S.A. GOVT AND POLITICS

1986

JANUARY.

PW's reform p.

(3041) DISPATCH 1/2/86

Key points from speech

- **Creation of a national statutory council for blacks.**
- **Restoration of SA citizenship to blacks deprived of it as a result of homeland independence.**
- **Removal of influx control measures applying to SA citizens.**
- **Institution of an urbanisation strategy.**
- **Formulation of a development plan for less-developed areas.**
- **Involvement of black communities in decision-making.**
- **Establishment of a single education department.**
- **Granting of freehold property rights to blacks.**
- **Introduction of a uniform identity document to replace the pass book.**
- **Removal of discriminatory immigra-**



President Botha addresses Parliament yesterday.

Parliamentary Staff

CAPE TOWN — President P. W. Botha said in a special appearance on black television last night that far-reaching steps would be taken "in the next few months" to carry out the government's reform programme.

Making an unprecedented appeal for black co-operation in reform on TV2 and TV3 only hours after his official opening of Parliament, Mr Botha said: "I am glad that these major changes are being made because I know that our black citizens desire that they be implemented urgently.

"Now the time has come for us South Africans to join together to negotiate the structures that we want.

"My government wants to hear your views. It wants to speak with you and your leaders in a spirit of co-operation and dedication to the future of our country.

"We must all work together and talk to each which must accommodate all legitimate political aspirations of all the South African communities, must be negotiated."

Earlier, addressing parliament, Mr Botha said he intended to negotiate the establishment of a national statutory council which would meet under his chairmanship.

"I propose that this council should consist of representatives of the South AfricanGovernment, representatives of the governments of the self-governing national states, as well as leaders of other black communities and interest groups.

"Pending the creation of constitutional structures jointly to be

tion restrictions.

● **Restructuring of provincial government to involve all communities.**

● **Removal of "unnecessary restrictions" on entrepreneurship.**

● **Creation of a joint Southern African security organisation.**

● **Acceptance of an undivided Republic and one citizenship for all South Africans.**

● **Faith in the sovereignty of law as the basis for protection of fundamental rights.**

● **Protection of the dignity, life, liberty and property of all.**

● **Negotiation of a democratic system of government to accommodate the legitimate political aspirations of all South African communities.**

West reacts with cautious optimism

Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — President P. W. Botha's speech was received with cautious optimism by sympathetic Western leaders and international bankers and creditors yesterday.

But both politicians and bankers put more emphasis on the omissions than the positive elements of Mr Botha's speech to the opening of Parliament.

The Britsh Government welcomed "a number of significant proposals" in Mr Botha's "important speech".

A spokesman indicated that the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey [illegible] was studying the [illegible]ith the greater

While the French Government — normally quick to condemn "cosmetic reform" — said it was closely examining the speech, France's influential left-of-centre daily, Le Monde, described the speech as "significant" in a front page report.

Swiss banking sources said they were impressed with Mr Botha's remark that South Africa had outgrown the "outdated concept of apartheid".

In Zurich, the speech was welcomed as "positive" by former Swiss central banker Dr Fritz Leutwiler who is mediating in South Africa's foreign debt crisis.

[illegible]ful South Africa in which we and our children can live in peace and prosperity."

Recalling that he had consistently urged the country to adapt to the realities of changing circumstances since he became head of the government nearly eight years ago, Mr Botha said this had led to a commitment to negotiated change.

Through negotiation the government had become better informed on black aspirations.

He repeated what he had said in his opening speech that the government accepted an undivided country, one citizenship for all, protection of fundamental individual rights.

He also said: "We believe that a democratic system of government, agreed upon for our multi-cultural society, this council should consider and advise on matters of common concern, including proposed legislation on such matters."

The council could meet as often as needed.

Nationalist sources suggested shrotly after Mr Botha's opening speech that the proposed council could be seen as an "interim" measure through which to give blacks a direct say in legislation while negotiations for more permanent structures of government continued.

It is thought likely that Mr Botha or Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, would have sounded out black leaders on their willingness to participate before making the announcement.

More reports, reaction page 7.

Businessmen from Natal lobby in UK

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A high-powered delegation of Natal businessmen has arrived in Britain on a fact-finding mission.

The delegation attended a dinner in honour of the KwaZulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, given at the weekend by the South Africa Foundation.

They have made a presentation to the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) and are due to hold further meetings with British businessmen and the media later this week.

The delegation is headed by Mr Alex Hamilton, president of the Natal Chamber of Industry.

Its other members are Mr P G Gumede, president of the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce, Mr C Mouton, president of the Durban Afrikaanse Sakekamer, and Mr B Forssman, president of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce.

Their visit takes place against the background of a boycott of South African goods by leading British chain stores.

'Exploitative businessmen' blamed

● Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi said yesterday that political victories against apartheid would become meaningful to ordinary people only if they were accompanied by industrial development in South Africa.

Addressing bankers after giving evidence to the House of Commons African Affairs Committee, he said the present crisis in South Africa was caused by "exploitative businessmen" who had in the past been more interested in profits than social justice.

This was why the ANC "mission in exile" saw capitalism, and transnational corporations in particular, as the root of the problem.

"They and the organizations doing their fetching and carrying argue very fiercely that the country's economy must be destroyed and brought under the control of a future government by nationalizing major undertakings.

"I argue, very differently, that whether we like it or not, the free enterprise system is the most efficient system mankind has devised . . . to translate the kind of wealth with which South Africa is blessed into benefits for the people."

Huge crowd of mourners attend funeral of Molly Blackburn today

● From Page 1

did not lie in political analysis but in her remarkable grasp of the human condition. She exceeded any politics but embraced all at the deepest level.

"She epitomised the quality of a bridge so desperately needed in our land — and, like a bridge, sometimes people walked all over her. But she never minded, so long as she could unite black and white."

PFP personalities present included Mr Colin Eglin, the party's national chairman and MP for Sea Point, Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, Mr Peter Sole, MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Brian Goodall, MP for Edenvale, Mr Rupert Hurley, MPC for Claremont, and Mr Max Borkum, national finance chairman of the party.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, was unable to attend because he has to be in Maputo tomorrow for talks with President Samora Machel.

A large number of mourners from PE's black townships attended, including the PE president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, and the vice-president, Mr Henry Fazzie.

Mr Ian Marsh of the British consular staff in Cape Town also attended.

● **Fighter for the voteless — Page 10**

Thousands at Molly funeral



Expressions of sadness and shock are shown on the faces of family members as they sit beside the coffin of Mrs Molly Blackburn at St John's Church, Central, today. From the left are Mrs Blackburn's sons-in-law Mr PETE FELL and Mr BAYVARD COX, daughters Mrs GILLIAN COX and Mrs JUDY FELL, and son Mr ANDREW BLACKBURN. Mrs Blackburn, MPC for Walmer and a tireless champion for black rights, was killed on Saturday in a car smash.



Her legs still in plaster, Mrs DI BISHOP, who survived the crash in which her husband and Mrs Molly Blackburn were killed, received comfort and commiseration from many mourners at Mrs Blackburn's funeral in Port Elizabeth today. Another picture — Page 3.

Post Reporters

A HUGE crowd of about 12 000 black mourners gathered at St John's Church in Port Elizabeth Central today to join whites for the funeral of their lost champion, Mrs Molly Blackburn, who was killed in a car smash on Saturday.

They crammed adjoining streets from pavement to pavement for a radius of 200 metres from the church and their voices, raised in a powerful harmony outside the church, brought tears to the eyes of mourners inside.

Half an hour after the service started, busloads were still arriving from the townships.

In the end, 45 buses lined the streets. They came not only from the PE townships but from Grahamstown, Cradock, Uitenhage and Port Alfred.

More than an hour before the service mourners were filing into the church, which was packed long before it started. The crowd then filled the vestibule, the church courtyard and the street.

The crowd was predominantly black. Many were in traditional tribal dress.

In the church, a composed Dr Gavin Blackburn, Mrs Blackburn's husband, sat in the front row. He appeared overwhelmed by the number of mourners.

Dr Blackburn headed a 30-plus party of family mourners.

They included the four Blackburn children, Simon, Andrew, Josephine and Fenella, and two of Mrs Blackburn's children by her previous marriage to Mr Geoff Fletcher, Mrs Judy Fell and Mrs Gillian Cox.

The only child unable to attend was Mr Mark Fletcher, who is in the Sudan.

Also in the party were Mrs Blackburn's sister, Mrs Judy Chalmers, her brother, Mr John Pagden from Australia, Mr Nicholas Pagden and Mr Jeremy Pagden, both from Johannesburg, and her stepmother, Mrs L Pagden.

The MPC for Gardens, Mrs Di Bishop, whose husband, Mr Brian Bishop, also died in the crash, and Mrs Blackburn's sister, Mrs Judy Chalmers, chairman of the Black Sash in PE, who were injured in the accident, both attended the funeral service — Mrs Bishop in a wheelchair.

Mr Bishop, head of the Civil Rights League, will be buried in Cape Town on Saturday.

Over loudspeakers, the crowd heard Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and leader of the UDF, say of Mrs Blackburn: "Even in death she did what she did all her life — bring us together."

Heads of the Catholic, Methodist and Anglican churches as well as Mr Mkhuseli Jack, president of the PE Youth Congress, Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands and chairman of the PFP's Federal Council, and Mrs Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash also addressed the service.

Dr Boesak added of Mrs Blackburn: "She anticipated what this country can and should be. In South Africa there are few white people who have gained so much credibility and earned so much respect from us."

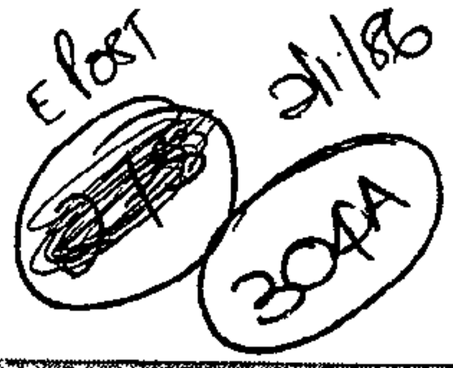
Mr Jack said: "She did not compromise with injustice".

Mrs Duncan said Mrs Blackburn and Mr Bishop had "changed the course of history, and their work will continue".

Dr Boraine said: "Her strength as a politician

● Turn to Page 3

Trouble averted after funeral



A COLUMN of United Democratic Front marshals formed up between a police cordon and thousands of emotional black mourners leaving the funeral of Mrs Molly Blackburn today — and averted what looked like developing into an explosive situation.

The strongly-armed police had formed up across the junction of Parliament Street and Lawrence Street close to the St John's Church where the funeral was held.

Bearing down on them was a huge crowd carring shoulder-high the Rev Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF, who had spoken at the service. As the crowd surged forward, Mr Boesak was ushered around the side of the cordon and the marshals then linked arms and blew whistles to maintain a human barrier between the crowd and the police.

It looked as if the crowd wanted to follow him, but using a loudhailer, Mr Henry Fazzie, vice-president of the UDF in Port Elizabeth, appealed for calm. He urged the crowd to return home peacefully and said he had spoken to a police major, asking for more space in which mourners could wait for buses.

The way in which order was maintained by the UDF was impressive.

Officials rode on the buses, and took instructions from the Traffic Department. Others shepherded them out of the area. All were in uniform.

The managing director of PE Tramways, Mr Carl Coetzer, personally supervised the flow of his company's buses.

While the mourners waited in sweltering heat, many joined in chanting and singing — certainly a new experience for most white onlookers who peered at the scene from flat balconies in the area.



The Reverend ALLAN BOESAK, patron of the UDF, is carried out shoulder-high from the funeral of Mrs Molly Blackburn at the St John's Methodist Church in Havelock Street today. Another picture — Page 2

Slabbert in Maputo for high-level talks

Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr van Zyl Slabbert is in Maputo today for high-level talks with the Mozambican Government.

Dr Slabbert would not be specific as to the purpose of his visit, except to confirm that he would be meeting with President Samora Machel. He will be issuing a statement later today.

'BYE MOLLY, SAY 20 000

304A
31/1/86
Soweto

A TUMULTUOUS crowd of close on 20 000 black mourners descended on St John's Church in Port Elizabeth Central yesterday to join whites for the funeral of their lost champion, Mrs Molly Blackburn, killed in a car smash on Saturday.

They crammed adjoining streets from pavement to pavement for a radius of 200 m from the church and their voices, raised in harmony outside the church, brought tears to the eyes of mourners inside.

In the end, 45 buses lined the streets. Mourners came from Port Elizabeth's townships, Grahamstown, Cradock, Uitenhage and Port Alfred.

Over loudspeakers the crowd heard Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the United Democratic Front, say of Mrs Blackburn: "Even in death she did what she did all her life — brought us together."

A full hour before the service began, their African hymns filled the air. Inside the church, some of the mourners stamped their feet, ululated, clapped their hands and sang with the crowd outside.

A composed Dr Gavin Blackburn, Mrs Blackburn's husband, and his family sat in the front row of the church. They appeared overwhelmed by the number of mourners present.

People living in nearby streets hung their heads out of windows and over balconies to watch the crowds.

As well as Dr Boesak, Mr Mkhuseli Jack, president of the PE Youth Congress, Dr Alex Boraine of the Progressive Federal Party and Mrs Sheena Duncan of Black Sash, addressed the service.

The inter-denominational service was also addressed by the heads of the Catholic, Methodist and Anglican churches.

Mr Jack blamed apartheid for her death, saying Mrs Blackburn had visited Oudtshoorn "to save them (black residents) from the vicious state of emergency".

"She did not compromise with injustice."

Mrs Duncan and Dr Boraine also referred to Mrs Blackburn having "died in the course of duty."

Mrs Duncan said Mrs Blackburn and Mr Brian Bishop, the leader of the Civil Rights League who died in the same crash, had "changed the course of history and their work will continue."

The PFP MPC for Gardens, Mrs Di Bishop, and Mrs Blackburn's sister, Mrs Judy Chalmers, who were injured in the accident, both attended the funeral service. — Sapa.

Jack not talking about boycott

By KIN BENTLEY

THE spokesman for the Consumer Boycott Committee, Mr Mkhuseli Jack, said today he did "not want to talk about" the possibility of the Port Elizabeth trade boycott being re-imposed.

He said that when he mentioned this possibility on Saturday, he was voicing "initial reaction" from the black community to the State President's speech on Friday.

On Saturday he said he received "calls for action, like consumer boycotts" as a result of the speech.

The boycott is scheduled to be resumed at the beginning of April, unless progress has been made in addressing various demands.

Asked today if the proposed national statutory council — to include blacks — and the promise to scrap influx control by July was not an indication of progress, Mr Jack said the State President should first have addressed the major demands like the release of detainees

"All that he said falls short. There are scores of people in prison."

He did not foresee black leaders participating in the council "as long as the security laws are there and there are detainees all over the place".

Furthermore, he said, Mr Botha "decided on it alone. We'll not support him as long as democracy is something he's ignorant of."

He said Mr Botha should have got round a table with "representatives of the people and decided with them".

He said this could only happen "when all the leaders are out".

Swop plan seems to have flopped

CAPE TOWN — The Government's latest plan to have Nelson Mandela released in exchange for two Soviet dissidents and a captured South African commando appears to have flopped.

Both Angola and the Soviet Union at the weekend rejected State President P W Botha's proposal to free the jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader "on humanitarian grounds".

His conditions were that Moscow release Jewish dissidents Dr Andre Sakharof and Mr Anatoly Sharanski and that Luanda free Captain Wynand du Toit.

But the Angolan Government has indicated that it might swop Captain du Toit, who was seized last year during a botched South African commando raid on United States-Angolan oil installations in the northern Angolan enclave of Cabinda, in exchange for Angolans and a Cuban allegedly held in South Africa.

A spokesman for the Soviet mission at the United Nations has reportedly said that Moscow was not interested in an exchange of Mr Mandela for Jewish dissidents.

Meanwhile, a reliable source has dismissed as "outlandish mystification" suggestions that the South African and US governments might have struck a deal on the swop proposed by Mr Botha in Parliament on Friday.

However, the subject was apparently broached during recent talks between the Government and the US Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

Reports from Bonn say that Mr Sharanski will be included in a swop of Eastern bloc and Western agents.

The swop, described as the biggest exchange of East bloc and Western agents in post-war history, has been arranged between Bonn, Washington, Moscow and East Berlin and will take place in the next few days.

Reports from London say Mr Botha's offer was seen as "impractical" in Western capitals

Whitehall officials said the offer appeared to be a last-minute addition to his speech. — Sapa-Reuter



Some of the crowd of about 20 000 who attended the funeral service for Mrs Molly Blackburn in Port Elizabeth yesterday. Mrs Blackburn died in a car smash on Saturday.

20 000 mourners sing at Blackburn burial

CAPE Times 3/1/86

PORT ELIZABETH. — Close on 20 000 black mourners descended on St John's Church in central Port Elizabeth yesterday to join whites for the funeral of their lost champion, Mrs Molly Blackburn, killed in a car smash on Saturday.

They crammed adjoining streets from pavement to pavement for a radius of 200m from the church and their voices, raised in harmony outside the church, brought tears to the eyes of mourners inside.

Forty-five buses lined the streets. Mourners came from PE townships, Grahamstown, Cradock, Uitenhage and Port Alfred.

Over loudspeakers, the crowd heard Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the UDF, say of Mrs Blackburn: "Even in death she did what she did all her life — bring us together."

A composed Dr Gavin Blackburn, Mrs Blackburn's husband, and his family sat in the front row of the church.

Mr Mkhuseli Jack, president of the PE Youth Congress, Dr Alex Boraine of the PFP and Mrs Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash also addressed the inter-de-



Mrs Molly Blackburn

nominational service.

Dr Boesak said Mrs Blackburn would "remain alive" because she lived and participated in the struggle for justice, peace and humanity.

"She anticipated what this country can and should be. In South Africa there are precious white people who have gained so much credibility and earned so much respect from us."

Mr Jack blamed apartheid for her death, saying Mrs Blackburn had visited Oudtshoorn "to save them (black residents) from the vicious state of emergency".

Mrs Duncan said Mrs Blackburn and Mr Brian Bishop, the leader of the Civil Rights League who died in the same crash, had "changed the course of history and their work will continue".

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The PFP MPC for Gardens, Mrs Di Bishop, and Mrs Blackburn's sister, Mrs Judy Chalmers, chairwoman of the Black Sash in PE, who were injured in the accident, both attended the funeral service — Mrs Bishop in a wheelchair.

Mourners included the PE president of the UDF, Mr Edgar Ngoyi.

● The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Eastern Province, Brigadier Ernest Schnetler, yesterday issued an order under emergency regulations prohibiting any memorial service for Mrs Blackburn from taking place in the PE magisterial district tomorrow.

A separate order also forbade those without police permission from entering the area of the Feather Market Hall, where the UDF, Black Sash and the Ministers Fraternal had planned to hold the service. — Sapa and Own Corre-

Cosby show returns to TV4

Staff Reporter

THE popular sitcom "Three's Company", which has dominated as the number one TV1 show and has been top of the combined TV1/TV4 poll for at least three months, is about to be ousted.

