be seeing this time round ..

Gordon Waddell and Chris Ball weren't invited; Gavin Relly and Colin Adcock are out of town and Sam Motsuenyane's boycotting PW's summit

304A

After the first business summit, PW said: 'We have come to the end of a perfect day.'

Drawing: JEFF STACEY

After the second, he said: 'I go home a happy man tonight'.

But after this week's summit?

By PATRICK LAURENCE

GOVERNMENT and business leaders meet at another high-level summit hosted by PW Botha in Pretoria next Friday, the third since Botha took over the reins of government from Vorster in 1978.

But the third summit at Botha's sumptuous presidential guest house may be less cosy than the first two, provided, of course, businessmen, or a significant number of them, match their high-sounding calls for accelerated reform with a concerted demand for action.

After the first summit, the Carlton Conference of 1979, Botha confided that he wanted to exhort the more than 600 business leaders to sing with him: "We have come to the end of a perfect day."

After the second in 1981, the Good Hope Conference, Botha declared after facing only tepid criticism from businessmen: "I'm going home tonight a happy man."

There had been forecasts before the 1981 meeting that hard words would be exchanged.

Predictions that vigorous debate, if not eyeball-to-eyeball confrontations, will characterise the third meeting may well prove wrong again. Businessmen may not have the stomach for a political fight with the pugnacious Botha.

The Pretoria meeting, however, differs in several respects from the earlier meetings.

Far fewer business leaders have been invited: between 200 and 250 as against 600, meaning that some businessmen have been excluded, possibly because of their suspected truculence. Those not invited are said to include Gordon Waddell of JCI and Chris Ball of Barclays.

Next week's Pretoria summit will be more structured than its forerunners. Its theme is "Forward with Confidence". But two particular issues will be discussed: a proposed new economic strategy — on which there have already been preliminary discussions — and privatisation.

After an opening address by Botha, the delegates will divide into small working groups of about 20 each for in-depth discussion. The conference will, it is anticipated, serve as a prelude to the publication of a government White Paper on privatisation.

The Pretoria summit differs in one further salient way from the Carlton and Good Hope conferences. It takes place against a general background of a growing economic crisis. There are several indicators that the malady is serious and likely to last a long time.

The inflation rate is now running at about 20 percent. The economic growth rate since the 1981 conference has been running at barely over one percent a year, well below the minimum five percent needed to slowly reduce unemployment — which, of course, is growing rapidly. Sanctions are no longer the theoretical threat they were in 1981. The conference will take place in the shadow of decisions to disinvest by General Motors and IBM and the risk that even Shell may have to pull out eventually.

Only hopeless optimists still cherish hopes of a major influx of foreign capital. South Africa's foreign debt still stands at about $23-billion and interest repayments are absorbing a major share of the current favourable trade balance.

A rift has opened up between business — or, more accurately, sections of it — and government since 1981.

It was manifest in the talks between some business leaders and the outlawed African National Congress in Zambia last September. The men who travelled to Zambia defied Botha, who declared that discussions with the ANC were an act of disloyalty to South African soldiers on the border.

Significantly, perhaps, the man who headed the businessmen, Gavin Relly of Anglo American, will not be at the Pretoria summit. He will be abroad. That may indicate that he has little hope that the summit will produce much in the way of constructive reform.

Another more recent indication of disenchantment with Botha came from John Wilson of Shell. He remarked of the earlier conferences: "We were set up. Those conferences were nothing more than a forum for the propagation of government policies."

Wilson, coincidentally, is the president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, which has been in the forefront of the business world's pleas for far-reaching change.

Major political change could reverse the tide of sanctions, provided it included the release of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and the unbanning of, and negotiations with, the ANC.

But it is very doubtful whether business leaders at next week's summit will push hard in that direction in a concerted, meaningful manner.

It is pertinent to recall the role of Fred du Plessis in the run-up to last year's talks between businessmen and the ANC. Du Plessis, the influential chairman of Sanlam, is said to serve as Botha's *eminence grise* on economic matters.

He is known to have approached Botha to seek his blessing for the talks. When Botha balked, Du Plessis withdrew from the Zambia-bound group.

The Du Plessis episode is a reminder that the much spoken-of common front between Afrikaans and English-speaking businessmen may be less solid than supposed. Put differently, there may still be Afrikaner businessmen whose interpretations are influenced by ethnicity on how to find a way back to the halcyon days of growth and boom. Their approach to South Africa's Afrikaner-dominated government is based on an underlying loyalty.