From Saturday, January 11, all-time favourite "The Cosby Show", featuring the irrepressible Huxtable clan, will return to the TV4 screen at 9.33pm — and undoubtedly the top slot. The Cosby Show contains its own little "Cliff-hanger" — whether an anti-apartheid poster stuck on one of the children's bedroom door will feature prominently on our screens.

When the first episode of the Huxtable family saga was screened on NBC on December 12 in 1984, American daily newspapers said it was the second highest rated regular episode of a weekly series in American TV history.

It scored a mammoth 36,2 rating, meaning that 36,2 percent of all the TV sets in America were tuned in. This was a 53 percent share of the audience (65-million

President dare not repeat Durban disaster

CAPE Times 3/1/86

30CA



London Dateline
By STANLEY UYS

PRESIDENT P W Botha has had one traumatic experience of raising expectations of apartheid reform and then dashing them — his disastrous Durban speech last August. He is determined not to repeat the experience.

This is why Pretoria is putting out the word that not too much should be expected of the speech the State President will make later this month

It is a futile wish though Expectations have already been raised, and not only in South Africa. Internationally, the same expectations exist, and rightly so.

It would be astonishing if it were otherwise. With the country in the state it is in, everyone wants to know what President Botha will do next. And he will have to tell them.

The speech which President Botha will make later this month will be the most important a Nationalist leader has made since 1948. The country is in political and economic crisis and it is the State President's duty to explain how he proposes to resolve this crisis.

Black unrest shows no signs of abating; more than 1 000 blacks have died in the past 16 months and since the declaration of the state of emergency on July 21 deaths have increased, not diminished.

Mistaken

The new year clearly is going to bring in even more violence. Activists in the black townships are hyped up as never before; black schoolchildren, inspired by the slogan "Liberation before the next schoolterm", intend to resume their boycott of classes; the cycle of deaths-funerals-deaths has become a kind of perpetual motion; and the black boycott of white stores is spreading.

Many young blacks believe the apartheid state needs only one more push to topple it and although they are badly mistaken, this is their perception, and it needs only perceptions like these to keep the unrest simmering indefinitely.

The police have shown that they do not have the answer to the unrest. The tougher they get, the more deep-seated the unrest appears to become. Just as General Magnus Malan once warned that there is no military solution for South Africa's problems, so General Johann Coetzee should admit now that there is no police solution either.

The only solution is a political one, and this must come from President Botha when he addresses the nation in a few weeks.

Recent developments, like the landmine explosions in the Northern Transvaal, the massacre of refugees in Lesotho and the bomb blast in Amanzimtoti, suggest not only a spiral of retaliation and counter-retaliation, but also that the unrest is breaking out of the black townships, where it has been largely confined for the past 16 months, and penetrating the white areas.



President P W Botha . . . his speech in Parliament later this month will be the most important a Nationalist leader has made since 1948.

South Africa may be entering a new and uncontrolled situation. Until recently, both sides — the government and black organizations — could calculate with reasonable precision how far they were prepared to go and what the consequences of their actions might be. This has changed now.

Now irresistible momentums are being created on both sides and consequences can no longer be predicted as accurately. Certainly, if the country faces a bombing campaign in white areas, the chances of reform will diminish by the week.

President Botha has very little time left, therefore, in which to act. The brief moment when the government might have been able to talk to the ANC appears to have passed, and who can it talk to now? Other black organizations, if anything, are even more intransigent. All the government is left with is homeland leaders who carry little weight in the urban townships, where the unrest rages from month to month.

These facts are known to international observers, like governments and business leaders, who understand fully the importance of the speech President Botha will be making. It is no use President Botha telling them not to interfere in South Africa's affairs: they are already deeply involved and have been for many years — and with South Africa's approval and encouragement.

They have a vested interest in what President Botha is going to say, and if he does not offer them hope, then without a shadow of doubt they are either going to withdraw from South Africa, or be dragged down the slippery slope of sanctions.

Foreign interests

The sudden growth of the sanctions campaign should be a warning to Pretoria: what was unthinkable yesterday is thinkable today and what is unthinkable today will be thinkable tomorrow. The sanctions campaign, and this includes trade sanctions, is beginning to acquire an organic life of its own.

President Botha should bear these foreign interests in mind when he announces his reforms. Like Cosatu and Bishop Desmond Tutu, they — and this includes the Commonwealth and the EEC — also have their deadlines. Just as ominous are the situations where there are no deadlines — where countries which feel that the time for ultimatums and negotiations is past are planning to intensify unilateral sanctions.

I have been talking to some of South Africa's foreign interest-holders and they have come up with some suggestions which might be useful to Pretoria as it grapples with the question of reform:

□ First, if reforms are not adequate, there is a distinct danger of South Africa drifting out of the Western economic orbit.

The diminished value of both assets and profits of foreign companies, because of the collapse of the rand, plus the "hassle" factor of anti-apartheid pressure to disinvest, has placed the question of withdrawal from South Africa on the agendas of boards all around the world.

□ Second, 1986 is widely seen as crunch year for South Africa, and if President Botha does not share this realization, this sense of urgency, then he cannot even begin to cope with the problem.

□ Third, when President Botha announces his reforms, he must make quite sure whom he is addressing. If he intends to speak only to his own followers, over a closed line and in apartheid code, he might as well abandon the exercise now — it will have no impact whatever.

His reform package will have to be couched in terminology understandable to a Western democratic audience.

The more moderate members of this audience appreciate the importance of President Botha's recognition of a single citizenship in a geographically united South Africa — they know how radically this departs from previous homeland thinking — but, they point out, this only takes South Africa back to where it was in 1948.

□ Fourth, the homelands, whether independent or non-independent, are seen as a peripheral, not central, issue. Any new constitutional master-plan, therefore, which concentrates only on linking the homelands with the central white institutions, will be seen not as a bold step forward, but as an evasion of the fundamental issue of political rights for blacks.

Explanation

The point is there are very few South Africans who really understand what is meant by federalism, confederalism, consociation or — the new buzz word — ethno-geographic federalism, as these words are used by Pretoria's constitution-makers. As for outsiders, hardly any of them even want to understand what the terms mean — unless they include a precise explanation of the political rights blacks outside the homelands can be expected to enjoy.

President Botha's problem is that if his foreign audience, from New York bankers and State Department experts to chairmen of Western European companies and media commentators, find the reform package incomprehensible, they are going to turn elsewhere for an explanation of what it means.

And where else can they turn except to the white opposition in South Africa, and more particularly to the black population? And we can all tell President Botha now what the reaction of the black population will be: they will either be totally uninterested or totally contemptuous. President Botha may feel this is unfair, but there it is.

So President Botha had better watch his words, because he will be casting the die. If he presents the package of reforms in the usual constitutional gobbledegook, raising more questions than he answers, he will be doing as much harm to South Africa as he did with his Durban speech.

Because then, in the confusion that will follow the speech, the definitive verdict will be passed by the black radicals, who know already exactly what they will say.

Clarity and simplicity have never been the hallmarks of Pretoria's constitution-makers, but they had better be the hallmarks of President Botha's speech to the nation later this month.

If Westerners raised in the democratic tradition cannot understand the speech, then it will have served no constructive purpose whatever.

sunrise news

PFP leader 'disturbed' after Maputo trip

Slabbert to raise Nkomati issue

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Mozambique's allegations of South Africa's violation of the Nkomati Accord could become a major issue in the new session of Parliament.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said last night he had been extremely disturbed by what he had heard during his visit to Maputo yesterday.

On the strength of what he heard, Dr Slabbert said that he would definitely be raising the matter during the session.

The South African Government has consistently claimed that it has not violated the spirit of the agreement.

Accompanied by his father-in-law, Mr R P Stephens, a former Swaziland Minister of Finance, Dr Slabbert met Mozambique's President Samora Machel for an hour.

Prior to that, he was briefed thoroughly on the "Gorongosa papers" by the Minister of State Security, Mr Sergio Veirra.

The papers were among documents captured by the Mozambique Government in an attack on the country's rebel bush headquarters.

They incriminate South Africa in what was apparently a series of Nkomati violations.

Dr Slabbert said he came away with clear impressions that there was no doubt in the Mozambique Government's mind about the South African Defence Force and Government's violation of the Accord before, while it was planned, and after it had been signed.

No doubt

"There is no doubt in their minds that Renamo has no independent viability as a movement and that it is simply an extension of the SADF.

"The Cahora Bassa scheme, for example, has been made inoperative because of the support for Renamo.

"All this, they assured me, has been conveyed in no uncertain terms to the South African Government," Dr Slabbert said.

He added that he had been extremely disturbed by the allegations

"I believe it is absolute folly and political lunacy for us to be involved in any kind of regional destabilisation and I certainly intend to probe this issue as throughly as possible with the South African authorities."

The Star's Africa News Service reports that Dr Slabbert told journalists in Maputo he had initially been enthusiastic both about the Nkomati Accord, and about Pretoria's promises of domestic reform.

"From 1983 until the middle of last year, I thought there was a chance of regional cooperation and domestic reform," he said.

"Since then I sense deterioration both inside South Africa and regionally".

Govt urged to scrap race classification

Mercury
4/1/82

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Labour Party yesterday adopted a motion urging the Government to repeal the Population Registration Act with a view to creating a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

The motion, which was introduced by the Natal and Cape Peninsula regions of the party, received strong support from the congress and was unanimously adopted.

LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse introduced an amendment calling for the establishment of a parliamentary select committee to investigate the feasibility of a geographical, non-racial federal system of government. Congress also agreed to the formation of a House of Representatives special committee which would further investigate such a proposal.

Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, described moves to repeal the Act as 'the most important motion of the congress'. He also urged members not to adopt an all-or-nothing approach but to adopt a consistent strategy.

'Our fight against apartheid is unending,' he said.

Congress was told the scrapping of the Act was the 'one Rubicon which still had to be crossed'.

Delegates condemned the presence of the Act on the statute books and described it as 'un-Christian', 'dehumanising', and 'obnoxious'. The Act was seen as a Nationalist ploy to 'create minorities and divide and rule', congress was told.

Mr Desmond Lockey, a nominated MP, said the maintenance of the Act in an era of reform was 'paradoxical' because it thrived on 'group conflict'.

'The National Party must realise that they are not the only actors in the South African political arena,' Mr Lockey said.

Congress also adopted the following motions:

That the demands of the Griqua people as contained in a President's Council report now be implemented, including the re-allocation of land to them; and

That the Government clarify its intentions with regard to constitutional development and reform, prescribing that such a plan accommodate all South Africans.

Those wasted years



S.T. 5/1/86 · 3041A

Three times we have denied black rights. Now we must negotiate — not just reform

By JOHAN DEGENAAR, Professor of Political Philosophy at Stellenbosch

IN the Gospel according to Thomas, we read: "If you bring forth what is within you, what you bring forth will save you. If you do not bring forth what is within you, what you do not bring forth will destroy you."

The psychological depth of this statement is not difficult to grasp — but what we need in South Africa today is the application of this insight.

Let us start with the situation in 1985. The violence inherent in our society was unleashed, and all saw that we are indeed the violent society that political philosophers always judged us to be.

Events during 1985 emphasised the importance of the 1976 uprisings, when black youths claimed a say for blacks in decision-making processes. These events also revealed the restless mood of blacks and set the tone for politics in the years ahead

People often ask: why did we experience this intensive and widespread aggressiveness during 1985, when President Botha was busy introducing substantial reforms with regard to the Immorality Act, Mixed Marriages Act, freehold rights to blacks and influx control? And why will this aggressiveness continue even when the Group Areas Act is repealed?

If we limit our view to 1985, it will be difficult to answer these questions. But if we look at our history, the answers come more easily.

There are crucial events in our past when basic mistakes were made because opportunities to accept blacks as South African citizens were misused to entrench the position of the whites

Fatal

I focus on three constitutionally important events: the formation of Union in 1910, obtaining Republican status in 1961 and the introduction of the New Constitution in 1984 These are all hallmarks of black exclusion.

The introduction of the New Constitution was not only a mistake, it was a fatal mistake, for it excluded blacks at a decisive stage of our history, when we should have realised we had a second chance to right the wrongs of the past.

The role of verligtes in this disastrous affair, which remains an irrevocable insult to blacks, is now part of our unhappy history. We are busy paying a heavy price for the wrong decision made in 1910, which was so confidently reaffirmed in 1983

The tragic contradiction of reform-minded verligtes has now become the legacy of a verligte PW This tragic contradiction is confirmed by the fact that genuine reforms are made, but are not acknowledged as such.

Counter-productive

It is extremely tragic for a country when right is perceived as wrong. But it is inevitable, for the framework in which the reforms are introduced by the President is unacceptable for those to whom it applies. I refer to the framework of white hegemony, within which the rulers decide unilaterally on concessions they are willing to grant to blacks.

Even a reformist move in 1986 to co-opt blacks into a white-dominated system will be rejected. We have arrived at a stage in our history when reform has become counter-productive. Let us at least realise this in 1986. Blacks will not accept a reform process in which they have no participation.

We are in for a difficult time. It is true that revolution is not around the corner, but it is equally true that blacks are not going to accept piecemeal engineering of reform-minded whites.

They want to be accepted as citizens in a democratic society, and for this they are willing to sacrifice their lives.

Negotiation

The way out of this impasse is negotiation — real negotiation — not sham negotiation. Formulated in extreme terms what we need in South Africa is not reform but negotiation Only reform which is the product of negotiation will be acceptable to blacks.

There are various groups which have a stake in the power struggle. The role of Buthelezi, for example, should not be underestimated. But I concentrate only on two of the main powers involved. These are the whites, as represented by the Government, and the blacks, as represented by the African National Congress

The mistakes made by these two partners are easy to identify.

On the side of the whites: the continual constitutional rejection of blacks and the use of structural violence inherent in the apartheid system.

On the side of the blacks: the introduction of physical violence in strategy and involvement in the crippling of our economy through boycotts and disinvestment, which lead to unemployment, frustration and polarisation.

If we choose polarisation rather than negotiation, we will move inevitably into a Lebanon and Northern Ireland situation of violence and counter-violence, based on the principles of revenge and counter-revenge

Events in the recent past suggest we are gradually moving into a spiral of violence which is too ghastly to contemplate All the unnecessary killings are sowing the seeds of hatred

How sad that a black leader has to proclaim on December 16, in reference to the violence caused by the proposed incorporation of the Moutse district into the KwaNdebele homeland: "The Afrikaner does not understand any language but the language of violence."

Traumatic

Let us not think that bargaining for a just constitution will be an easy process. It will be most difficult for all concerned, and especially traumatic for the whites, who will have to accept that the blacks constitute a majority in a democratic South Africa

The bargaining process will be difficult, because black and white do not operate in a vacuum They are actors in history, and history is claiming its due.

Laurens van der Post would call our historical situation "the raw material of our salvation". This is a powerful, positive call to reconciliation. It is a liberating idea, but then there should at least be signs of our willingness to be saved and to take responsibility for a shared future.

Structural and physical violence in the country, continuing political crises, economic depression and international sanctions against South Africa can contribute to a historical consciousness among South Africans It is to the advantage of all citizens if we realise South Africa is not merely a geographical unit, but first and foremost a historical reality.

This insight should influence participants to realise what the unfinished business of our history is and to tackle that problem even before we contemplate reform.

The psychological and historical dimensions of our lives are intertwined. No man is an island. The issue is clear The choice concerns the life and death of a nation and a country. This choice is in our hands.

Slabbert to raise Renamo diaries

3041A

By HILTON HAMANN

THE Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has transcripts of the infamous Gorongoza documents, and will be using them to raise questions in the upcoming no-confidence debate in the House.

The transcripts were presented to him during a meeting in Maputo on Friday with Mozambique's President Samora Machel and senior Mozambican Cabinet Ministers.

"I will most certainly be raising questions arising from the Vaz diaries in the next parliamentary session," said Dr Slabbert, speaking from Swaziland, where he is on a family visit.

"If these documents are proved to be correct they then make a farce of the whole parliamentary process," he said.

B S.I.S 5/1/86

Sabotage

The documents were allegedly discovered during an attack on the headquarters of Renamo at Gorongoza by Frelimo in August last year.

They had apparently been written by secretaries of the Renamo leader, Mr Alfonso Dhlakama, and allegedly showed deliberate attempts by the SADF to sabotage the fragile Nkomati Accord.

"The Mozambicans do not doubt that Renamo has no independent political viability and is simply an extension of the South African Defence Force deliberately destabilising Mozambique and preventing economic development," Dr Slabbert said.

"An example they cite is the fact that the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric system is systematically kept inoperative because of Renamo activities.

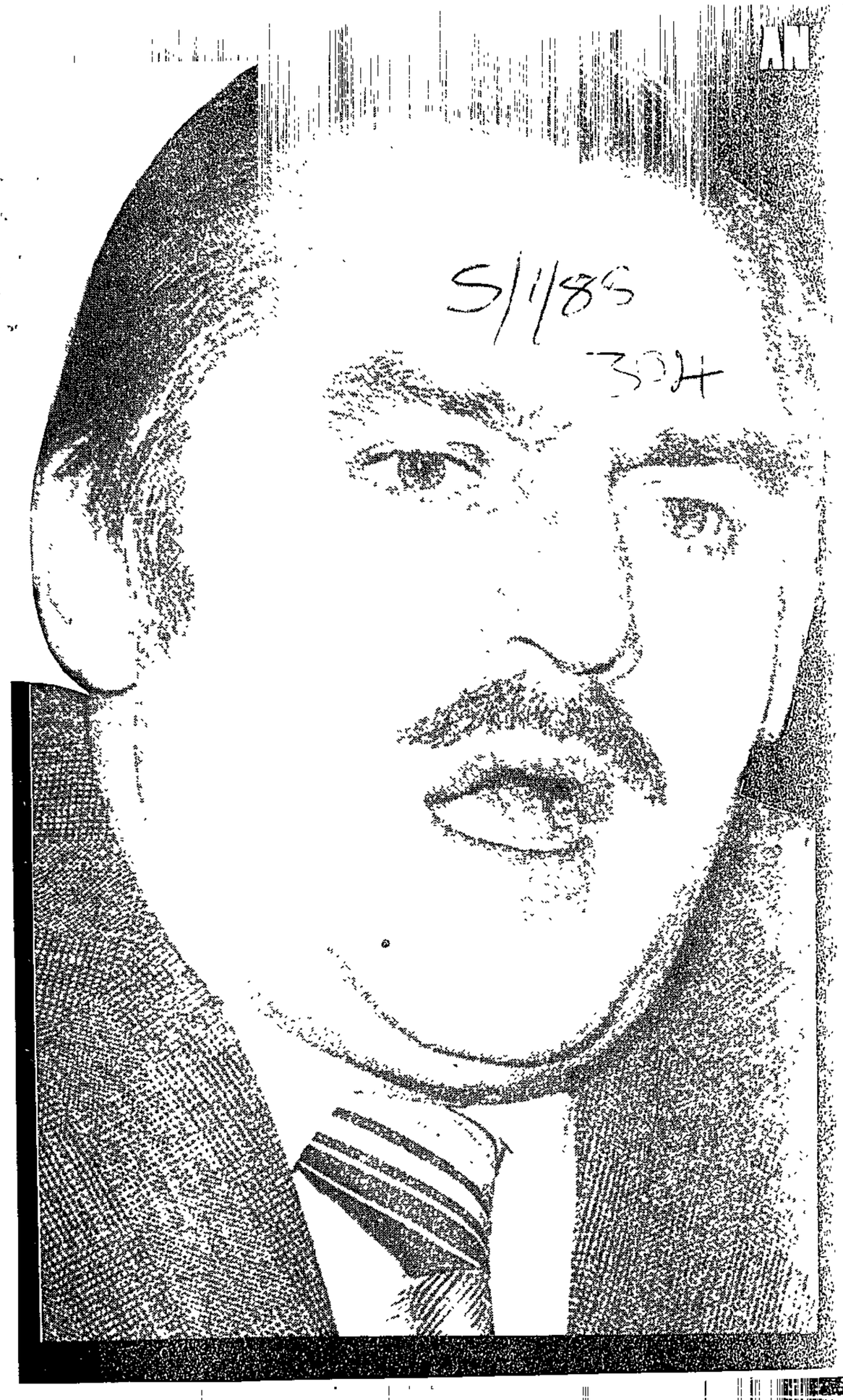
"I find these statements extremely disturbing and have every intention of probing their validity in the forthcoming session of Parliament."