Du Plessis, moreover, is not tied to the free market philosophy espoused by some businessmen. He is inclined to favour government intervention and tighter controls.

Next week's summit is likely to see a concerted move, not by rebel businessmen but by government. It's a fair bet that a new long-term economic strategy will have sanctions-busting as one of its key objectives, through, it is suspected, a more tightly controlled economy.

The in-depth group discussions are as likely to centre on that as political reform. For businessmen there will, however, be a sweetener: privatisation.

All in all the Pretoria summit is likely to see a major bid by government, and its sympathisers, to co-opt business leaders in the fight against "foreign intervention".

Business will, it is predicted, be wooed as key partners in the evolving siege economy against the alien onslaught. Theoretically businessmen can drive a hard bargain by insisting on fundamental changes: abolition of the Group Areas Act, universal suffrage for a common parliament, talks with credible black leaders.

Whether they have the will and cohesion to try and succeed even partially is a moot point.

But to the extent that government co-opts them, black workers will see business and government more than ever as "two sides of the same bloody coin".

Hulett's chief lauds work of Natal Indaba

N 1M 31/10/86 (304A)

Finance Editor

MR CHRIS Saunders, chairman of the multi-million-rand conglomerate Tongaat-Hulett group, said last night that he was wrong to have supported the tricameral system of government.

Speaking at the annual dinner of the Natal Society of Chartered Accountants in Durban, Mr Saunders said that when he supported the introduction of the system he believed 'it would eventually destroy Afrikaner hegemony and be the first step in the process of moving towards a common and shared society and away from the South African society based on group division and ethnic fanaticism'.

He said the result was 'fresh in our minds. We have steadily gone downhill from relative peace and order to endemic unrest and regular death; from a legal and lawful society to one in which arbitary imprisonment is rife; from prosperity to deep recession'.

Mr Saunders went on to laud the progress being made at the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba and said the new society would have to be built like a pyramid upwards from grassroots at the four corners in a step-by-step process.

Mr Saunders said it had to be recognised that real change had taken place.

All the statutory limitations on black economic involvement in the country's economy had now been removed.

FIN MAIL 31/10/86

ELECTORAL ROLLS (3044)

Voting stock missing

The parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs may publish a preliminary report next month on its investigations into the problem of unregistered or incorrectly registered voters, according to the chairman and MP for Innesdal, Albert Nothnagel.

It is understood the report will include recommendations to remedy the problem.

The unsatisfactory state of the voters rolls is largely the result of negligent or apathetic voters who fail to notify Home Affairs of a change of address. Thousands of people are dodging creditors or the Receiver of Revenue. Thousands have lost jobs and are untraceable and thousands have emigrated. Little wonder that State President P W Botha decided against calling an early general election this year.

The Home Affairs committee's investigation is part of a broader brief to modernise the Electoral Act. It coincides with a government drive to encourage people to update their addresses on the population register from which voters' rolls are compiled.

Various modernisation options are available. One would be to link the population register computer to computers used by local authorities, the Post Office and the SABC so that cross checking of addresses would be possible.

A Home Affairs liaison official, George Smit, says his department's campaign to track down "missing" voters is progressing well.

From the start of the campaign on September 8 until October 24, 116 804 changes of address were sent to the department, compared with the previous monthly average of 25 000. In the week from October 18 to 24 alone, 18 802 changes of address were noted.

Smit says it is estimated that about 35% of the addresses recorded on the population register are incorrect. Although an exact figure has not been calculated, it has been reported that this means about 1,5m people on the register live at different addresses to those recorded. ■

ARGUS 31/10/86

'I was wrong to favour tricameral govt' — magnate

304A

DURBAN. — Mr Chris Saunders, chairman of the multi-million rand Tongaat-Hulett group, says he was wrong to have supported the tricameral system.

At the annual dinner here of the Natal Society of Chartered Accountants, Mr Saunders said that when he supported the introduction of the system he had believed it would eventually destroy "Afrikaner hegemony" and be the first step towards a common and shared society "away from one based on group division and ethnic fanaticism".

The result was "fresh in our minds", he said. "We have gone downhill from relative peace and order to endemic unrest and regular death — from a legal and lawful society to one in which arbitary imprisonment is rife, from prosperity to deep recession."

Mr Saunders lauded progress at the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba and said the new society would have to be built step-by-step like a pyramid from grassroots level.

He said some real change had taken place as statutory limitations on black involvment in the country's economy had now been removed. — Sapa.

31/10/86

Meeting crucial to SA's image abroad

BUSDAY 304A

Next week's encounter between the SA business community and government has created considerable interest in London. JOHN BATTERSBY spoke to the South Africa Foundation's London director DAVID WILLERS about overseas perceptions of the meeting

BATTERSBY: What do you think will come out of the meeting?

WILLERS: Not very much on the political front — although individual businessmen may raise political issues they feel impinge on the trading environment.

Government, on the other hand, will probably seek to reassure the business community that it hasn't forgotten the word "reform" and that within the context of "group identity" local option changes to residential segregation are likely to follow the report of the constitutional committee of the President's Council.

There will doubtless be some agreement on the steps to be taken to increase the process of privatisation and deregulation. On the external front it would be surprising if there was not agreement on measures to avoid sanctions.

BATTERSBY: But won't this merely be a repeat of the Carlton and Good Hope exercises? Exactly how importantly will this meeting be perceived abroad?

WILLERS: Very importantly indeed. It is a crucial event, a watershed affair that will demonstrate one way or another which side of the fence the broad business community is going to jump.

Scrutinised

Clearly, whatever business does or says at this meeting will be closely scrutinised abroad and at home. After the recent and well-publicised assertions by a senior South African executive that the captains of industry had been "set up" at the Carlton and Good Hope conferences, there can be little excuse for businessmen to plead that they have been misled again.

Obviously if businessmen allow their presence at the November 7 forum to lend credibility to government policies — in other words, if they do not speak up against the aspects of those policies which have invited sanctions which are so damaging to us all — then the world will conclude that they have knowingly and deliberately thrown in their lot with government.

It may not be viewed that way among businessmen from a Johannesburg vantage point, but it will,

☐ WILLERS . . . watershed event

regrettably, be perceived that way abroad by a world that tends to take a rather simplistic view of South African affairs.

For this reason one would not be surprised if some businessmen who have been invited prefer to decline their invitations rather than be put in such a position.

BATTERSBY: What about the African National Congress (ANC) and the channels it has established with the SA business community?

WILLERS: I am told that they, too, will be closely scrutinising the meeting. The ANC is apparently thinking of reviewing its links with SA business and may even limit these links.

BATTERSBY: What effect would this have on perceptions abroad?

WILLERS: If this is indeed the case — that the ANC reacted in this way — the effect on international perceptions of SA business would be generally negative and unhelpful.

It would invalidate the role of the business community generally as honest and neutralise its capacity to promote genuine dialogue and negotiation between black and white leaders.

It would be seen as a severe blow to business attempts to create a climate of confidence and build bridges.

It would also been seen as a blow to the business drive to promote the benefits of the free enterprise system among blacks, and at the same time distance itself from apartheid.

It would have obvious implications for relations with the trades unions, and for the wider corporate strategic dimension of co-opertion with foreign companies active in SA. One would have to see such a development, as well, against the backdrop of the Lusaka meeting, which had a much greater impact abroad than is generally realised.

BATTERSBY: Will the business community maintain the unity it has achieved under these new circumstances?

WILLERS: I simply don't know, but I think it will do so through the various business organisations.

Challenged

The problem is that business is being challenged to deliver on the expectations it has built up among people — that is in many ways what this meeting is all about. Government feels confident that it can co-opt the business community and isolate the "dissidents" within the community.

They may well be right. In the new "post-sanctions" climate organised business is, I think, increasingly coming to realise that it has little leverage to achieve the "conventional litany" of objectives it may still support, such as the release of Nelson Mandela and the legalisation of political organisations.

There may be a certain amount of fragmentation, however, and stronger expressions of opinion and disagreement among some individual businessmen about where to go.

One doesn't know, but I think it is stretching it a bit to compare the SA business community at present to the old United Party, as someone recently suggested. It's not a political party.

STAR 31/10/86

TV shapes Western view of SA: Worrall

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa is perceived as the "great public international moral problem of the last quarter of the 20th century", but the debate risks being trivialised by a simplistic international approach, says Dr Denis Worrall.

The South African ambassador said yesterday he believed television reporting had played a particular role in shaping Western perceptions.