The diaries became the centre of a political storm in September last year when it was suggested that the SADF was deliberately violating Nkomati without the knowledge of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

AN OUTSIDER IN SOUTH AFRICA — PART 2

Don't forget, said Pik, some whites also favour violence...

LAST WEEK, Peter Taylor, chief foreign correspondent of the London Sunday Telegraph, described the mood of black and coloured activists he talked to while travelling round South Africa. In this second article, written for British readers, he reports on white opinions — from a suspicious and grouchy Pik Botha to an oddly jocular Dr Andries Treurnicht and an impatient Gavin Relly of Anglo-American . . .



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PIK BOTHA, South Africa's Foreign Minister, seemed in a tetchy mood. It took him a few moments to look up from his desk in the Union Buildings, Pretoria, and then he loped across the room with his shirt-tail hanging out, drawing heavily on a cigarette.

He was cordial, but plainly had other things on his mind.

"My enemies are always making work for me," he growled, and we sat down.

Before I had a chance to ask him about the Government's controversial reforms, he began reading from a document which listed his guidelines. "Domination of any community — rejected. Racial discrimination — rejected."

He let the paper fall with a flourish. "It is very unfair to accuse us of something which we ourselves reject. We accept power-sharing. The only thing to be worked out is how and with whom. We accept it in principle from local government to the highest level of government."

Mr Botha has a habit of interrupting questions.

"International reaction has been unremittingly hostile . . ." I was saying.

"We get no support, no encouragement. The answer we get is 'slam them, give 'em hell'. Whatever we do we've got to sell to our own public first, our own voters — and we've done it. It's my task to get up in front of white audiences in the rural areas and tell them to accept it.

"Would you not expect a reasonable government or person abroad to say 'Dammit, these blokes have done a lot of work in a year. They have moved from apartheid to a completely new era, seeking common ground, common citizenship, property rights for blacks, permanence for blacks in the white areas, voting rights for blacks'?"

"I take the point, Mr Botha . . ."

"All we hear is 'Unless you bloody do this — more punitive measures'. This is a concerted action. I say to you, the media, you've been penetrated."

"By whom?"

"Heaven knows by whom, but never have I come across such a lie being perpetrated. We are not interested in talking to the media any more, I want to be blunt with you."

This didn't sound too promising, but I asked Mr Botha what sort of federal arrangements — in principle — he was thinking about.

"I am not going to discuss this in public. The principle is power-sharing."

"But the Government is being criticised even by whites for not sounding a certain note."

"The moment I sound a certain note I've got to spell out now how I think the blueprint will look. The moment I do that it's shot down, both from the Right and from the Left."

"I realise that, but don't you think your reforms have been badly received precisely because you won't spell them out in detail?"

"I'm sorry, I disagree. Our enemies saw the various statements made step by step by my President — and he could not make them all at once — and as they perceived that this Government was doing the unexpected, they feared that there were blacks who would negotiate.

"That would have robbed the radicals of their objective — seizing power.

"It doesn't matter what we announced in terms of reform. Unless we had capitulated to the African National Congress, nothing, nothing, would have given us a favourable Press."

The Foreign Minister was looking wounded and belligerent at the same time. He never lets his eyes off you for a second.

"But many people simply don't believe that whites are going to give up power," I said.

He leaned forward and emphasised each word: "White domination will disappear."

"So at the highest level of government whites can be outvoted by other groups?"

"I didn't say that. It is quite possible that the various communities — and not necessarily ethnic ones — might decide on a form of government where consensus is the basic rule. As a matter of fact all African countries are governed today on a consensus basis."

"Isn't a coalition government more likely?"

He forcefully exhaled a cloud of smoke and shook his head. "I'm not going to be painted into a corner."

But with no real negotiations taking place, wasn't he painted into a corner anyway?

"Negotiations are difficult. Black leaders themselves are having difficulty in talking to one another. On occasion I've been told 'Minister, if you talk to that man, don't come back and talk to me again'."

"Wouldn't the release of Nelson Mandela bring about a new climate ..." I had started.

"Yes," he interrupted, digging the air with his forefinger. "It can change the climate to the point where this Government will be blamed for terrorists who explode bombs and kill innocent people.

"That would make further negotiations completely impossible. Completely."

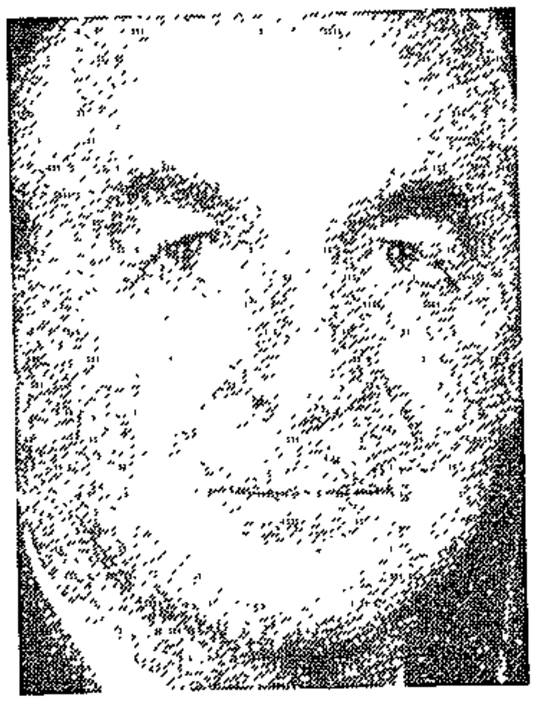
"But Africa is full of terrorists who became politicians. What's so special about Mandela?"

He thought for a little while. "You seem to forget that there are also whites in this country who may be in favour of violence in order to achieve their political purposes.

"The citizens of this country must know that there can be no long-term stable solution on the basis of violence."

After some answers he slumped back in his chair, like a boxer assessing how the round had gone. I felt this was the end of a very one-sided bout.

"Aren't you going to lose support to the right wing?" I asked.



Mr GAVIN RELLY

Said Relly: I don't see the ANC as the alternative government here

"It's a human phenomenon that when there is change people tend to cling to that which was known to them. A lot of our voters know we are going to share power.

"They ask me at meetings 'Are blacks going to sit with you in government one day?' and the answer is 'Yes'. It's the clearest evidence that we are sincere."

As I got up to leave he observed that British industry was in a bad way and scowled: "The day will come when we will show you more sympathy than you have shown us."

He turned sharply on his heel and stalked off to deal with more enemies.

Perhaps Pik Botha's most powerful ally in hastening change is big business — and they don't come any bigger than the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa whose chairman, Gavin Relly, recently brushed aside protocol and flew to Lusaka for man-to-man talks with the ANC chairman, Oliver Tambo.

But even Mr Relly is unclear about the Government's precise intentions.

He prefers to talk instead — in almost Thatcherite terms — of shared values in business and politics.

"If we're going to have a free enterprise society, the political implications of that is a free choice society. People must be allowed to associate together for political purposes on a colour-blind basis."

Fine, I said, but the very idea is anathema to some whites.

"If there are groups of white people who are unable to live with the idea of a multiracial society, which inevitably there are, they should have the right to negotiate out.

"Conventionally, they have always wanted to break off the black people and keep the heartland of South Africa, which is intolerable. But if they want to negotiate an area of totally white dominance which isn't the heartland, then I see no objection in principle."

"You mean white Bantustans?"

"Absolutely."

I asked him about his overtures to Oliver Tambo. Given the ANC's Marxist orientation, wasn't this a case of turkeys voting for Christmas?

He gave a fruity little snort. "I personally don't envisage the ANC as an alternative government of South Africa. Of course, there are a number of conceptions among black people here which are not entirely favourable to capitalism and you can hardly blame people who have no capital, or no chance of acquiring it, for taking that view.

"But we have to move into an identifiably free enterprise system. It's lack of free choice which has really been the impediment to our growth and development."

Mr Relly is bullish, but white fears about reform are succinctly expressed in a recent letter to the Johannesburg Star from "Prove me Wrong", of Kew (these quaint pen names are very popular). "South African whites," he writes, "who, through a combination of our own mistakes and the insidious cunning of communist propaganda and media-manipulation, have lost the sympathy of the entire Western world, will be systematically eliminated."

The propaganda offensive being conducted against them is a deeply sensitive subject for most whites. (Can you imagine the media making Mr P W Botha look as "human" as Mr Gorbachev?).

The South African Government responds with its own ineffectual counter-propaganda. But sweet-talking is not an Afrikaner characteristic and neither is efficiency in communication. There is no Dr Goebbels here.

If there is apprehension about the long-term future, there are also more pressing financial worries. With inflation running at 18 percent a year, economic analysts are concerned that the modest boost given to the economy a month ago will produce hyper inflation within a year.

The fall in the rand has put up import costs sharply and, since most manufactures contain an imported element, this is already feeding through into higher prices.

At present, wages and salaries show little sign of catching up.

Small wonder that a recent survey suggests that South Africa is losing 3 000 skilled whites a month through emigration.

Another poll indicates that 18 percent of the country's English-speaking whites expect to leave within five years. (All over Africa you see a kind of Lost Tribe of Empire trying to adjust to changed circumstances but talking moodily of moving on to even stranger places.)

That same poll, however, showed that only three percent of Afrikaans-speaking whites were thinking of leaving. In trying to understand the pressures on Mr Botha's Government, this point cannot be made too strongly: the Afrikaners have nowhere else to go.

The fears of whites are met in the little town of Sasolburg, which two months ago threw out its Nationalist MP at a by-election and replaced him with a member of the ultra-Right Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Sasolburg, an hour's drive south from Johannesburg, was created by, and takes its name from, the vast Sasol plant which converts low-grade coal into petrol, diesel and jet fuel.

In itself it is a potent symbol of South Africa's determination to resist external pressures (oil is the only important commodity in which the country is not self-sufficient).

The plant was attacked by guerrillas in 1980 (another Sasol installation in the Cape was attacked only last month) and it now resembles a fortress. Two razor-wire fences run the length of a perimeter which is further reinforced by cylindrical concrete watch-towers.

Flames and fumes are belched into the air in a process which originated in Germany in the Second World War. "I believe it helped to keep Hitler going for the last 18 months," the public relations lady said blandly.

A few hundred yards from one side

of the wire is the black township of Zamdelka, mainly bleak single-storey hostels for migrant workers.

A few hundred yards from the other side is Sasolburg itself, a meticulously-planned garden town which, for the past seven years, has won the title of "Fairest town in the Free State".

The basic industries which support the 30 000 whites and 22 000 blacks are less susceptible to recession than most (unemployment among both groups is negligible), but whites are having to make their money go further these days.

Holidays are being cut out and there is a tendency to make the car last four years instead of two (the car repossession business is something of an economic growth point).

So Sasolburg voted against the Government. "People here have no funds to emigrate and start somewhere else," said a businessman. "They've nothing to lose."

A young lawyer who is active in the HNP told me that when he went round canvassing everyone grumbled they didn't know what the Government's policy was any more. But even the HNP has been imperceptibly shifting its ground.

The lawyer was deeply shocked that a mixed marriage had recently taken place nearby ("Right here! On our doorstep!")

But he went on: "There cannot be a white South Africa without blacks. They will live here. But under our conditions; and if they don't like it, it must be possible for them to go to their own state and make a living there. We are already subsidising these states, but we will have to pay more if necessary. It's the only way."

I drove around town again: the hellish industrial complex, blacks browsing through the pretty shopping arcade, tanned housewives on their way to tennis. There were three places to eat: the restaurant, the hotel and the Wimpy Bar — all desegregated.

"This is what gets me," the lawyer had said. "You have no choice. If I want to eat with whites I have to drive 10 miles." I ate in the hotel, which was empty.

"It's like a morgue in here," said the manager, "even on pay days."

The HNP's victory in Sasolburg gave it its only parliamentary seat, so the main rightwing opposition to the Government still comes from the Conservative Party (18 seats) led by Dr Andries Treurnicht.

I met Dr Treurnicht — known as "Dr No" because of his implacable resistance to the dismantling of apartheid — at the party's offices, a modest suburban house in Johannesburg.

"We'll eat in the garden," an aide said. "At least we'll know we're not being bugged."

"Are you bugged as well?" I asked.

"I wouldn't put anything past this Government," she replied.

Dr Treurnicht, a dapper, formal man, appeared. He turned down a drink ("I'm not a beer man") and opted for apple juice.

Despite his stern, gold-rimmed spectacles he reminded me irresistibly in voice and manner of Victor Borge: deadpan remarks suddenly punctuated by a bark of vulnerable laughter.

"Some people think you shouldn't use the word apartheid because it can be pronounced 'apart-hate'." This whimsy produced a subterranean chortle.

The Conservative Party is only three years old but he took encouragement, he said, from the speed with which the Nationalists came to power in 1948. He was not against "reform in



Dr ANDRIES TREURNICHT

Said 'Dr No': The Nationalists have lost their nerve; they're jellyfish

principle", but immediately we ran into the tangled semantics of South African politics.

What Dr Treurnicht means by reform is separate parliaments for separate ethnic states: the fulfilment of classical apartheid.

He picked at a salad. "The Nationalists have lost their nerve and their policy. Jellyfish, all of them. The end of the road is a unitary state — blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians jointly taking part in political decision-making.

"It's a matter of proportionality and it stands to reason that the black people will simply take over. We see no future for the white man in that process, and not even for blacks."

Dr Treurnicht is a devout Christian and a former minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. So I asked him about the moral basis for apartheid.

"I would say even the Biblical basis for separate development is the acknowledgement in Scripture not only of the diversity of peoples but of the existence of peoples on the basis of separate areas.

"St Paul comes along and says that God is responsible for the creation of nations, and that it is pre-determined where they will live and proliferate. And His will is fulfilled in history despite the mistakes people make.

"All of a sudden what we would call nationalism, or the feeling for one's own people, was negatively described as racism. I wouldn't call recognising differences of race, racism."

Neither would I, I said, but the problem arises when you begin to evaluate those differences. That runs contrary, not only to modern egalitarian fashions, but to the Christian doctrine that we are all equal in the eyes of God.

The doctor's eyes narrowed. His cheek muscles trekked stoically on through the beef. "Some say that because all people are equal in the eyes of God they should be equal in political expression — in the same structures, in the same residential areas, in the same land. And I think that's going a bit too far."

"You're going to lose this fight, aren't you?" I said.

"No, because what we stand for isn't something strange. The whole set-up in Europe is a model for Africa. Various ethnic and cultural groups exist on the basis of separateness as to land. We say that's a sound principle to apply here, where the differences are even greater.

These ideas sounded strange to British ears, I said.

"That's because you are not involved in a struggle for survival. In the Second World War you had something of that in Britain, fighting for the British way of life."

P W Botha, the doctor went on, was changing things without consultation, by sleight of hand.

"Take the Mixed Marriages Act. Two years ago we were asked to look at how the Act could be improved — not abolishing the principle. Then suddenly it was gone."

"You would restore the Mixed Marriages Act, would you?"

"Oh yes. We would restore that."

"But why should the State interfere with love — or lust, for that matter?"

"We accept the right of a people to protect its identity and if a people's identity is endangered by large-scale marriage into different racial groups, we say the Government is entitled to take certain steps."

"But which take precedence: a person's status as a human being or his status as an Afrikaner or an Englishman?"

"Well, you may consider joining a country where you are just another individual. But in our society such a person is a foreign object in the community. It's an intrusion."

Didn't he think, I asked him finally, that this cultural isolationism, as much as neglect or greed, had betrayed the white man's civilising mission in Southern Africa?

The doctor was patient and deliberate, like an instructor with a particularly dim apprentice.

"The civilising mission did not produce European Zulus. Leading people by the process of education does not mean that a Zulu becomes a sort of non-cultural being.

"Take a man like Buthelezi (Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi, head of the Zulu political and cultural organisation Inkatha). He's a civilised man and a Christian. But Buthelezi is a Zulu nationalist, and sometiems I think he's a Zulu imperialist.

"Or take Desmond Tutu. His black consciousness is frightening."

To the outside world the pace of change may seem pedestrian, but there is no doubt that classical apartheid is being relentlessly dismantled. The granting of black freehold rights in the townships a week ago removes yet another cornerstone of the old order, and further urban reforms are expected early in the New Year.

We shall not see P W Botha facing Nelson Mandela or Oliver Tambo over a negotiating table just yet. Mr Botha, 70 this year, may be coming to the end of his time in politics, but he moves at his own pace.

The emergency laws, unfair and arbitrary as they are, have succeeded in reducing the level of violence. A Government which has done as it pleased for nearly 40 years and still has huge reserves of sheer force at its disposal, is not likely to be rushed.

If anything, it is a time for consolidation and assessment. Speaking last August, President Botha quoted the Afrikaans writer Langenhoven: "If we are ahead of time we can wait for it. If we are behind time, it does not wait for us."

Like many an Afrikaner aphorism, its meaning is unclear. Is he celebrating insouciance, or urging the importance of seizing the moment?

I suppose we must hope it is the latter.

Wipe out terror bases — CP

6/1/86

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party yesterday demanded that the government, which it said could no longer secure the safety of South Africans, take immediate "military and other steps to wipe out terrorist bases in our neighbouring states".

Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Jeppe and chief spokesman on defence, in a reference to Saturday's landmine blast at Ellisras, said: "The terrorist murders point an accusing finger at a clumsy Nationalist government which can simply no longer secure the safety of the people of South Africa.

"The government is creating the false impression with our enemies that South Africa has become a spineless country which only threatens but does not protect its residents.

"The CP demands immediate military and other steps to wipe out terrorist bases in our neighbouring states.

"The continual absence of strong and purposeful action against the terrorists is endangering the lives of innocent South Africans."

— Sapa

Reform talk: comparing what was said in Liverpool and Durban

Gladstone, PW and the Rubicon

STAR 6/1/86 (304A)

Was it coincidence or cunning choreography that made the State President's Rubicon speech uncannily similar in substance and background to the Rubicon crossing of one of Britain's greatest politicians in 1866?

When Mr P W Botha told the National Party congress in Durban last year that he had crossed the Rubicon, that he was henceforth committed to a policy of reform and that there was no turning back, he echoed the words of William Ewart Gladstone, leader of the House of Commons in 1866 and later leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister.