In an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, he said television reports cast black religious leaders in the "easy mould" of Martin Luther King and the American civil rights struggle, and portrayed "relentless" and "uncaring" State authorities in a society marked by first and third world contrasts.

"South Africa is not only the stuff of good television, but of profitable television, and the result is a highly emotional and superficial picture of a unique situation."

Western public figures "capitalised" on this, but there "is no sense of perception on the part of the critics".

Public figures "moralise and criticise", but they were "dishonourable" about South Africa because they were often promoting their own interests.

"In fact, there is an abysmal lack of standards in the international public commentary on South Africa. The more enduring issues of South African society, which turn on differences of language, culture and nationalism, are lost sight of."

A major consequence of international perceptions of South Africa was that it was seen in "simplistic moral terms" of black versus white, and there was no sense of history and little appreciation of the "non-black psychological dimension".

He warned that the international community would fail to influence South Africans by "be littling their achievements, insulting them, ridiculing or ignoring their fears and anxieties".

Black liberation, he said, would not be achieved without assuring "white African security".

ANC film a distortion — embassy

LONDON — The South African Embassy in London has slammed an independent British TV channel for showing a film on the ANC's armed wing this week, because it "creates a gross distortion".

The embassy says the film, "The Spear of the Nation" - shown on ITV on Tuesday night - "fails to acknowledge that the ANC clearly supports a revolutionary transformation of South African society. It is committed to a strategy of terrorism to achieve this end".

The embassy accuses ITV of doing "a disservice to democracy and the vast majority of law-abiding South Africans who oppose violence. To present Umkhonto we Sizwe as a moderate organisation driven to desperation is a travesty of the truth."

It says all ITV companies' future reportage of South African affairs is placed in jeopardy by the decision to screen such "pure propaganda".

Mr Kobie Coetsee ... never before in South Africa had a political system proved to be such a success.

Govt won't apologise for state of emergency

Vereeniging Bureau

The Government would not apologise for declaring the state of emergency, Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice and Free State leader of the National Party, said in Sasolburg last night.

He told a public meeting the ANC's plan with necklaces and matches was not only to cause pain and suffering, but to prevent the urban black from being admitted to third level government.

The ANC also wanted to make certain parts of the country ungovernable by taking over these areas itself.

Mr Coetsee said the Government could not "just sit still" in these circumstances and allow its authority to decrease.

Referring to the tricameral parliament, Mr Coetsee said that never before had a political system in South Africa proved to be such a success.

For the first time, the Indian and coloured communities were part of the decision-making process.

Even Dr Andries Treurnicht and his Conservative Party members must admit that the tricameral parliament was a success "and the best guarantee the white man has ever had in the country", said Mr Coetsee.

Earlier in the meeting, the NP announced the appointment of Dr W Odendaal, present nominated MP, as its candidate for the Sasolburg constituency in the next general election.

Hecklers ejected from NP meeting

The Sasolburg meeting addressed by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee was briefly disrupted by hecklers last night.

It was one of two meetings in the town — a Conservative Party meeting was addressed by CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht. Both were in school halls and attracted about 375 people.

Soon after National Party Free State leader Mr Coetsee began speaking, a scuffle developed and about 15, mostly young, hecklers were bundled out.

A large police contingent was outside, but the protesters left peacefully for the CP meeting.

There was a similar clash of meetings earlier this month when the State President and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche spoke in Potgietersrus

● See Page 18.

World watches business forum

304A
BUSDAY
31/10/86

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The world would conclude that SA's business community had thrown in its lot with government unless businessmen spoke their minds at next week's "watershed" meeting between President P W Botha and the private sector.

This warning was sounded yesterday by David Willers, London director of the SA Foundation.

"If businessmen allow their presence at the November 7 forum to lend credibility to government policies ... the world will conclude that they have knowingly and deliberately thrown in their lot with the government," Willers said in an interview.

He said this would be the overriding impression abroad — by a world that tended to take a simplistic view of SA affairs — if businessmen failed "to speak up against the aspects of those policies which have invited the sanctions which are so damaging to us all".

For this reason it would not be surprising if some businessmen who had been invited declined.

Willers also warned that the ANC was closely monitoring the meeting. Any move by the ANC to limit the channels it had established with business would have a negative impact on the international perception of SA business as an agent for change. "It would be seen as a severe blow to business attempts to create a climate of confidence and build bridges."