The "Encyclopaedia Britannica" describes the crossing of a Rubicon as a step that definitely commits a person to a given course of action.

However, the Reform Bill in whose defence Gladstone spoke at the time was defeated and his Government was forced to use the broken bridges of his Rubicon for purposes of retreat.

But for him the crossing was irrevocable — he went on to become the leader who brought universal male suffrage to Britain (women got the vote only in 1918) and introduced sweeping reforms of laws affecting land rights, the church and electorate during his career in which he was twice elected Prime Minister.

If Mr Botha was identifying with the reformist mantle that Mr Gladstone assumed after his famous Rubicon speech in Liverpool where he said his Government had crossed the Rubicon, burnt the boats and destroyed the bridges, then he has set himself a massive challenge.

"The only lesson history has taught us is that men has not learnt anything from history."

"History repeats itself because nobody listens." — Anon.

"History is a pact between the dead, the living, and the yet unborn." — Edmund Burke (1729-1797).



British statesman William Ewart Gladstone



This report by ANDREW BEATTIE

In common

While it is necessary to gloss over some essential differences, it can be argued that the South Africa of the mid-1980s and the Britain of the mid-1860s have much in common.

The population of England, Wales and Scotland during the census of 1861 was just over 23 million, of which fewer than one million — the property owners and aristocracy — held parliamentary power. South Africa's population and political dispensation are comparable.

Both countries at the time were subjected to unprecedented agitation for reform by extra-parliamentary groupings whose demands boiled down to an extension of the franchise from the privileged minority to the working-class majority.

The Peoples' Charter, which embraced popular demands of the British people and called for universal male suffrage, was drafted in May 1838, and the reform movement it represented had 28 years of maturation at the time of Gladstone's Rubicon speech. The Freedom Charter, drawn up by the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955, celebrated its 30th anniversary in the year of Mr Botha's crossing of the Rubicon.

Conservatives in both times feared a "conspiracy of the working classes" if they were to be given the vote. Their enemy, as parliamentary records of both times testify, was the "red republic" and the rapid growth of worker movements, and their central fear that "the ancient, civilised system must fall into careless ruin".

Justin McCarthy (MP), author of "A History of Our Own Times", published in 1900, noted that when the Reform Bill of 1866 was introduced by Mr Gladstone it failed to arouse enthusiasm in a society that was anxious for change

McCarthy wrote that it was evident that the move was "a compromise of the most unattractive kind", and a "trivial and harmless measure". The Bill proposed to reduce the county franchise from £50 to £14, and the borough franchise from £10 to £7.

"The man who could be enthusiastic over such a reform must have been a person whose enthusiasm was scarcely worth arousing. All the Conservatives were of course openly and consistently opposed to reform; not a few of the Liberals secretly detested it.

"It seemed a ridiculous anticlimax, after all the indignant eloquence about 'unenfranchised millions' to come down to a scheme for enfranchising a few hundreds here and there," wrote McCarthy.

Public interest

Gladstone brought the debate to its highest point of public interest and excitement. "You cannot," he said, "fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb — those great social forces are against you..."

But he had underrated the public's willingness to change, and the measure was not carried by Parliament after many Liberals defected and voted against it. Britain had clearly wanted changes that settled voting rights once and for all. Lord Russell and Gladstone accepted the situation and resigned and were replaced by their Conservative rivals.

The new Ministry had hardly taken their places "when a perfect storm of agitation broke out all over the country". Reform Leagues and Reform Unions were started and there were petitions, processions and gatherings — the most significant feature of which was the part played by trade unions acting in strict deference to the regulations and discipline of their organisations". Government reaction was authoritarian, and reformist meetings were frequently banned by the Commissioner of Police, wrote McCarthy.

As the parliamentary session of 1867 began it was clear that reform would top the agenda.

Liberals thought the Conservatives hoped to induce the country "to accept shadow for substance" when they introduced debate on new reform measures.

Disraeli was vague and ambiguous in outlining how far the Government was prepared to go. He promised not to disturb the balance of power; he argued that to extend the franchise to the "homogeneous" working classes would give them a preponderance of power; he declared "it is contrary to the constitution of this realm to give to any one class or interest a predominating power over the rest of the community".

Various measures of extending the franchise in a limited fashion were proposed and rejected during the session, and gradually all of Disraeli's checks and balances were discarded.

When the Reform Act became law at the end of that session it enfranchised all male householders, all lodgers resident for one year and paying rent of £10 a year, people owning property in counties in the annual value of £5 and occupiers of county premises paying £12 a year. A million new voters were added to the electorate which before totalled about one million, and this phase of Britain's history became known as the "leap in the dark".

Britain was placed irrevocably on the path to universal franchise, and in the next elections chose a Liberal government that was unequivocally committed to sweeping reforms.

Whether this was a result of the "great social forces" spoken of by Gladstone or a consequence of enlightened leadership is a topic for debate. But the fear of conservatives that the working classes would unite in an overwhelming majority that would give them political power was shown, in the events that have unfolded since then, to be unfounded.

Similar position

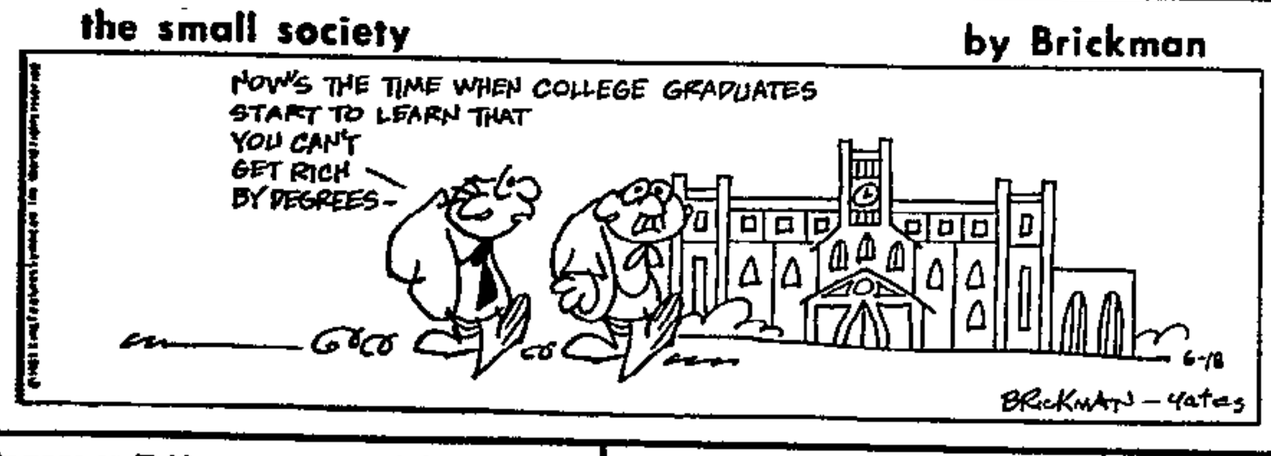
Mr Botha's position after his Rubicon speech, and his other speeches to the provincial congresses of his party — dubbed Rubicons Mark II to IV, or "Son of Rubicon" — is similar to that taken by Disraeli before the "leap in the dark".

He said that blacks might be able to sit on the President's Council but that a fourth parliamentary chamber was "out of the question".

He also said that all groups are entitled to representation at the highest level of Government, although he derided the "winner-takes-all" system.

At the Cape Congress he said that the National Party was committed to the principle of "a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise", indicating a willingness to go to the heart of the matter.

Whether he takes the course that he has implicitly accepted remains to be seen.



Majority-rule spook rears its head

STAR 7/1/86 3049

By William Safire, writing in The New York Times

Hard-liners in the intelligence community were somewhat spooked at the end of December when they received their daily intelligence briefing from the State Department.

In a six-part series on South Africa, classified "confidential" (meaning if this gets out, it's no big deal), an analyst in the department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research wrote: "The ruling National Party, still the dominant force in South African politics, has the ability to move towards genuine power sharing with blacks, or to deny political rights over the near term."

Innocuous enough. Then came the line that shot up eyebrows: "Eventually, however, international pressure, domestic turmoil and demographic trends will bring majority rule to South Africa."

"Majority rule" is a phrase spoken with reverence in the United States, which fought a Civil War to seal it in our democratic system. But in South Africa, where non-whites outnumber whites, majority rule means black rule — with all its fears of a vengeful oppression of the white minority. Few whites who today outspokenly denounce apartheid espouse black rule.

In fact, the dreaded prospect of autocratic rule in the name of a majority as it exists elsewhere in so much of Africa is what freezes progress towards one man, one vote.

A majority that tramples on the rights of peaceful minorities has no moral claim on the right to govern them. A State Department spokesman tells me that this surprisingly frank prediction of "majority rule" is the judgment of one intelligence analyst and is not necessarily the view of the United States.

Bureau of Intelligence analysts are encouraged to put forward their candid opinions of likely outcomes and, in this case, "eventually" could mean a long, long time.

Analysts in the Pentagon and CIA know all those caveats, and many who still believe in constructive engagement consider the State Department's assessment to be realistic. While deploring a mindset that makes such a conclusion a self-fulfilling prophecy, they observe that throughout this century, elites have frequently headed for the hills when popular pressure reached the blow-off point.

SAME GOALS WANTED

Intelligence analysts have noted that a great many South African whites have already arranged for some other place to go, leaving the hard-core Afrikaners to circle their wagons.

Despite differences in methods, most Americans want the same goals in that country: an end to apartheid, freedom of movement and of the Press, a peaceful transition from white rule to a type of government that establishes majority rule with iron-clad protections against the tyranny of the majority.

In other words, we want South Africa to evolve quickly into a society much like ours, with the slight exception that its majority is black and ours is white. The trouble is, that is not likely to happen.

A more realistic prognosis is a continued cycle of violence and repression. Two different societies in the same place want the same resources, and eventually numbers will triumph over firepower.

That would not be a victory for majority rule as we think of it.

A fine judicial system may be overthrown; reverse apartheid may come into being, with minority rights again denied; a radical regime would surely be more attracted to the Soviet bloc than the West; and the lives of millions would be endangered.

How do we help South Africans avoid that? Aside from helping Jonas Savimbi achieve majority rule in neighbouring Angola, what can we do to prevent the spread of communism in the darkening continent?

When realists are pessimists, the trick is to slip out of the clutches of realism. Knowing that moderate whites are most likely to be the first to leave, we should exhort them to stay; knowing that moderate blacks are most likely to be the first to be thrust aside by the radical politicians, we should still make heroes of the moderates. Knowing that removal of our support often brings down the bad only to see them replaced by the worse, we should none the less shun the bad and seek out the better.

It could be that the prospect of a balance of terror will force an accommodation. If radical blacks threaten massacre, radical whites will threaten nuclear retaliation; as extremists approach that brink, moderate voices may not seem so unrealistic.

At that point, fear of a threat to common survival — not only international pressure, domestic turmoil and demographic trends — will bring majority rule to South Africa.

Heunis orders inquiry into 'shocking' killings

ARGUS 7/1/86 304A



Mr Chris Heunis

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said today it was a "shocking and very worrying phenomenon" that youths, among them schoolchildren, were allegedly responsible for gruesome murders in some of the Peninsula's black areas.

As a result of recent violence the Minister had requested his department to investigate the events.

Mr Heunis said that according to the report the following incidents had occurred from December 24 to January 4:

- Seven black adult men were murdered "in a most repulsive and barbaric manner";
- Eleven huts and a temporary creche (in the KTC squatter camp) were burnt down and six adults were injured.

HAND-GRENADES THROWN

The incidents occurred during battles between adults and youths in which two hand-grenades were used. Isolated stone-throwing also took place in Peninsula townships.

Mr Heunis said that according to available information youths were responsible for all seven murders and were also prominently involved in all the other incidents.

"These murders, and especially the shocking manner in which they were committed, have aroused repugnance and abhorrence from all just-minded people. The fact that youths, among whom there were school-going children, are allegedly responsible for the murders is, to say the least, a shocking and very worrying phenomenon," Mr Heunis said.

On behalf of the Government he expressed his sympathy with the families of the victims, as well as with the black communities involved.

"The Government is aware of the sincere endeavour of the majority of black parents to take part in a meaningful way, in accordance with accepted civilised norms, in the process of upliftment in the social, economic, educational and political terrain.

"This process must be set in motion as soon as possible to ensure that black communities can assume their rightful place in South African society."

During the past few days negotiations between the black communities had taken place regarding methods which they themselves could employ in disciplining the "licentious element" among the youth.

Mr Heunis said he welcomed this initiative.

Nats may stand in Bellevue by-election

STAR 30/1/86

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

A municipal by-election will be held in Johannesburg's Ward 30 (Bellevue) on February 26 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Alderman Aleck Jaffe last month.

Nomination day will be January 30.

Mr Jaffe won the seat for the Progressive Federal Party in the 1982 municipal elections with a 371 majority in a straight fight with Mr I Levin of the Independent Ratepayers' Association.

This was a safe seat for the PFP with 1 162 votes cast in a 29 percent poll, Mr Jaffe gaining 760 to Mr Levin's 389.

A defeat for the PFP would not alter the balance of power in the 47-man council where the ruling Nationalist/IRA coalition now holds 22 seats to the PFP's 23.

Two independents, Mr Lionel Keenan and Mr Ron Selley, regularly vote with the coalition to give them a majority.

No candidates have been named yet but it is reliably believed the National Party is considering contesting the by-election.

Mr Francois Oberholzer indicated yesterday that, if this was the case, the Independents would stick to a gentlemen's aggreement not to field a candidate.

The PFP has indicated that it will name its candidate some time after February 9.

Tribute to former city councillor

Johannesburg city councillors will pay tribute to former colleague Alderman Aleck Jaffe at a special meeting on Thursday January 16.

Mr Jaffe died aged 67 on December 20 after a short illness.

He was the Progressive Federal Party councillor for Ward 30 and served the city for almost 30 years, acting as mayor in 1965/66.

Heunis vision of SA's future

Political Correspondent

THE government's plans for South Africa's constitutional future remain firmly grounded in apartheid philosophy.

This emerges from an article by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in the January edition of Leadership magazine.

In the article, however, Mr Heunis staunchly defends his pro-apartheid vision of future constitutional developments as reflecting his government's "commitment to the democratic ideal".

The minister emphasizes that blacks are divided into "at least eight different groups having very little in common" and that "cleavages" dividing these groups are accentuated, amongst other things, "by a long and arduous history of conflict".

Although "democracy" remained the objective of the government, it must, Mr Heunis argues, be "adapted to meet the group (race) character of South African society".

So, for example, local communities of different races should, "as far as possible and within the limits of financial viability, have their own local authorities".

The country's chief constitutional architect maintains that it is a "widely held fallacy" that the South African Government is not committed to democracy and that it wants to maintain white supremacy at all costs.

'Cosmetic'

He also dismisses critics who claim that all steps taken by the government to broaden democracy have been cosmetic and essentially aimed at strengthening the position of whites.

Mr Heunis says the government had already committed itself to a "framework for a future democratic dispensation".

This included an undivided South Africa, citizenship for all, universal franchise, power-sharing among all "population groups," sovereignty of the law and a "civilized" legal order, and the rejection of any form of discrimination on the grounds of race, culture, religion or sex.

Wectu warning on detention

Education Reporter

THE normal opening of schools next week would be jeopardised if detained teachers and students were not released, the Western Cape Teachers' Union, Mitchells Plain branch, warned yesterday.

The branch was referring particularly to the continued detention for more than six weeks of Westridge Senior Secondary School teachers and Wectu members Mr Gordon Edwards, Mrs Shaheeda Hartley and Mr Yousef Mohamed.

"It is evidence once more that the government does not operate on the Christian morals it claims to propagate," the branch said.

● A Paarl teacher, Mr Anwar Shaikh, was released from Victor Verster Prison on Monday after being held in detention for several weeks.

'DWP to join PFP' claim

Cape Times 8/1/86
PFP BOYA

By JAMES MELLIAR

THE leader of the Democratic Workers Party in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, claimed last night that the DWP was planning to amalgamate with the Progressive Federal Party.

"We are poised to join forces with the official Opposition party in the House of Assembly, the PFP, and the opposition party in the House of Delegates, Solidarity, which will be the beginning of the end of the tricameral Party system," Mr De la Cruz said.

The PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said: "This is the first I have heard of it.

"I have no intention of responding to the statement by the leader of the DWP until he has approached me personally."

Mr De la Cruz said the leader of Solidarity, Mr J N R Reddy, had verbally agreed to the proposed fusion.

Mr Reddy was not available for comment last night.

The DWP would hold a conference on January 19 by which time Mr De la Cruz hoped to have all details formalized.

Dr Slabbert said last night he had not yet received an invitation.

US group in heated clash at talks

Botha gives little hope of major reform

304 IA

BUS DAY 9/1/86

UNITED STATES Congressman William Gray emerged from a meeting with State President P W Botha at the Wilderness yesterday pessimistic about any major reforms to apartheid.

"We have not been given much to hope for in terms of the question of major apartheid reforms," Gray said after the meeting, which saw a heated clash between Botha and US congressman Peter Kostmayer.

Botha referred to the American as a "white liberal" and Kostmayer retorted that Botha was a "white reactionary".

Gray, author of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, said Botha had promised they might perhaps "see some things"during this session of Parliament.

Kostmayer, one of six congressmen on a four-day fact-finding mission to South Africa, disclosed there had been heated exchanges when the group spoke to the Press after meeting Botha, who was accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Kostmayer said he thought the meeting had served "little purpose" and added that the President had been rude and "in some senses even coarse".

BUSINESS DAY CORRESPONDENTS AND SAPA

Pik Botha confirmed that relations between government and Kostmayer were not cordial when he pointedly singled out two other congressmen for praise at an after-lunch Press conference.

Pressed for comment on Kostmayer's attitude to the talks, Botha said: "I think we should not become personal".

It was also disclosed that Botha told the group it would not be permitted to see imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Gray said six areas had been put to Botha where change "might indicate a move away from apartheid".

These were:

- ☐ The repeal of pass laws;
- ☐ The removal of restrictions on the Press;
- ☐ The reopening of all schools and the equalisation of the education programme;
- ☐ Altering the Group Areas Act.
- ☐ Halting removals; and
- ☐ Allowing workers and their families to

● To Page 2

Little hope of reform

BUSDAY 9/1/86

From page 1

live together.

Commenting on the meeting, Pik Botha said his impression was that it was a "very constructive meeting".

Pik Botha said in reply to suggestions that the congressmen were pessimistic about change that this was not his impression, and that if this were the case they should have given the South African delegation an opportunity to discuss it.

He said the group had been informed on Tuesday that, for the first time in the history of the country "we are prepared to share power".

He said group members had admitted to him on Tuesday they were only now beginning to understand the complexity of South Africa and in this regard the State President had extended an invitation to them to extend their stay.

SA is lacking statesmanship

THE long-suffering people of this republic, having endured the capricious miseries of apartheid for a generation, are beginning to suffer the miseries of the campaign to overthrow apartheid.

The new miseries are likely to be greater than the old.

The rise in the price of milk and bread is a symptom that everybody understands, but it is only one of many signs of the coming impoverishment. The rich and the educated are rushing for protection, the young to Australia, their elders to the stock market; but such options are available to only a handful.