Willers conceded government might succeed in "co-opting" business and isolating the "dissidents" within the business community.

● See Page 7

POLITICS

Buthelezi's challenge

KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has again given government planners something to think about as they struggle behind the scenes to come up with a vaguely acceptable re-draft of the National Council (NC) Bill.

Speaking at the Cape Town Press Club last week, Buthelezi gave fair warning that he will have nothing to do with the NC unless it is "given teeth."

He made it clear that the only acceptable structure in his view will be one with the power to preside over a transition to a new constitution "after the death sentence has been pronounced on the present constitution."

Buthelezi also wants it to be possible for all black leaders — including current political prisoners — to participate.

"If I am absolutely right that these are all the prerequisites for the success of the National Council emerging as a real negotiating forum between black and white, then it is not I who block negotiation, it is the State President who has not got the courage to mount them," he said.

KwaZulu's Buthelezi ... time for talking is running out

He also warned that while many blacks were more than willing to negotiate with government, time for talking was running out.

He challenged government claims that negotiations were in fact taking place with black leaders behind closed doors.

Buthelezi believes the release of African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, is now "absolutely imperative" to successful negotiations.

"And if there are no negotiations, we face the late Mr B J Vorster's future which is too ghastly to contemplate," he said.

There was no time for more "false starts" such as the introduction of the tricameral parliament, he said.

☐ There were no takers for the NC draft Bill published for information earlier this year. When the extent of the rejection became apparent, government sources indicated that the entire structure was being redrafted in an effort to attract at least some credible black leaders.

Buthelezi is widely regarded as the least government will get away with. Without his participation, the NC will be a non-starter. A new draft of the Bill is likely to be published early next year. ■

(304A) WEEKLY MAIL 31/10/86.

The invisible diplomat packs for The Hague

The government believes that appointing a coloured ambassador to the Netherlands will improve our tarnished image there. But Frank Quint, better known for his less-than-diplomatic temper, may get a far more torrid reception than if he'd been white. JEAN LE MAY reports

SOUTH AFRICA's first coloured ambassador, Dr Frank Quint, is a condundrum. His public profile is described as aggressive and insignificant. Those who know him privately say he is well-read and "interesting to sit next to at a dinner party".

His critics doubt his ability to represent South Africa in the Netherlands when he takes up his diplomatic post there early next year, particularly if his low profile and this week's TV interview are previews of his style.

Quint has always kept so low a profile as to be practically invisible. He is tall, gentlemanly, suave and just a little pompous. He has never been a politician and his appointment to the President's Council by the Labour Party surprised many people.

He has, from all accounts, never taken a controversial stand in the PC, even during discussions on the two Security Bills which were pushed through earlier this year after the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates turned them down.

Quint is sanguine about his appointment, as was apparent in a TV interview this week. Many others, including members of the Labour Party, think he's going to be a disaster as ambassador. Academics who know Quint are more flattering. They say he is well-read, well informed on a huge range of subjects, "an interesting person to sit next to at a dinner party".

His appointment gives him a hat-trick of "firsts". He was the first coloured to be made rector of Hewat Training College, Athlone; the first to become chief inspector of coloured education; and he is now the first coloured ambassador.

He is not, however, the first "non-white" to become an ambassador. Professor Bhadara Ranchod was recently appointed ambassador to Belgium.

The government seems to think it good public relations to appoint a coloured or an Asian ambassador, but it may also backfire.

Robin Carlisle, a Progressive Federal Party representative on the President's Council, felt that Quint was "being set up as clay pigeon - and he's going to be shot down as a collaborator".

And someone close to the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) admitted: "Quint seems to think that he will have an easier time than a white ambassador would have. In fact he'll be given a far harder time. These guys have to be really tough."

Does Quint, with his background in education and as a lay preacher in the Methodist Church, have what it takes? A Cape Town man who knows him well said that Quint was inclined to be "too aggressive" if anyone disagrees with him. "And he's got a notoriously short fuse," he added. "In a confrontation, Dr Quint could lose his cool."

Another experienced politician said: "I think the DFA has seriously misjudged the situation in Holland. It needs a senior, experienced career diplomat. The fact that Quint is coloured compounds the error," he said.

"The media in Holland are very well informed and very aggressive. There is a great deal of coverage for Dr Alan Boesak and the political attitudes he represents. If Quint comes up with the argument he used on TV- that there is one department of education for everybody - they won't buy that. He'll asked, 'can you send children to Jan van Riebeeck High?' and he'll have to say no."

Quint, interviewed by Weekly Mail, stayed sanguine. "I don't anticipate too many problems," he said. "I've been in the Netherlands three or four times and although I don't make so bold as to claim to speak the language I'll soon pick it up. Nederlands was one of my majors."

Asked if he believed in the government's reform programme, Quint was emphatic. "I've experienced it - it's genuine," he said. "It has had a real impact on my community. By and large, people who have experienced problems are now seeing progress.

Asked why, if reform were geunuine, there was widespread rejection, the short fuse started smouldering: "Who says so? The UDF? It is not clear what their following is. Reform is relative - there are those who initiate it, and those who participate in it."

The short fuse burned again when he was asked about segregated education. "Education is a very complicated field," he said impatiently. "The problem at the moment is to get the recommendations of the De Lange Report implemented as soon as possible.

Quint is, predictably, against sanctions, and since the Netherlands took a very strong stand about South African coal being included in the EEC package, this could be one of the first issues he has to face.

"Sanctions play into the hands of those who want to retard reform," he told me.

"There could be a great deal of unemployment. This could lead to chaos. The people who are arguing for sanctions could take the gap and work for a violent takeover. Sanctions are counter-productive."

Quint's attitude is that he is not going to the Netherlands to represent the government but to represent the country. If this is so, said Prof David Welsh of the University of Cape Town's political science department, it is very unusual.

Ambassadors may disagree personally with government policy, but when it comes to the crunch they are required to transmit the policy of the government which appointed them.

It may be that Quint has clearance from DFA that he is allowed the latitude permitted to ministers-without-portfolio Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi. They are allowed to differ publicly from Cabinet decisions as long as they have cleared the point at issue with the State President.

But Quint's chief, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was publicly repudiated for a relatively innocuous remark about a black president. There could be pitfalls ahead.

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WORLD'S FIRST
HEART TRANSPLANT.

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YOUNG & RUBICAM-HEDLEY BYRNE 1036

French cold-shoulder for P W Botha visit?

(Pol) CAPE TIMES 31/10/86

304A

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — France appeared set yesterday to snub President P W Botha during his party's planned November 11 visit here for Armistice Day commemorations in the Somme Valley.

Amid a growing communist-led domestic uproar, the conservative government moved to lower the already low level of its reception for President Botha on his trip to honour South African war dead.

Mr Georges Fontes, France's Secretary of State for War Veterans and a junior member of Prime Minister Mr Jacques Chirac's cabinet, said yesterday that he would not now be accompanying Mr Botha's party to the northern town of Longueval in the Somme Valley for Armstice Day commemorations.

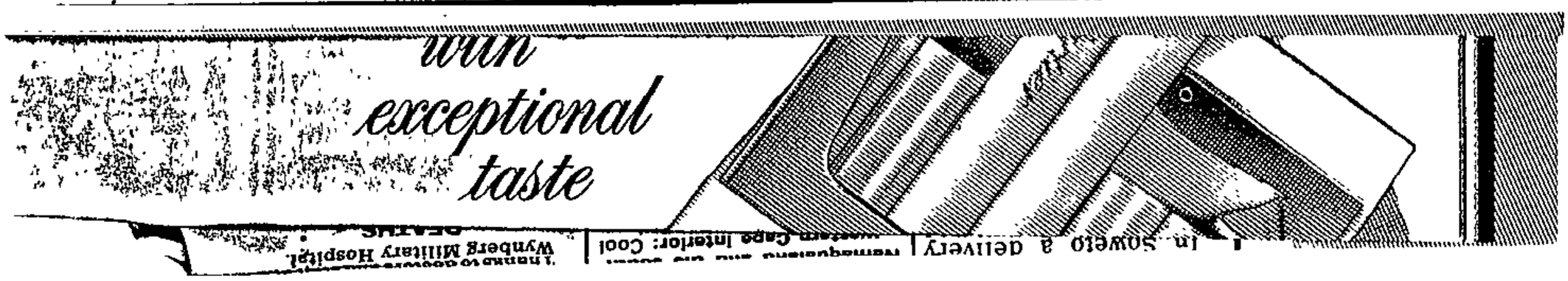
He would be "tied up in Paris" at the time of the planned trip and "given my personal views about apartheid, I am glad to be so".