Burden

The rest — the poor, the uneducated, the black — may seek escape in millenary dreams about nationalising the mines, or bolster each other's spirits with hopes of a revolution; but they cannot escape the slow, slow decay of an economy under internal attack and international siege.

The heaviest burdens of the war against apartheid fall, in the end, on the the victims of apartheid. The landmines laid on the border roads are horrible and indiscriminate weapons, but in time the farmers will adjust to the threat, vehicles will be mine-proofed, roads will be swept, the army will tighten security. Then the cost will show up in the bread price.

In the beginning, the price is paid by the victims of the explosives; in the end, the cost is exacted from everybody else in higher taxes, misdirected resources, higher prices, deeper poverty.

If the bombing of supermarkets and the mining of roads continues, civil liberties must collapse.

The state of emergency will become a way of life lasting into the next decade and probably into the next century.

The situation is not without hope. Government's reforms continue steadily to alter the basic structure of SA society and to condition the white community to accept changes that once seemed unthinkable.

Example

There are scores of examples, from unions to housing to interracial marriage to land tenure.

Less than two years ago, to cite one example, Saul Mkhize was shot dead by a policeman while organising resistence to the forced removal of the Driefontein community; since then, the community's right to stay and in fact to acquire freehold title in a "white area" has been implicitly recognised by government.

It is, as lawyer Geoff Budlender has pointed out, the first real crack in the system since the passage of the Black Land Act in 1913.

In the black communities, too, there are signs that the latest cycle of violence is nearing exhaustion.

Education

The adults are reasserting themselves (not always in acceptable ways) to limit the damage done by the mindless slogan "Revolution now, education later".

In the business boycotts, in schooling, in employment and in the wider arena of social services there are hints of a new willingness to negotiate limited solutions to immediate grievances, and to defer the grand questions of SA politics.

Township parents, contemplating the loss of education that threatens to put their children at a permanent disadvantage against the pupils (in KwaZulu, for example) who have continued to study, are intervening in the conflict. The slogan reverses itself: education now, revolution later.



KEN OWEN

Last year churchmen, compiling the Kairos declaration condoning violence, displayed an implicit belief in the efficacy of violence. Since then the Interdenominational African Ministers Association (IDAMASA) has warned that "black anger has been used indiscriminately and in ways that are not constructive". It is urging a return to school while demanding a single education system for all races.

Reform cannot substitute for negotiation, but the conditions for negotiation — to cite Professor Lawrence Schlemmer — do not yet exist. This is the nub of the matter. It is half-measures or nothing.

Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu has been saying that the Nationalists' prodigious effort to segregate the races has failed; Foreign Minister Pik Botha has been saying much the same thing. Writing in Leadership SA, Mr Botha says the door is wide open for negotiations on the constitutional future of the country. He promises that the government will prescribe neither the agenda nor the representation of other communities.

The future awaits the credible black leader who dares to put that promise to the test but so far nobody has displayed the self-confidence to take up Mr Botha's gauntlet. So it is stalemate.

Meanwhile, the society continues to adjust to stress is its own blind, brutal way. Capital flees through nooks and crannies, jobs disappear, the currrency moulders and prices go up. Youngsters plot in corners, and police hunt them down in the dark.

Capitalism

Unemployment undercuts the bargaining power of the unions, erodes the gains in living standards won so arduously during the seventies, brings capitalism into disrepute, and glamourises revolutionary violence, thus laying the basis for renewed cycles of violence and hardship.

The northern hemisphere winter has brought the usual procession of American politicians and European wise men to bask in our sunshine and in their moral superiority.

They will, no doubt, make the ritual demand for an end to the state of emergency, the release of Nelson Mandela and the lifting of the ban on the ANC, but they will do so without any real expectation of success, and will go away wondering, once again, what on earth can be done about South Africa.

Pressures

There is, in fact, one thing which they can usefully do: they can devise, as a complement to the international pressures on the government, a programme of pressure on those black leaders who now act as surrogate spokesmen for the black communities, to sit down with the government — without an agenda and without prescribing who may or may not have a seat at the table — to discuss how the conditions for real negotiations might be created.

The foreign minister has thrown out a challenge; somebody should be persuaded to pick it up, and the international community can help by making its support conditional. Hardship and misery are preparing the way, if not for talks, then for "talks about talks". Only statesmanship is lacking.

Little hope of reform, say US delegates

CAPE TIMES 9/1/86 30KA

THERE IS little hope that major reforms are in the offing, according to the group of visiting United States congressmen who met the State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday.

The fact-finding group, led by Mr William Gray, expressed disappointment after the 1¾-hour meeting at a hotel near the President's holiday home near George.

Another congressman said he felt "bitterly disappointed" and had found Mr Botha unresponsive.

Mr Peter Kostmayer added that he thought the meeting had served "very little purpose". He said the President had been rude and "in some senses even coarse"

But Mr Gray said it was clear in terms of statements made by Mr Botha that "there is perhaps a possibility that there will be some action this year"

However, no specifics had been given and they had "not been given much to hope for in terms of the question of major apartheid reforms"

While the congressmen were generally pessimistic, they stressed that they would prefer to delay final judgement until after the State President's speech at the opening of Parliament on January 31.

Mr Gray said they had put six reform proposals to Mr Botha: Abolition of laws restricting the movements of blacks; removal of restrictions on the media, equal education for all races; changes to the racial segregation of residential areas; an end to forced removals, and the lifting of a ban on families joining contract workers in white areas.

In a brief comment after the talks, President Botha said the question of sanctions had been discussed, among other things He criticized the "miserable attitude of the United States" in applying sanctions to "one of the best developing countries in Africa".

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said his impression was that it had been a "very constructive meeting".

"My impression was that despite all the differences which do exist that a rapport existed," he said.

'Exhausted'

After their talks with the President, the congressmen met the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

However, their scheduled meeting in Cape Town yesterday afternoon with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, was cancelled because members of the visiting party were "exhausted" Mr Heunis's spokesman said that a meeting might still take place "later this week".

The delegation will meet UDF patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, this morning before touring Crossroads at the invitation of the Urban Foundation

Mandela

They will then meet the US Ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel before going to a braai in Guguletu

The congressmen had hoped to meet Mr Nelson Mandela while in Cape Town, but permission was refused

The group then leave for Johannesburg where they will have meetings with numerous political and trade union leaders before returning to the United States tomorrow night — Political Staff and Sapa-Reuter

Gencor sacks another 3 000

CAPE TIMES 9/1/86

From PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

JOHANNESBURG. — Gencor fired 3 000 more workers at its Impala Platinum mine in Bophuthatswana yesterday — bringing to 23 000 the total axed.

The workers, from Bafokeng North, were described by the company as having "voluntarily" decided to return to their homes after they failed to meet an ultimatum to return to work yesterday

At the Wildebeesfontein North section of Impala, mine security arrested 48 miners and handed them over to the Bophuthatswana authorities at Phokeng after teargas and rubber bullets were fired.

A spokesman for the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Marcel Golding, said 27 workers had been shot and 26 hospitalized

The union believed the workers were arrested because they were suspected of being "activists".

Lieutenant-Colonel Dave George of the Bophuthatswana police confirmed that the men had been arrested by mine security

The acting chief executive of Impala, Mr Gary Maude, said strikers surrounded a security vehicle and were dispersed by rubber bullets and teargas.

He said no serious injuries resulted though "two or three" workers had been hospitalized.

Mr Maude said that by mid-afternoon yesterday 14 000 out of the original 20 000 fired on Monday had left the mine

"The next step will be a decision to start employing again. I'm surprised how quickly we could properly discharge people," he said

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PW's year of anniversaries

STAR 10/1/86

304A

DAVID BRAUN, *The Star's* Political Correspondent, reports from Cape Town on the important year that lies ahead for the State President, Mr P W Botha. Part Two of this series appears in *The Sunrise Star* tomorrow.



On Sunday President Botha turns 70 — the first of a series of significant anniversaries for him in 1986.

Later in the year there will be the 50th anniversary of his entry to political life (he was appointed as an organiser for the National Party in the Caledon district on May 1 1936), and, by the time this year's annual congress season comes round, usually in September, he will have served 20 terms as his party's Cape leader.

These events, persistent rumours of his failing health (always strongly denied by those close to him) and his known wish to spend his twilight years with his grandchildren tempt many a commentator to speculate that this will be Mr Botha's last year in high office

There is, of course, nothing unusual about having a septuagenarian at the helm of a nation's affairs. Ronald Reagan is well into his 70s, and most of Russia's recent leaders were of similar age.

But the South African President is said to be keen to step down if he can be sure that he leaves the country and his successor a heritage of peace and stability, and that the bold new direction that he has taken his party along can be seen to be the correct one.

Challenges

At 70 he realises that the remaining challenges are numerous, and the years, if not months, left to him are preciously few.

Mr Botha is a man with a sense of history and destiny and if he is unable to show progress towards his goals in 1986, he may feel obliged to stay on indefinitely.

In that case, like any politician with a fixed term of office, Mr Botha runs the risk of having to go at a time not of his choosing.

If he does decide to retire this year, the most likely date of his announcement is just before this year's National Party provincial congresses, so that he can say goodbye.

By then the parliamentary session will be behind him and there will have been a chance to make some progress on the economic and political fronts.

Mr Botha would like to see the economy in a phase of recovery, with people back at work and international investors finding confidence He would like to see his political reforms bearing fruit, and the long-awaited negotiations on black political participation under way

All this will add urgency to his speech at the opening of Parliament on January 31, when he may be expected to outline his agenda for the year

That political stability and economic prosperity are interdependent is axiomatic, so Mr Botha will strive to create the right climate for both.

A development in this regard would be an announcement that the Government has firmly decided to abolish influx control and the pass laws immediately, and that the positive and orderly urbanisation it seeks in their place includes the elimination of bureaucratic obstructions in township and housing development.

Excellent political concessions, which if sold in the correct spirit of generosity an good faith will have a major psychological impact at home and abroad, would be the unconditional release of all long-term security prisoners and the unbanning and release from detention of political opponents

The unbanning of the ANC could be coupled with an invitation to start talks immediately with the leaders of all the sections of the population

Mr Botha could perhaps try to secure the public support of the West for such announcements as sufficient basis for talks.

Organisations and individuals continuing to support or perpetrate violence under these circumstances would have to be isolated and excluded from the negotiations.

What is needed, in short, is a dramatic gesture on the part of a statesman president, to make this last, crucial period the crowning point of a thus-far successful career

Failure to make such a gesture may have sad consequences for the country and the man

It is said that every career in politics ends in sadness or tragedy.

In their book on President Botha, "PW", Dirk and Johanna de Villiers said that the leaders of South Africa have almost all died in tears — "Paul Kruger banished in exile, Louis Botha on a downhill, Jan Smuts rejected, Hertzog lonely, Malan in isolation, Strijdom unfulfilled and sickly, Verwoerd in blood and Vorster in unhappiness".

Will P W Botha grasp his remaining opportunities to reverse the trend as he enters his eighth decade?

Violence will harden attitudes — Eglin

All parties condemn new ANC threats

10/1/86 STAR

304A

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

All South African political parties have condemned the latest threats by the African National Congress to expand its activities into a full-scale "people's war".

ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday announced plans to take the conflict from the borders of townships into white areas and to continue attacks on the white farming community.

He said civilians would be caught in the cross-fire, especially if "over-zealous" cadres attacked such soft targets as schools, supermarkets and shopping centres.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange today accused Mr Tambo of trying to detach himself from responsibility for the latest series of terror attacks which had cost the lives of innocent women and children of all races.

He said the ANC had in three years declared repeatedly that it was going to concentrate on hard and soft targets and that white areas in the towns and countryside would be objectives.

Mr Le Grange said: "The ANC has proved that it attacks regardless of who its victims will be — whether they be black or white women and children."

Mr Colin Eglin, national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, said his party rejected the ANC's campaign of violence. A deliberate campaign of bloodshed and death, apart from the human suffering it would cause, would prove counter-productive.

"It will harden race attitudes, strengthen the right-wingers, invite repression and, I have no doubt, prolong and not shorten the life of apartheid."

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP law and order spokesman, said Mr Tambo's threats augured ill for 1986 as a year of negotiation.

"I wonder if the ANC realises the ferocity of the counter-attack which is going to come from the Government?" she said.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said the UN and all the countries which supported and recognized the ANC should take cognisance of Mr Tambo's statement in view of the fact that the UN had declared 1986 to be the year of peace.

"I don't think these threats are going to contribute to the finding of a solution in South Africa," he said.

"I would say Mr Tambo is hoping that, particularly, the white community will react to this threat by becoming even more aggressive, which in turn would give the ANC more standing in terms of South Africa being made the aggressor."

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National Peoples' Party, said: "There will be no winners and no losers. Violence not only brutalises the victims, but also the perpetrators."

Tambo predicts more Toti-type bomb attacks

STAR 10/1/86

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday predicted more bomb attacks similar to that at an Amanzimtoti shopping centre in which five white civilians died just before Christmas.

But Mr Tambo has refused to state clearly whether or not an ANC unit was responsible for the attack.

At a news conference in Lusaka, Mr Tambo said that the bomb attack at the seaside resort was against ANC policy.

The ANC did not direct its attacks specifically against civilians although civilians "will get caught in the crossfire".

Border area farmers, often involved in Government security networks, were legitimate targets for the ANC, he said, when referring to recent landmine deaths in the Northern Transvaal.

Well-placed observers are in no doubt that an ANC unit was responsible for the Amanzimtoti attack.

Referring to that incident, Mr Tambo said: "There will be more of these things in a situation of generalised violence. It is the development of the crisis in South Africa."

Personally, he did not rejoice when he heard of the explosion in Amanzimtoti.

"But there were celebrations inside South Africa among black people," He said.

This attitude did not surprise him after the deaths of more than 1 000 blacks in the past 18 months, mainly as a result of clashes with the police and the army.

AMANZIMTOTI ATTACK NOT CONDEMNED

Mr Tambo indicated clearly that he was unhappy about the attack but he stopped short of condemning it.

The responsibility for the current political and economic crisis and the violence inside the country lay at the door of the Government, he argued.

"We are beginning to move into stormy times in South Africa. It is all because there is a fundamental problem caused by the apartheid system," he said.

"You can understand the circumstances in which this kind of thing (the Amanzimtoti bomb) happens," he added.

He denied that ANC guerilla units were operating from countries bordering South Africa.

"The whole of South Africa is beginning to bleed in the face of the persistence of the apartheid system."

The substantial planned increase in the ANC's armed struggle would mean "more than this", he said.

The ANC was convinced that the Botha Government had "no intention whatsoever of acceding to the demands of the majority of the people of South Africa and the rest of the world. For this reason the ANC was working towards a "rapid and extensive escalation of our military offensive", Mr Tambo said.

The ANC would take this campaign into all areas of the country, he added.

Cape Times. 11/4/86

Debt crisis man 'hopeful'

From JOHN TILSTON

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Fritz Leutwiler, South Africa's foreign debt crisis mediator, expressed the hope after a one-hour working lunch with Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday that he would be able to "come up with a realistic and constructive proposal and solution of the debt problem".

Other South African officials at the lunch were the Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis, the Director-General of Finance, Mr Chris Stals, and the Reserve Bank Governor, Dr Gerhard de Kock.

In the afternoon, Dr Leutwiler held talks with the Standstill Co-ordinating Committee, which presumably involved technical details of the rescheduling operation.

However, the main item on Dr Leutwiler's agenda is today's meeting with President P W Botha in George, in which the emphasis will shift firmly back to purely political matters.

Task become overtly political

The task of rescheduling the repayment of the blocked $13,4 billion (about R33,5 billion) foreign debt has become overtly political.

The pressures faced by the foreign banks within their own communities are such that it would be impossible for them even to see Dr Leutwiler if the political dimension was missing from talks.

Therefore, if he is to represent the views of the foreign creditor banks, he will be obliged to deliver a blunt message on the necessity of reform for the debt rescheduling task to make progress.

South Africa suspended repayments on $13,4-b of its $24-b (about R60-b) foreign debt until the end of 1985, then extended repayment for another three months. United States banks have rejected the government's proposal of a five-year rescheduling.

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'Unban ANC' says PFP

CAPE TIMES
11/1/86
304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party last night called on the government to unban the ANC as a way of breaking the growing cycle of violence engulfing South Africa.

The call came in response to the threat by ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo to intensify his organization's sporadic guerilla campaign into a full-blown "people's war" in which civilians would become increasingly vulnerable.

PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who met ANC officials in Zambia last year, said the government could deny the ANC's justification for resorting to armed struggle by unbanning the organization and introducing a package of fundamental reforms.

By following this strategy President P W Botha could both seize the initiative and improve the opportunity for negotiations instead of the current bloody confrontation.

'In from the cold'

Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP's veteran civil rights campaigner, said that as long as the ANC remained a banned organization it was bound to resort to "underground methods".

She called on the government to "bring the ANC in from the cold" and let it canvass support like other political parties inside the country.

"A head-on clash between the government's ferocious repression and institutionalized violence on the one hand and the ANC's terror tactics on the other will never produce a climate for negotiations," she said.

Mrs Suzman noted that the ANC had indicated last year it was prepared to call a truce if unbanned.

"If the government does not do something dramatic to break the stalemate between itself and the ANC the country could degenerate into another Northern Ireland."

The government and its partners in the tricameral Parliament, the Labour Party and the National People's Party, condemned the Tambo announcement but extra-parliamentary political groups were not surprised by the shift in ANC strategy.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, accused Mr Tambo of trying to distance himself from recent attacks in which civilians were killed.

"The ANC has proved that it attacks regardless of who its victims will be, whether they be black or white, women or children," he said.

The LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said he did not think the ANC threats would contribute to finding a solution to the country's problems.

'Violence brutalizes'

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the NPP, said an armed struggle in South Africa could not be won and that "violence not only brutalizes the victims but also the perpetrators".

UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak said the ANC's plans to extend the scope of its military operations were not surprising. "Revolutionary violence is a response to a situation in which violence is included in the laws and structure of the society."

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza described the ANC's "people's war" strategy as a result of the government's refusal to allow blacks to decide their own destiny.

'Reflects current mood'

Nusas said the ANC announcement of a drastic escalation in its armed struggle was predictable in view of the current mood in South Africa's townships.

Nusas president Mr Brendan Barry issued a statement in Cape Town saying: "While no concerned citizen will greet the prospect of increased political violence with enthusiasm, it would be short-sighted not to recognize that the ANC's decision is reflective of the current mood in black townships throughout South Africa.

"The past 18 months have witnessed a series of pitched battles between township residents with legitimate grievances and armed security forces, resulting in the unnecessary deaths of more than 1 000 civilians."

NCM plans action for 1986

By MUDINI MAIVHA

THE National Convention Movement – hit by resignations of some notable founder figures and the refusal of black organisations to join hands – will meet in Johannesburg tomorrow to draw up a plan of action for 1986.

According to the movement's spokesman – top advocate Jules Browde – plans for seminars, discussion groups and mass meetings on the topic of the preconditions for the convention will be drawn up.

Preconditions set by the NCM for a negotiated settlement of the South African conflict include the repeal by the Government of all discriminatory legislation, the unbanning of banned organisations, the unconditional release of political prisoners and political detainees and the freedom of political association and activity.

"The eventual objective is the calling of a national convention by the government of the day at which representatives of all the people of South Africa will thrash out an agreed constitution," reads the NCM manifesto.

The NCM was founded late last year with members of Inkatha and the Progressive Federal Party taking a leading role.

The Azanian People's Organization and the United Democratic Front refused to participate in the movement because they rejected the idea of a national convention.

According to Browde, the English Teachers Association and Women for Peace have pledged their unanimous support for the movement.

"We have drawn support mostly from the centre of the South African population, no support from the right and very little from the left, despite the fact that influential people in that camp have said the convention was a marvellous idea," he said.

But he could not say how many organisations and individuals have come out in support of the NCM. This will need some analysis, he said.

Founder members who have resigned from the management committee are Inkatha's Oscar Dlomo and the Methodist Church's Rev Stanley Mogoba.

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the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights:

● Article 3: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person."

● Article 9: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile".

– **JUDGE P T ALLAN of Australia.**

★ THE struggle must continue. Away with the Bothas and Le Granges of Pretoria.

Forward with the UDF, the "Comrades", and Azapo. We are tired of those self-elected leaders, while our natural leaders are in prison or in exile.

Botha gave his troops and the police license to kill black people and banned the press because "they wanted to kill us without being watched".

They are afraid of black [illegible]. They attack us with

★ A SWAZI man with his nose shot off and a badly injured cop are both in hospital after the cop was called to quell a disturbance at Ngogolo.

Thokowakhe Dlamini allegedly attacked the cop, who allegedly fired a shot that sliced off Mr Dlamini's nose. The crowd then allegedly beat the policeman unconscious with sticks.

Have important political and other leaders in South Africa become so hopelessly conditioned that they are not able to consider talking to people with opposing views without listing a series of conditions? This question involuntarily arises when one looks at why there was no meaningful dialogue during last year. HANNES DE WET analyses the issue.

If only — but the national debate always bogs down

STAR 13/1/86 304A

As the unrest situation in South Africa deteriorated during the past year, the possibility of talks between leaders on different sides of the fence arose on more than one occasion.

But hopes of real dialogue invariably bogged down in a mire of conditions. Time and again a series of ifs were stipulated — either by one or both sides — which ended the prospect of talks there and then.

Examples are not difficult to find:

● The first significant flicker of hope last year that an important discussion could get going was before the announcement of the state of emergency. That was with the apparent easing of tensions between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

After four years of bitter acrimony between them the two leaders met in May for the second time in six months.

But a sudden chill developed in relations after President Botha's end-of-session speech in Parliament on June 19 in which he again rejected a one-man-one-vote unitary state.

According to Chief Buthelezi Mr Botha had also ruled out the possibility of a unitary state structured along either union or federal lines.

Softened

Because of that, he said, it was no longer possible for him to negotiate with the Government.

Chief Buthelezi later softened his stand, but still insisted on a declaration of intent from the State President that negotiations between them would be about a federation or the sharing of power.

Mr Botha refused, saying that such a declaration would boil down to prejudicing the issue. He preferred an open agenda, Mr Botha said.

And that was the end of talks between Chief Buthelezi and the State President.

In July news headlines about the widening unrest situation were briefly replaced by ones mooting the possibility of a meeting between the State President and Bishop Desmond Tutu.

This followed a British TV interview during which the Bishop said he was willing to meet Mr Botha to discuss ways of resolving the unrest.

After initial positive signals about such a meeting, the State President refused to see the Bishop alone, saying that he could join an Anglican church delegation which had an appointment with Mr Botha.

Bishop Tutu didn't want to meet Mr Botha as part of a delegation, saying talks between groups tended to end up in nothing more than posturing which prevented "real dialogue".

And that was the end of talks between Bishop Tutu and the State President.



Mr Botha: I will talk only if . . .



Bishop Tutu: I will talk only if . . .



Dr Boesak: I will talk only if . . .



Chief Buthelezi: I will talk only if . . .

● A more recent raising of hopes for dialogue between two extreme sides was sparked by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller.

During a speech in Johannesburg he referred to United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak and Bishop Tutu as "men of influence" who did have a constituency.

He added that the Government would be prepared to talk to them if these discussions were not on a one-to-one basis.

Dr Boesak responded by expressing his surprise at the positive tone of these remarks, but then proceeded to give a long list of conditions.

He would talk to the Government only, he said, if, among other things, the state of emergency was called off and people arrested in terms of the emergency regulations were freed.

The Government did not respond to these demands.

And that was the end of possible talks between Dr Boesak and the Government.

Bishop Tutu's reaction to Mr Miller's statements deviated from the usual pattern. He set only one, very mild, condition for talks with the Government, namely that the delegations participating in the discussions shouldn't be too large.

But there has apparently been no attempt by the Government to take the matter further.

Disappeared

And so another opportunity for dialogue disappeared into thin air.

● The African National Congress set anything but mild conditions for talks between itself and the Government.

Although there is no real possibility at present of talks between the Government and the ANC, the two parties have at least communicated — albeit through the media — about their respective conditions for talks.

Taking an official stand on the matter, the ANC set out the following conditions in which it would consider talking to the Government:

The release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the withdrawal of troops and "repressive machinery" from the townships, the lifting of the ban on the ANC and the creation of conditions in which free political activity can take place.

The State President responded by reiterating that the ANC "must first lay down its arms, cease its terrorism and the murder of innocent people and free itself of its international connections with the Communist Party".

Reports that the Government was putting out feelers on negotiations to the ANC, were quickly dismissed by the Government as "devoid of all truth".

Once again, all that remained were two lists of conditions.

The real story behind the multitude of conditions is, of course, that all the central figures are thinking about their own constituencies. To agree too readily to talks with the other side could erode credibility with their own supporters.

But the question remains: Isn't the condition in which the country finds itself a serious enough reason for all the leaders involved to think again? Have all the parties involved not become captives of traditional patterns and perceptions?

Crocker in Cape Town to meet P W, Pik

13/1/86 STAR

3389 304 IA 388

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Dr Chester Crocker, United States Assistant Secretary of State in charge of African Affairs, is to have wide-ranging talks with Government and other leaders during the next two days.

Dr Crocker, who arrived in Cape Town late last night, is to meet President P W Botha; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha; and other senior Ministers today and tomorrow.

Details of what they will be discussing have not been revealed but it is understood that Dr Crocker will be informed of the reforms planned by the Government for 1986. At the same time Dr Crocker will convey his Government's expectations.

Dr Crocker arrived in Cape Town only hours after the murder of a United Democratic Front leader, Mr Ampie Mayisa, who he was supposed to meet.

Mrs Helen Suzman, law and order spokesman for the Progressive Federal Party, expressed her concern about Mr Mayisa's death.

"These unexplained and largely unsolved murders of political persons working against the Government are increasing in number. Whether they are part of an increasing violent division within the black community or whether there are other equally sinister implications no one can say," Mrs Suzman said.

"But, unless the murderers are tracked down and brought to book, suspicion will feed on itself, with grave consequences."

● See Page 6.

Inkatha to mark Mandela 'bond'

STAR 13/1/86, pg 3 col 4

ULUNDI — Inkatha is to commission an artist to design a plaque, to be known as the Plaque of Hope, which will show Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi smiling at each other.

Inkatha's central committee decided this yesterday after the disclosure that the jailed former ANC leader had written Chief Buthelezi a comradely letter on December 10.

The letter indicated that Chief Buthelezi's good wishes and support had given Mandela strength and had contributed greatly to his recovery from a recent illness.

The central committee paid tribute to Chief Buthelezi for continuing to believe in "the African brotherhood which binds him to Nelson Mandela". — Sapa.

Leutwiler is said to be impressed by political changes

Crucial debt talks loom for SA

By Trevor Walker

South Africa's debt rescheduling negotiations in the second half of next month will be the most crucial yet, and the meeting is expected to either make or break the country's attempts to renegotiate its repayments programme in a gentlemanly and conservative banking manner.

Dr Chris Stals, Director-General of Finance and the man who heads the Debt Co-ordinating Committee, told *The Star*: "There is a lot of basic work still to be done, but this is largely promotional.

"The technical aspects that are still outstanding, such as what to include in the net and what to leave out and what interest rate should be used, will not be difficult to finalise.

"What should be proposed is not on paper yet." But once debt mediator Dr Fritz Leutwiler has made his approach clear to creditor banks it would be up to them to decide their course of action.

A senior monetary official said he was satisfied with this initial outcome of the three-day visit to this country by Dr Leutwiler which ended yesterday.

"We should bring out all the creditor bankers individually and let them see for themselves that perceptions formed overseas and based largely on media reports can often be missleading in the extreme."

Monetary sources said there was no doubt that Leutwiler had clearly been impressed by political changes that had taken place and the willingness of the authorities to accept that the pace of change had to be maintained and accelerated wherever possible.

Neverthless, political demands by certain banks were viewed as malicious in certain quarters. The sources said these demands were not restricted to certain US banks; some European banks had also been following the American line.

It was the first time in modern banking history that demands for political reform had been so adamantly tied to credit lines and a willingness to reschedule existing loan repayments.

The *Financial Times* of London reports today that top world bankers doubt whether proposed political reform in South Africa will be enough to swing the international banking community behind even sharply revised rescheduling proposals.

The bankers, who were unnamed in the report, were reacting to statements made by Dr Leutwiler during his visit to South Africa. He had said he expected the proposed reforms would prove how stable South Africa was, and would restore South African borrowers' access to foreign capital markets.

But senior international bankers said they were perplexed by Dr Leutwiler's apparent change of direction.

Until recently he had outspokenly condemned apartheid and had warned that South Africa would have to introduce sweeping changes before the country could hope to resume normal international financial relations.

The bankers said yesterday that even a silent rescheduling agreement of the type Dr Leutwiler described in South Africa would be hard to push through unless the political climate were favourable, especially in the light of anti-apartheid pressure on American banks.

They said there was some potential trade off between a general rescheduling agreement and the extent of political reforms but on neither account was there much obvious ground for optimism.

Slabbert 'for' ANC alliance

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said last night he would welcome an African National Congress-led alliance of organizations opposed to apartheid if this would promote negotiation and a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

"But I will have to find out more about it before I can commit the party to anything," Dr Slabbert said.

He was responding to reports that the ANC was planning a "grand alliance" of organizations similar to the National Convention Movement initiated by the PFP and Inkatha last year. Its prime objective, weekend reports said, would be to create a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement of South Africa's problems. It would include the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the SA Council of Churches, the National Convention Movement itself and even sympathetic homeland leaders.

Dr Slabbert said neither he nor the PFP had been approached by the ANC to join.

He said he would not be against the ANC leading such an alliance.

"I am not interested in who leads such an alliance. I am interested in people committing themselves to such an alliance because it means they prefer negotiation to confrontation.

"If it is in the interests of avoiding violence and promoting negotiation, then I certainly will have no hesitation in talking to anybody."

Opposed

Dr Slabbert would not be drawn to comment on speculation that such an alliance would place the PFP itself under severe strain, with its left wing clashing with conservatives opposed to formal links with the ANC.

He agreed that formal links with the banned organizations in such an alliance could cause problems.

De Beer, Slabbert back talks with ANC

PETER HONEY

BUS DAY 13/1/86

THE ANC's recommitment to armed confrontation in SA was no reason to break contact with the organisation, two prominent South Africans, who met separately with the ANC in Lusaka last year, said yesterday.

Anglo American executive director Zac de Beer and Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said they would be prepared to talk to the banned movement's leadership again if necessary.

De Beer said the spate of ANC landmine attacks near Messina in November and December "were to be expected in terms of several published ANC statements to the effect that what they call the armed struggle was to be intensified".

Last week's statements by ANC president Oliver Tambo, that civilians could continue to become unfortunate victims of attacks, did not reflect a policy essentially different from what he had been saying for some time.

"Sooner or later it will become necessary to talk again simply because the ANC is an important political reality.

"Just how such talks could contribute to a reduction in tension would depend, inter alia, on the progress of the reform programme and the attitude of black South Africans generally," De Beer said.

De Beer was a prominent member of the group of seven businessmen and journalists who met the ANC in Zambia in September and agreed tentatively to repeat the contact.

De Beer said he did not see any reason to resume this contact "at this moment".

Slabbert, who led a PFP delegation to Lusaka in October, said yesterday he would have "absolutely no problem with talking to them again".

He added: "Of course, I would not want to talk just for the sake of talking. I would want to see if we could find a way to get them to give up the armed struggle and to begin negotiating."

Violence was a problem but it was also a fact in the situation.

"What can we do? We can either shout and kill one another or we can try to work out a solution to the country's problems," Slabbert said.



BARRY STREEK

reviews the black press

C.T. 13/1/86

'Contempt' for request on education

THE government's decision to reopen black schools last week instead of January 28, as requested by the education crisis conference, came in for some critical comments in the black press.

City Press said the decision by the Department of Education and Training "is going to leave a very bitter taste in the mouths of thousands of parents who have worked day and night to help bring normality to black education.

"And it is exactly the kind of hamhanded response demonstrated by Schoeman (Mr Job Schoeman, the department's spokesman) that has brought education to the state it is in. Reasonable requests by the community are dealt with contempt by the authorities."

It appealed to the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and his deputy, Mr Sam de Beer, to overrule Mr Schoeman "at this late stage".

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SOWETAN said it was tempted to "flay out angrily" at the breakdown of communication and the petty differences between those concerned in solving the crisis, but said it would rather paint a picture of what was likely to happen if the crisis continued.

"The confusion by these series of events means only one thing. The children have been given a cast-iron excuse to continue their 'freedom before education campaign'. No one can deny that. It will be particularly silly to believe that they will go back to school in the middle of such a muddle.

"Another particularly unnervy element enters the scenario. There are parents who for reasons that appear perfectly normal, have sent their children out of the townships. We understand, as we speak, there are no places available in white private schools, after the massive applications from black parents.

"Others have sent their children to the homelands, to the independent states and even abroad. That takes care of a very small fraction of those who have the money and perhaps the desperation to see their children get educated. The majority of children will be faced with an uncertain future at best and a dangerous one at worst."

The children who could not get into private schools, or did not have parents who could afford them, would not take too happily to those who were in those schools. There were also the jobs of teachers and department officials at stake, the paper said.

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THE **Cape Herald** said that when one looked back at how education was disrupted in 1985 now was not the time for points scoring.

"It is a time for level-headed people to try to regain some of last year's lost time, and lost respect.

"For example, it is not the time for Minister Carter Ebrahim to accuse teachers of lack of dedication, and to crow over the authority which a recent Supreme Court decision seemed to give him. Mr Ebrahim is, by training, a teacher. So he of all people should consider applying educational rather than a political yardstick in settling the issues.

"It is not the time to ban meetings which might, just might, lead to reasonable discussions."

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ILANGA said it had been "self-evident for years now" that "this tormented country is sitting on a bubbling volcano of suppressed emotions, frustrations, anger and discontent".

The sporadic outbursts of violence, dating back to 1976, were "a disturbing testimony to the precarious position in which the country finds itself. An even more disturbing feature is the absence of signs that the situation will take a turn for the better".

The underlying causes were "the same old litany of grievances: black political discontent and a rejection of the apartheid status quo, socio-economic stresses to which the blacks are particularly vulnerable, and racism and bigotry leading to black anarchy.

"And what cures are needed to eradicate the evil that has cast a dark shadow across the length and breadth of the country? There must be an immediate end to apartheid. There must be a transformation of our society into one that will be at peace with itself," Ilanga said.

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PROBE, an East London newspaper, said it must have surprised many that people who claimed to be Nationalists were in favour of opening up a local beach to all races.

"No matter how slowly, they are learning. What a pity it has taken consumer boycotts and such tactics before some people realize the simple fact of life that God Almighty provided things like beaches for the enjoyment of ALL His people on earth whenever they want to make use of such facilities.

"While we find it difficult to be drawn into some of the arguments raised on the ssiue, we cannot escape the fact that a side issue is occupying the minds of many people. The opening up of a beach — even all the beaches — is such a minor issue when pressing issues about land and power should be exercising the minds of many people."

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"IF THEY say our country is bankrupt, I wonder therefore why is South Africa squandering such a vast amount of money boosting guerillas like Renamo and Dr Savimbi's Unita.

"These guerillas are losing too much in their wars but our country is still backing them as they promise to be South Africa's friends after their taking over. As a result of all these things, people who are suffering most are now rioting, killing, burning, looting shops, etc. They know doing these things is committing crimes. They are hungry. They now believe it's better to go to jail where they can get at least three meals a day.

"Does the government ask itself why is this happening? The answer will always stand firm — give the masses what they want. By listening and talking with the people, you'll automatically be building a bright South Africa, where no blood will flow nor tears be shed," wrote Lucky Phungula of Edendale in a letter to **Echo**, a supplement in the Natal Witness.

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IN SPITE of considerable press focus on the 74th birthday of the African National Congress, Malcolm Mbonisi Dyani, 38, who spent 15 years on Robben Island for being a member and activist in the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), recalled in **Probe** the 40th anniversary of "mankind's third socio-political alternative, Pan Africanism", formulated at the 1945 Pan African Congress, attended by people such as Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore.

The congress, Mr Dyani said, adopted three principles, African nationalism, scientific socialism and African unity. This conference "awakened the people of Africa to a realization of their commitment to history. With much zeal and vigour they demanded self-determination through independence".

THE SUMMER BUTTERICK

Leutwiler given 'clear indications of reform'

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's foreign debt mediator, Dr Fritz Leutwiler, said the State President, Mr P W Botha, had given him "clear indications" that the reform process would continue this year.

Dr Leutwiler said at a press conference at the end of his two-day visit to South Africa that he had told Mr Botha that certain conditions would have to be fulfilled before South Africa's debt crisis could be resolved. The retired international banker has undertaken to mediate between South Africa and the international banks which South Africa owes more than $23 billion (about R57,5 billion).

He would not disclose details of his talks with Mr Botha but said he had received "clear indications" that the President remained committed to implementing his reform policy.

"I have read all the speeches the President made last year and they include a hell of a programme of reform," Dr Leutwiler said.



Dr Fritz Leutwiler

He said South Africa should make a greater effort to tell the world of changes that have taken place here and what was being planned for the future.

Dr Leutwiler will meet the bankers in mid-February with a set of proposals for resolving the crisis which arose last year when South Africa declared a standstill on her foreign debts.

He said he hoped more reform measures would be announced before the meeting.

During his visit Mr Leutwiler met the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Mr Abram Salem Mayat, a nominated MP in the House of Delegates, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and black local authority members.

When asked whether he considered these people to be adequate representatives of black coloured and Indian opinion, Dr Leutwiler replied that he had not met "the radicals".

"I would not be tempted to go to Lusaka to talk to the ANC. They have admitted they receive arms from the Soviet Union and I know the Soviet Union well enough to know they do not give gifts for nothing." — Sapa

West accused of not being fair towards South Africa

STAR 14/1/86

A senior Tory backbencher, Mr Teddy Taylor, MP for Southend East and an influential member of the party's right-wing Monday Club, asks in this article first published in the London *Sunday Express* if the West is really being fair to South Africa.

Are we in the West really being fair to South Africa as it struggles to overcome its chronic constitutional, economic and racial problems?