Mr Botha would be met by the Prefect of Picardy, a low-ranking local official representing the central government.

His announcement came the day after Communist Party secretary-general Mr Georges Marchais went on national television to denounce Mr Botha's visit and appeal for massive support for a November 6 anti-apartheid march in central Paris.

The unexpected snub has left South African officials in Paris puzzled and perplexed They had earlier been officially assured that the trip was on without any hitches.

The South Africans are due to visit a World War I memorial at Longueval in the Somme Valley for an Armistice Day rememberance service On an earlier visit in 1984 Mr Botha, then prime minister, laid the foundation stone for the memorial.



'Constitutional moves ailing'

Cape Times 31/10/86

Political Staff

IT HAS become increasingly apparent that the government's constitutional initiatives were grinding to a halt, the SA Institute of Race Relations says in its latest Quarterly Countdown.

The special second sitting of Parliament, which had been called to enact a bill to establish a national council as a vehicle for cabinet-level consultation with black leaders, failed to do so "evidently because the government's proposals evoked little significant support among Africans".

The proposed regional services councils "again came under attack from a wide spectrum of opinion, including the majority of black political organizations and much of the business community".

"Government plans to entrench segregated local government ran into resistance from coloured and Indian MPs, while attempts to introduce 'own' affairs administration in health and hospital services proved unworkable."

The third quarter of 1986 had also been marred by fears that forced removals had not been finally abandoned.

"In addition, two of the most important reforms that had taken place in the preceding quarter — the abolition of influx control and the passing of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act — were being undermined: it became clear that only a small proportion of denationalized Africans would actually get their South African citizenship back, while it also appeared that aliens legislation would be used to perpetuate or even tighten up influx control against denationalized people," the institute said.

Because of the perpetuation of "discriminatory practices on an ostensibly colour blind basis", the institute said it had introduced a new section, "backdoor apartheid", to monitor this.

For instance, the Aliens Act was ostensibly colour blind, "it will clearly be used mainly against Africans from the TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei) areas who are not South African citizens, which will be the great majority".

Another example of "backdoor apartheid" was the Trespass Act in terms of which "thousands of people were arrested annually for trespassing, most of them Africans".

While the process of gradual desegration continued, it sometimes stopped short of extending into the next logical areas. A section, called "marking time", had been introduced to monitor this.

Examples of this were government policies on mixed race couples, government schools, welfare and social segregation.

The third quarter of 1986 "did little to promote confidence in the government's commitment to political change capable of meeting even non-revolutionary black demands," the Institute said.

Indaba a precedent — Worrall

CAPE TIMES 31/10/86 (30417)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The KwaNatal Indaba was an important development and could draw KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into national politics, South Africa's ambassador to Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, has said here.

Dr Worrall was answering questions after addressing the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Asked what he thought about the Indaba, Dr Worrall said: "I believe it is a very important development which could create a precedent for other parts of the country."

He said it was understandable that the initiative had run into some difficulty because the participants were "getting down to the nitty-gritty of discussing power-sharing in the legislature".

He also said: "One of the virtues of the Indaba is that it could bring Chief Buthelezi into national politics."

Within the context of the National Statutory Council initiative, he said, the KwaZulu leader had made his participation dependent on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison.

"When Chief Buthelezi says he wants Mr Mandela out of prison he is doing so in the confidence that once out of prison Mr Mandela will become another political leader facing very real practical problems," Dr Worrall said.

Mr Mandela had become a "myth" both internationally and within South Africa.

"He is a very important factor in the South African situation."

Dr Worrall argued that it was quite reasonable for the government to ask Mr Mandela to renounce violence as a pre-condition for his release.

He placed the onus on the West to bring pressure to bear on the African National Congress to renounce violence.

"The West should tell the ANC: call South Africa's bluff but accept the open-ended negotiations."

In his address Dr Worrall said South Africa's future depended as much on the quality of leadership "both inside and outside South Africa" as it did on policies and constitutions.

He said the West made a fundamental error with its assumptions that white South Africa was uniquely evil and white South Africans a unique breed.

"You are not dealing with people who are arrogant but people who are very anxious and who feel very insecure about the future," he said.

Black liberation could only be achieved by assuring white African security, he added.