If solutions are to be found, and if a peaceful and prosperous society is to be built without apartheid, I do not believe that we are playing our part by near-obsessive media coverage of its troubles or by increasing calls for a total economic boycott of the Republic.

My hope for 1986 is that we will give the South Africans a bit of peace and media tranquillity, and perhaps a little more attention to the rest of Africa where the post-colonial procedures largely designed by the Western powers have produced situations which range from repressive dictatorships to tribal wars and economic chaos.

SHAMBLES

I would not pretend to be an expert on the detailed political affairs of Southern Africa but, having spent time in the past visiting Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique, I would not wish on my worst enemy the quite appalling and chaotic shambles that has emerged in these potentially rich and prosperous nations.

Of course, no right-thinking person would expect that the apartheid system thought out by the late Dr Verwoerd could produce an acceptable society.

Quite apart from the economic rigidities created by condemning the black population to the lower grade work and responsibilities, it could not be right to give credence to a society where the majority were forever denied political power.

But would policies designed to wreck the South African economy actually help to resolve these injustices? Much more likely would be civil war and tribal bloodbaths.

The present South African Government has given the clearest signs of a desire to change. It has renounced the "pass system" which is at the root of apartheid. It (apartheid) has virtually disappeared in sport, the law banning mixed marriages has been scrapped and electoral rights have been given to coloureds and Indians.

Obviously, this does not go far enough for committed democrats, but it is a near revolution for the previously dogmatic Afrikaners and once started the reform programme can only go on.

But what of Nelson Mandela and the ANC? Of course, the imprisonment of Mandela has been a great rallying cry for the "hate South Africa" group but few would deny that Mandela could be a free man tomorrow if he would publicly renounce violence.

Nor is there any evidence that the ANC, which, like the IRA advances its cause with bombs and terror, has the broad support of all the blacks.

It would also be a mistake to ignore the fact that while some so-called repressive states spend their time stopping their citizens from escaping, South Africa's basic problem is keeping out the hordes of foreign blacks seeking to benefit from the prosperity and relatively high living standards of the Republic.

COMPLEX

Of course, South Africa will have to change. Of course, constitutional reforms are vital.

But the task of creating power sharing and stability in a nation of tribes with a history of conflict, tribes of which white residents are only one, is complex and dangerous.

If we continue with a policy of harassment and boycott, the inevitable result will be chaos and blood and the destruction of the prosperity which is unique in Southern Africa.

And we must not forget that nothing would please international communism more than a collapse of an economy on whose minerals the West depends.

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, January 14 1986

Crocker delivers a personal letter from Reagan to Botha

US ASSISTANT Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, acted as postman yesterday, delivering a personal letter from President Ronald Reagan to President P W Botha.

Its contents formed the basis of almost two hours of discussions between Crocker and Botha in Cape Town.

Also at the meeting were US ambassador Herman Nickel, US director on Southern African Affairs J S Davidow, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

Details of the discussions were not revealed. Diplomatic sources suggested they concerned getting a new initiative going on the SWA issue and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

They are also said to concern SA's relations with its neighbouring states and America's views on the internal reform process.

After meeting at the Tuynehuis, both delegations — with the exception of the State President — adjourned to a nearby restaurant for a working lunch.

They were joined by deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Ron Miller; head of the SA Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys; head of the National Intelligence Service, L D Barnard; SWA's Director-General Louis Pienaar; and SA ambassador to the US Johann Beukes.

The atmosphere appeared congenial with an aide describing the initial phases of the meeting as "positive so far".

The Americans, however, maintained a stony silence on the discussions.

It is understood Crocker, originally scheduled to leave SA today, might extend his stay.

Cape Times 14/1/86

304A

'Rubicon II': New hopes for reform

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Expectations that President P W Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament later this month will signal further apartheid reforms have risen sharply in political and financial circles here.

The new cautious optimism follows the remarks of the Swiss mediator, Dr Fritz Leutwiler, who expressed confidence at the weekend that political changes to help end South Africa's debt crisis would be announced soon.

Significantly, Dr Leutwiler's comments were given splash front-page treatment in the Financial Times and the Wall Street Journal.

But British and European bankers were more cautious, adopting a wait-and-see attitude towards Mr Botha's keynote speech — which has already been dubbed here as Rubicon II.

Bankers are still expressing the view that the issue of new loans would require substantial and fundamental reforms, which would have to go further than what Dr Leutwiler appears to have in mind.

They were still sceptical about whether the envisaged reforms would be sufficient to persuade the world's banking community to change its mind on the risk factor involved in making new loans to South Africa.

Dr Leutwiler has hinted all along that he does not expect Pretoria to acquiesce immediately on demands such as the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the lifting of the ban on the ANC. Indications are that Pretoria is rather moving towards a shared society and negotiations with black leaders such as the KwaZulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Commentators and foreign observers were quick to point out that Dr Leutwiler failed to seek meetings with popular black leaders and organizations such as the UDF.

Western diplomatic sources expect Mr Botha to deliver a far more sophisticated and credible version of his reforms when he opens the 1986 parliamentary session.

But they do not expect that there will be any surprises nor that he will move beyond the piecemeal vision of concession-and-adaptation.

They expect that Mr Botha has prepared a far more credible marketing package of his reforms and will hold out the prospect of "reforming" the pass laws, softening the application of the Group Areas Act and providing for freehold land rights for blacks.

But they are agreed that such a package would fall short of the more fundamental reforms being demanded by Western bankers as the bottom-line for much-needed new loans to Pretoria.

Nurse move could lead to staff shortages

Pretoria Correspondent

The appointment of black registered nurses in white provincial hospital wards would in the long run lead to a shortage of personnel in black hospitals, spokesmen for both the Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party warned yesterday.

Mrs Irene Menell, the PFP spokesman on hospitals, said she was delighted about the latest development.

The Department of Hospital Services could solve its problems only by desegregating the whole hospital system, including the training of nurses, she said.

Mr Servaas Latsky, spokesman for the CP, found the idea of black nurses attending to white patients totally unacceptable.

Black hospitals would be drained of experienced staff, because black registered nurses would compete for posts at white hospitals, he said.

Onus is now on President to press on with reform

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Swiss debt mediator Dr Fritz Leutwiler is looking to President Botha to announce significant reforms when he opens parliament, his spokesman Mr Erich Heini indicated yesterday.

Dr Leutwiler is hoping this will generate the political will among bankers that will promote agreement on rescheduling proposals when they meet in London, probably on February 18 or 19.

Dr Leutwiler has also indicated that South Africa will have to accept a "less ambitious" settlement than the one it suggested last month to end its debt crisis and satisfy creditor banks.

HARDEN RELATIONS

Banks rejected last month's settlement proposals from the South African government.

He has indicated that if South Africa fails to reach agreement with the banks at next month's meeting in London and again extends the debt repayment deadline, it would be likely to harden relations with the international finance market.

If the meeting in London next month fails, South Africa could extend its debt repayments again, but Mr Heini said Dr Leutwiler was keen to find a mutually acceptable solution that would allow South Africa and the banks to trade without a mediator and that he "will certainly try to reach an agreement before the end of March".

South Africa's standstill on debt repayments expires on March 31.



Dr Leutwiler

What gave Leutwiler hope

By Trevor Walker
Finance Editor

South Africa's debt negotiator Dr Fritz Leutwiler's three-day visit to South Africa last week highlighted once again the poor perceptions that foreign bankers and businessmen have of this country.

There is nothing perplexing at all about Leutwiler's apparent about-face as was reported in some newspapers abroad.

He made it very plain during his visit that he remained totally opposed to apartheid and all that such a policy entailed.

But given that, he was nevertheless acutely surprised at how much progress had been made since his last visit some eight years ago.

Checked for himself

The Co-ordinating Committee's proposals to the creditor banks at the first meeting in London were unacceptable.

However, from the point of view of the South African authorities this was merely an opening move in a game in which they had no experience whatsoever.

They subsequently had a number of smaller private meetings with Leutwiler, and this led to his South African visit to enable him to ascertain for himself whether his perceptions coincided with actual conditions within the country.

Leutwiler has made it clear that the creditor banks have made no political demands, and that if any were to be tabled at the second meeting next month they would be ruled out of order.

US banks have not been laying down specific conditions, and any that have surfaced have been due to the strength of the Left. In private this has not been a big issue.

Aims and hopes

Nevertheless, the banks have expressed concern about the political stability in the country, particularly since the state of emergency was declared.

Leutwiler's optimism since his visit stems largely from his study of the reforms already introduced by Mr P W Botha and apparently from P W's perceived sincerity when he talks about his aims and hopes.

The proposals at the next meeting between SA and its creditor banks will be the "Leutwiler proposals".

Besides being a former head of the Swiss Central Bank he was also head of the Bank for International Settlements and is eminently qualified to mediate on debt rescheduling.

At the meeting in the second half of next month it will be his reputation on the line. He feels that his proposals, while likely to be "unacceptable to both parties", will be the most feasible and practical ones possible and that they will not be open for much further debate or horse trading.

So it is possible that South Africa's interest costs on servicing its outstanding loans might increase while the creditor banks might have to accept that certain loans remain outside the repayment net.

As Leutwiler pointed out, South Africa was never over-borrowed — its interest payments on overseas loans were never excessive in relation to its exports.

The country was drawn into a liquidity crisis entirely by political developments.

No matter what political changes are introduced in South Africa they will never satisfy the extreme Left. Banks are going to have to accept the difference between political fact and fiction.

The sooner the debt standstill can be formalised and schedules arrived at, the sooner will it be feasible to begin to reduce exposures, role over existing loans, and the sooner will it be possible for the country to return to the international capital markets.

According to banking sources, the close working relationship this country has with overseas banks remains, and a good deal of interest has been shown in various projects by Swiss, German and even US banks in recent weeks.

One aspect that concerns local bankers is the fact that the next talks will take place just prior to the annual budget. If satisfactory progress is not made, then calls for direct controls and a swing to the laager approach are expected to intensify.

A positive impact

Leutwiler was at pains to point out that if this attitude were to be adopted by such a trade-dependent nation as South Africa, the whole debt standstill process could be extended over a great many years.

However, his visit is more likely to have a positive impact on the Budget. He was in full agreement with present monetary policy and warned that excessive artificial stimulation would have to be balanced closely against the debilitating effects of the present inflationary spiral.

One other aspect that Leutwiler will no doubt be emphasising to senior Western bankers is the strong negative impact the standstill is having on the whole sub-Saharan region.

This region has become one of the foremost concerns of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

If South Africa is forced to remain a net exporter of capital in the years ahead then the regions economic development will be drastically curtailed.

By attempting to fine-tune white political attitudes in South Africa by the use of loan strictures, the whole region could be bludgeoned down the road of economic decay.

It is one 'helluva' reform programme

South Africa's debt mediator Dr Fritz Leutwiler said at the end of his three-day visit to this country that he had read all the speeches made by the State President this year and observed at the Press conference prior to his departure that the country's recent reforms had been a "helluva" programme.

Political observers believe that P W Botha, while not spelling out his future plans, must have given Leutwiler some strong indications as to how he hoped his reform programme would develop this year and next.

Leutwiler commented while here that the country was incredibly inept in promoting the positive side of its political developments abroad and that the government, in attempting to speak to the far right, was in fact speaking a language incomprehensible to the rest of the world.

It is perhaps worthwile in this context to list the major changes that P W Botha has presided over so far:

- **Sport** — opened to all races.
- **Labour** — Modern, sophisticated trade union system open all races.
- **Job reservation** — removed.
- **Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act** — repealed.
- **Immorality Act** — Offensive racial provisions repealed.
- **Immigration** — Provision providing for white immigration only to be repealed.
- **Influx control and pass laws** — President's Council recommendation for phasing out, under sympathetic consideration for action during the next session of parliament.
- **Constitutional** — Asians and Coloureds represented in Parliament. Asians and Coloureds holding ministerial and deputy-ministerial positions in government.
- **Public amenities** — Many desegregated, such as hotels, restaurants, parks, trains, buses.
- **Forced resettlement** — discontinued.
- **Property rights for Blacks** — Accepted as well as permanency of Black communities in urban areas.
- **Local Government** — Full participation of all population groups.
- **Education** — Parity for all population groups is the declared objective and action to this end is under way.

ANC and NP the 'true victims of apartheid'

The ANC and the National Party were the true victims of apartheid because both believed they could not share power, using brutal force against opponents, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

Addressing the central committee of Inkatha at Ulundi, he said 1986 would be a weatershed year for the organisation. Inkatha had a multi-strategy approach and commitment to reconciliation while the NP did not believe in such an approach.

The State President acted as though he was the only person able to wield power in South Africa and his Cabinet were terrorised by the thought of power-sharing.

The ANC, on the other hand, also could not share the power it believed it had. "They talk about themselves as the vanguard movement. They strut up and down the corridors of the international community as members of government-in-exile. They loudly and insistently proclaim themselves to be the sole representatives of the people of South Africa.

"They tolerate no opposition. They say that blacks must not enter town council politics and, when they do, they murder them brutally by hacking them to pieces or incinerating them alive. That is democracy for the ANC mission-in-exile." — Sapa.

CAPE TIMES 16/1/86 (304A)

Cape

Homes for six ministers in Walmer Estate

Staff Reporter

THE State seems set to spend between R1,8-million and R2,4-million for new houses in Cape Town for the five coloured "own affairs" cabinet ministers and the one coloured "general affairs" deputy minister.

The houses will be built in Walmer Estate, about four kilometres from the City centre, according to a report in today's edition of the Financial Mail.

A spokesman for the Minister of Public Works, Dr L A P A Munnik, said 15 tenders had been received ranging from R1 841 957 to R2 498 800.

The tenders for the individual houses range from R307 000 to R416 000. The prices include civil works such as roads and drainage.

The spokesman said a final decision on the contract would be made by next Wednesday, but there appeared to be "no problems" and it was likely that one of the tenders would be accepted. The houses are expected to be ready for occupation by the end of the year.

But the prospect of having the coloured ministers living in the area has angered some Walmer Estate residents.

The chairman of the Salt River/Woodstock/Walmer Estate Residents' Association, Mr Seraj Desai, said: "These people are not welcome in our area.

"This area (the Tafelberg constituency) recorded the lowest poll in the country in the tri-cameral elections. We have shown beyond doubt that we do not support these men, so why do they now have to come and live among us?"

Mr Desai claims to have the largest active residents' association in the Peninsula and says his members are right behind him.

One Walmer Estate resident, who asked not to be named, lives near the proposed site of the new houses and is concerned that the value of his property will drop.

"Walmer Estate is one of the few suburbs close to the City where so-called coloureds can live, and because of that, these houses are valuable.

"When the ministers move in, the value of nearby houses could drop, not only because many people will refuse in principle to live near them, but also because of the security risk.

"These men are targets. We have seen it already — the house of Mr Luwellyn Landers ("general affairs" deputy minister) in Mitchells Plain was bombed last year.

"Now they are coming to live virtually nextdoor to me, and my wife and children will be exposed to the risk of getting caught in an attack on them. I find it totally unacceptable. They should go and live behind the barbed wire fences with the State President and the white ministers out near Groote Schuur," he said.

The proposed cost of the houses has also whipped up a storm, particularly after the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, Mr David Curry, told delegates to the recent Labour Party congress in Cape Town that a chronic lack of funds was one of the main reasons for the shortage of coloured housing.

Mr Desai said: "In the light of the shortage of houses, it is scandalous to consider spending this much on accommodation for these men."

VIEWS

RKG45 16/1/86 304A

Stellenbosch expert urges ANC talks

FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the Political Staff reports

A Stellenbosch academic, Dr Philip Nel, says that despite the African National Congress's plan to expand its guerilla campaign to a fullscale "people's war" there remained a need for official talks with the ANC in a bid for peace.

His main arguments include:

☐ The ANC represented the political aspirations of a large part of South Africa's black population; and

☐ There could be ways of persuading the ANC or at least some of its leaders that violence was not the answer.

Dr Nel, a senior researcher at Stellenbosch University's Institute for the Study of Marxism, said in an interview that South Africa needed fewer strategists and more peacemakers.

Strategists were people whose exclusive concern was "postures of power". Peacemakers, on the other hand, were concerned with the basic causes of a situation of violence.

The peacemakers recognised that the "unyielding and violent" implementation of apartheid over the years and half-hearted attempts to get rid of it had angered many South Africans.

Dr Nel said that no matter how objectionable the ANC's tactics were to many people, it could not be denied that the organisation enjoyed esteem among many people inside South Africa and in the outside world.

In spite of gruesome and emotional aspects of recent terror attacks in Natal it was now more necessary than ever to initiate official talks with the ANC as part of a "comprehensive negotiation packet".

Dr Nel said a solution to the present South African crisis which excluded the ANC and its supporters inside South Africa was not only unrealistic, but would plunge South Africa deeper into a spiral of violence and counter-violence.

The time had come for all South Africans who wanted peace to associate themselves publicly with "the agenda of the peacemakers". That "agenda" included the abolition of the "cornerstones of apartheid" — the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act — and the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

It also included the unbanning of the ANC and talks with that organisation and other black groups, and an end to violence on all sides, including terror acts and detention without trial.

PFP names candidate

Municipal Reporter

Randburg businessman Mr Dick Muller (30) is the Progressive Federal Party's candidate in Randburg's Ward 6 municipal by-election on February 19.

Mr Muller heads his own executive recruitment consultancy agency in the town, takes a keen interest in community affairs, is a board member of the Randburg Foundation and a member of the Randburg Chamber of Commerce.

He grew up in Randburg and lives with his wife and three children in Malanshof.

He said he was entering the political arena because he was "fed-up with the buffetting being suffered by all levels of government and the socio-economic ills suffered at all levels.

"It appears that the local council is governing by decree rather than consultation. Residents have a heavy rates burden and do not receive enough amenities in return."

Leutwiler is assured that reforms will be continued

GENEVA — South Africa's debt mediator, Dr Fritz Leutwiler said the country's leaders have assured him that the reform policy would be continued.

In a Swiss radio interview, he added that "more important" to him, however, were the talks he had during his recent stay with members of the black majority, with representatives of the Indian community and of the white opposition.

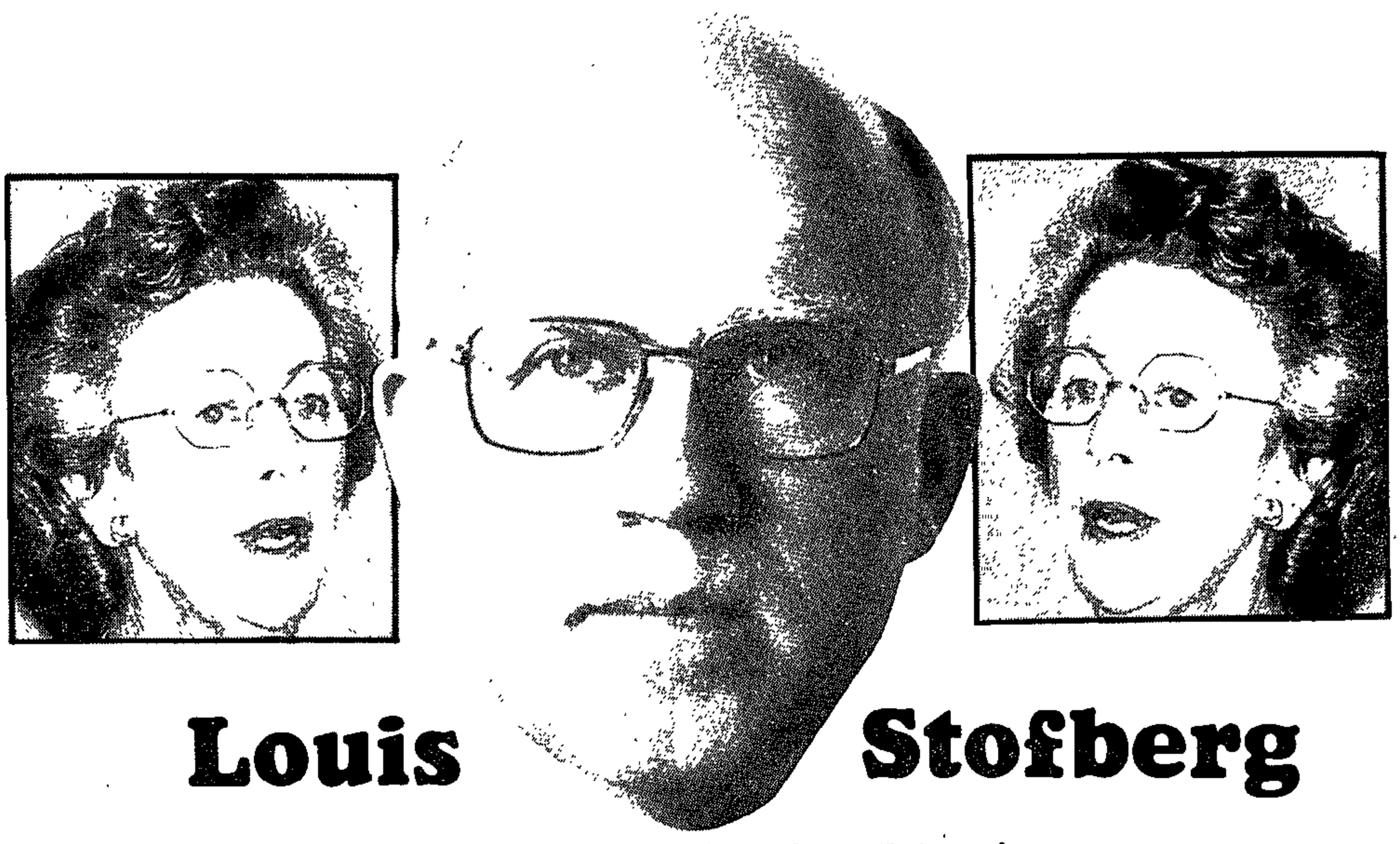
"I continue to be concerned that a continued financial crisis would hurt above all the people who are being discriminated against" under the present system, he said.

Commenting further on these talks, Mr Leutwiller said: "I can tell you that people who represent the majority of the black population, the coloreds and the Indians, did not have exactly words of praise for these radicals from whom the blacks now have to suffer most."

When the interviewer noted that white businessman had met with representatives of the African National Congress, Mr Leutwiler said the businessmen in talking to him said they were now regretful about this.

He said he had always considered as "unrealistic" the South African proposal that repayment of the foreign debt should be delayed until 1990, with only the interest being paid until then.

He said he had prepared his own proposal "which goes much less far" for an arrangement with South Africa's Western creditors, but declined to discuss details. — AP.



Mr Louis Stofberg — taking the HNP into the House.

'The Helen Suzman of the right . . .'

DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

WHEN Mr Louis Stofberg leads the Herstigte Nasionale Party into Parliament as its sole representative at the end of this month he is determined not to be an adjunct of the larger Conservative Party.

It is traditional that new MPs be led into Parliament for swearing in before the Table of the relevant House by one or two serving members, usually of the same party. But in Mr Stofberg's case, because there are no other HNP members, it is not clear who will do the honours.

"One thing the HNP cannot allow is to let representatives of another party lead me in. My presence in Parliament will be an HNP presence and nobody else's. I will strike an HNP note every time I open my mouth," Mr Stofberg said in an interview this week.

Whichever way Mr Stofberg is admitted to Parliament, and of course there is no way that he can be barred, when he strides down the green carpet of the House of Assembly virtually every pair of eyes present will stare at him with open hostility.

Satisfaction?

Mr Stofberg may feel a twinge of smug satisfaction if President Botha is present, for it was Mr Botha who threw him out of the National Party in 1969.

Within weeks of his expulsion, and those of three of his Transvaal colleagues, the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, called a snap general election and the HNP four were thrust into the political wilderness until Mr Stofberg's upset victory in the Sasolburg by-election last October.

In the intervening 16 years Mr Stofberg has struggled tenaciously to return to Parliament, losing eight electoral battles and several deposits.

In the process, Mr Stofberg and the HNP have made bitter enemies in the National Party, so very few of that party's 128 MPs will look upon the new Member for Sasolburg kindly.

Acrimony

The 27 Progs and five New Republic Party members can hardly be expected to be enthusiastic about an MP so far to the right of them, while not even the 18 Conservatives are going to be too happy.

Although in the eyes of most of South Africa there is no difference between the HNP and the CP, there is much acrimony between the two rightwing parties, especially since Mr Stofberg demonstrated that the HNP is able to pull off an electoral victory and was not dependent on the Conservatives for its survival.

Mr Stofberg clearly wants to take this independence further, and that is why he will not have anything to do with the CP in Parliament.

The 59-year-old MP instead plans to be the "Helen Suzman of the right" — serving alone in Parliament for his party in the same way that Mrs Suzman did for the Progessive Party for 13 years.

Like Mrs Suzman, he plans to have a formidible back-up team outside Parliament, to do the investigative work, prepare questions and help with research for speeches.

Mr Stofberg does not want to reveal the nature of the HNP's strategy in Parliament, or which issues or personalities he will be gunning for. "That will make it too easy for the Nats," he said.

"But obviously I am going to take on the Nats, and the system. The HNP does not support this system of Parliament. We want something completely different."

A glance at HNP policy will show what Mr Stofberg wants. His party stands for a return to the policies of Dr Verwoerd. That means the total partition of races at every political, social, cultural and recreational level.

It would also push for a socialist form of economy with substantial redistribution of wealth from the "money powers". It is extremely hawkish on defence and internal security matters, and Calvinistic in its approach to censorship and Sunday observance.

One commentator recently described Mr Stofberg as a "flat earther who makes Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht look like a flaming liberal".

In fact, although he is very conservative even by South African standards, Mr Stofberg is no fool. A former journalist (on the Burger) and practising attorney, he has had wide experience in business, local administration, the provincial council and three years in Parliament

He has also played a major role as general secretary of the HNP.

Now he is just as enthusiastic about leading his party into a new era.

Going to be there

"Our whole party has suddenly become very conscious of Parliament. Where before we were an extra-Parliamentary party, relying for information of what was happening there on the newspapers, now we are going to be there, taking part in its debates and legislation.

"I have already been informed that I will represent the HNP in its own right at the whips meetings, and I believe that I will be round about the sixth or seventh speaker in the no confidence debate.

"I will use every opportunity I have to probe the Government during question time, and I will make the HNP's contribution in the debates.

"But then I will not be alone."

ONE commentator recently described new HNP Member of Parliament Mr Louis Stofberg as a "flat earther who makes Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht look like a flaming liberal". But Mr Stofberg may feel a twinge of smug satisfaction if President Botha is present, for it was Mr Botha who threw him out of the National Party in 1969.

CMG Times
20/1/86

Big shift by whites — HSRC

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

LAST YEAR saw a dramatic shift by whites in favour of accelerated political reform and a national convention, according to a survey by the Human Sciences Research Council.

However, the findings of the survey — published in the Sunday Times yesterday — show that whites remain cautious about close social contact with blacks and still overwhelmingly reject the idea of black majority rule.

Included in the findings are that:

● Between March and October white attitudes towards the inclusion of blacks in Parliament switched from 57,2 percent in favour of keeping blacks out in March, to 56,2 percent favouring their inclusion seven months later.

● During the same period the number of whites who thought blacks should be excluded from Parliament dropped from 57,2 percent to 43,8 percent.

Government should negotiate

● The vast majority of respondents — 91 percent — said the government should negotiate with all leaders who rejected violence.

● 60,1 percent were in favour of a national convention to draw up a new constitution in which all races would be represented.

The survey shows that the National Party is taking most of its supporters with it in the reform process — only 5,9 percent admitting opposition to President P W Botha's reform programme.

Mr Botha received almost equal support from English and Afrikaans speakers (40,1 and 41 percent respectively) in March 1985.

Concern about sharing schools

Surprisingly, 27,8 percent of Progressive Federal Party and 36,8 percent of New Repulic Party supporters favour the President.

A total of 65,5 percent of whites support either Mr Botha or the National Party, or both.

Despite a greater acceptance of black inclusion in a new constitution, whites remain concerned about shared schools, residential areas and swimming pools, the survey found.

And only one percent of whites said they favour a future under black majority rule, with 92,7 percent rejecting the idea.

PW's second Rubicon 'may be worse'

CAPE TOWN — Unless President Botha addresses himself to the demands of the people for a non-racial, democratic South Africa when he opens this year's parliamentary session, his "second Rubicon" speech will be an even worse failure than last year's effort, Dr Allan Boesak said yesterday.

Speaking at a prayer meeting of more than 2 000 people crammed into the civic centre in Atlantis, north of Cape Town, Dr Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a UDF patron, said whatever Mr Botha said would be measured against this demand.

"It will be measured not by what Mrs Thatcher says or what Ronald Reagan says but by what the people of South Africa want for themselves and for their children."

SPECULATION

Referring to speculation that the UDF would lose support he said:

"People around us try to ban our meetings to create the impression that the people of South Africa have no interest anymore in their own future.

"But the UDF is not one organisation but the heart and soul of the people of South Africa. There is no way that people who are determined to be free can be stopped."

Sheik A G Gabier, of the Muslim Judicial Council, said the organisation was totally committed to the struggle. It had prohibited all Muslims from negotiating with the Government — formally or informally — and from joining the SADF or the police force. — Sapa.

P W is creating the rebels in SA: academic


BOTHA

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — An Oxford academic has warned that State President P W Botha is turning "conservative" opponents of apartheid into rebels.

In a letter to the *Guardian*, Dr Rosemary Ridd, a social anthropologist from Oxford's Woolfson College, focuses on the detention of former *Cape Times* reporter Zubeida Jaffer and her community worker husband, Johnny Issel.

Ridd, who is working on a book on District Six for the Oxford University Press, met Jaffer 10 years ago while living in District Six.

"My periodic visits to SA over the past 15 years have made clear how the gathering momentum has caught up normally passive people in a collective experience of political protest.

"One such person, Zubeida Jaffer, is still being held incommunicado after five weeks. Her mother says all efforts to locate her have failed, despite a personal telegram and a 1 000-signature petition to the State President.

"Zubeida is three months' pregnant with her first child. She has no access to her doctor ...

"Zubeida was also detained in 1980 after writing an article for the *Cape Times* on the families of victims shot by police. After two months she was released without charge," Ridd said.

Taking up Issel's case, Ridd noted he had acquired the status of a prisoner of conscience within Amnesty International for his "persistent, non-violent opposition to apartheid in his work for the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Churches Urban Planning Commission (Cups)".

"People like Zubeida are dangerous to the SA government because they come from conservative (in her case Muslim) family backgrounds representing the grass-roots emergence of political consciousness, and are propelled by events to take a stand." Ridd said.

Government caused linking of black education, political crisis

Cape Times 20/11/86

By SEJAMOTHOPO MOTAU

STARTLING parallels can be drawn between the educational mess in black schools and the political turmoil in South Africa today.

In the early 1970s, when the rumblings against Afrikaans first emerged in the black townships, the authorities appeared uninterested to the point of being contemptuous of the pleas from black schools.

They pooh-poohed the complaints and said they were "communist inspired" and the work of a "handful of agitators". The subdued sobbing grew into a storm and still the government appeared deaf to the approaching thunder.

When the explosion came on June 16, 1976, the minister in charge of black education confessed his ignorance about the bitterness, the anger and frustration which had been building up in the townships.

The flames ignited on that fateful day are still raging. But instead of chanting: "Away with Afrikaans", black students are now chorusing: "Freedom now, education tomorrow."

Neglected

By attributing the complaints to communists and agitators, the government neglected to deal with the problem and the condition deteriorated like a gangrenous limb. The disease has now spread to the whole South African body. Currently we are witnessing an uncanny similarity between that and the pattern on the political front.

Since 1910 blacks have pleaded, have begged and demonstrated for inclusion in decision-making in South Africa, seeking to share power with their white compatriots. Government after successive white government dug in its heels and refused to hear anything about such powersharing.

Until about a year ago blacks were generally still agitating for official statements which would imply possible future powersharing. But whenever such promises have been uttered, spokesmen have been quick to "clarify" such statements to assure the white electorate of the contrary. More than anything else, this government attitude must be held responsible for inextricably linking the educational crisis in black schools to the overall political turmoil.

Now, as the government is frantically searching for credible black leaders to negotiate the inclusion of blacks in decision-making "at the highest level", or in power-sharing, some township residents are saying they are prepared to talk to the government only about the handing over of power from white control to the black majority. The ANC also reportedly holds this view.

There seems to have been a debilitating hardening of attitudes among blacks on the constitutional controversy within only a few months, and the government must take the blame for this.

Its shortsighted procrastination on this vital issue may yet cost the country dearly. However, the government should not construe this attitude to preclude the negotiation of joint decision-making. This should be seen as a gambit on the part of the ANC and those who support the banned organization to push the government faster towards finding a negotiated solution in the country.

Many blacks would like to see a negotiated solution to the country's problems, and President Botha must capitalize on this by grasping the nettle and calling a national convention to carve out a new constitution for a future united South Africa. Success will depend on timeous action.

The bloodshed in the country should be enough to convince anyone there is indeed a pressing need. The government should learn from its past errors of commission and omission, which have led to the catastrophic impasse in black education, to avoid leading the country into a similar and broader political crisis.

The clumsy and ham-handed manner in which successive ministers of black education have handled crises in their department since 1976 should not be repeated.

One such government blunder was the recent banning of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas). The government should not repeat such reckless action on the political front by, for instance, banning the UDF. Banning Cosas has not eliminated violence in the black townships. If anything, the situation seems to be worsening. The government needs the leadership of organizations that enjoy popular black support, such as Cosas and the UDF, to embark on constructive negotiations.

Totalitarian

Bannings are totalitarian actions that merely diminish the stature of the government and also alienate peace-loving blacks from the democratic process. It is actions such as the bannings of the ANC, Cosas and PAC that have led to the unfurling of the Communist Party flag here. Flying that flag was an open act of defiance in which many blacks indulge simply to "get at the government".

It still does not make sense to many black educationalists why Cosas was banned, since the body provided the authorities with identifiable student leaders who were being encouraged to talk about resolving the SRC constitutional impasse.

When confronted by an unconventional problem, such as demands that students should be involved in the hiring and firing of teachers, one should look to innovative methods to meet the problem. Instead of resorting to handing down instructions and ultimatiums, one should call upon the proponents of the demand to justify their positions.

Banning their leaders negates this approach. Dialogue demanding rational discussion is needed; not emotional behaviour in silencing people or organizations through arbitrary banning. Negotiation is a two-way stream and depends on mutual compromise.

For instance, the SRC constitution controversy could have been speedily resolved had the education department challenged the students to present their own constitution the moment they rejected the department's document.

Such action would undoubtedly have knocked most of the wind from the sails of the protesting students. Instead, valuable time was lost while the department tried to impose its constitution on the schools.

Had the education department initially thrown down the gauntlet at the boycotting students, a mutually acceptable constitution would have been implemented by now and most students would have forgotten why they wanted it in the first place.

Of course, by now they would probably have found a new axe to grind: most likely, demands for a unitary ministry of education. It is a frightening thought, but true, that many students in the townships have lost the heart to attend school and they now use any excuse to be out of class.

The tragedy is that, unlike the days when the truants stayed out on their own, today the miscreants want to take everybody down the drain with them — all in the name of the black struggle!

Extracted from Optima December 1985.

[Sejamothopo Motau is a senior reporter and columnist of the Pretoria News.]

56 pc of whites want blacks in Parliament

Mercury

20/1/86

304A

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Last year saw a dramatic shift in the attitudes of white voters in favour of accelerated political reform and a national convention, according to a Human Sciences Research Council survey.

However, the findings of the survey — published in a Sunday newspaper yesterday — indicate that whites remain cautious about close social contact with blacks and still overwhelmingly reject the idea of black majority rule.

Included in the findings are that:

Negotiate

● Between March and October white attitudes towards the inclusion of blacks in Parliament switched from 57,2 percent being in favour of keeping blacks out in March, to 56,2 per cent favouring their inclusion seven months later.

● During the same period the number of whites who thought blacks should be excluded from Parliament dropped from 57,2 percent in March to 43,8 percent seven months later.

● The vast majority of respondents — 91 percent — said the Government should negotiate with all leaders who rejected violence.

● And 60,1 percent were in favour of a national convention to draw up a new constitution in which all races would be represented.

A marked feature of the survey was that whites rapidly accepted reform measures adopted by the Government, even if they were opposed to them before.

The survey also disclosed that the National Party was taking most of its supporters with it in the reform process.

Mr Botha received almost equal support from English and Afrikaans speakers (40,1 and 41 percent respectively) in March 1985.

Surprisingly, 27,8 percent of Progressive Federal Party supporters and 36,8 percent of New Republic Party supporters surveyed also favoured the President.

A total of 65,5 percent of whites support either Mr Botha or the National Party, or both, the survey found.

'Make '86 the year of action,' say leading SA businessmen

304A BUSDAY 21/1/86



☐ ANGLO AMERICAN'S BOYD



☐ BARLOW RAND'S CLEWLOW



☐ ANGLOVAAL'S ROBBERTZE

DAVID FURLONGER/Industrial Editor

IF 1985 was the year of promises, 1986 must be the year of action. Unless government acts urgently to implement promised reforms, the business and industrial sectors will remain in the mess they are in now, say leading businessmen.

Despite a marginally more optimistic business mood, there is general acceptance that industrial recovery is linked inextricably with political reform.

Says Anglo American Corporation executive director Les Boyd: "If political reform is not continued and in many ways extended, we could have problems.

"There were changes last year, but major issues were just talked about. This year government must actually change laws. If not, chances of recovery in the economic and business climate are remote."

Barlow Rand chief executive Warren Clewlow sounds the same warning.

"We're not short of good ideas, only of fast implementation. If 1986 could be the year of implementing all we've said we are going to do, it would be very good for South Africa.

"It will be of little help if the State President announces new concessions this year if we can't implement the ones he announced in 1985."

Clewlow adds that government can benefit politically by putting the business sector back on a sound footing.

"I perceive that economics in the past have been low in government's scheme of things. I hope this year that economic factors will take a higher place in its thinking.

"Without the economy back to where it should be, the task of politicians to get to grips with political issues will be much more difficult. Last year showed how a poor economy could blunt political push."

There is general agreement that recent economic signs offer increased cause for optimism.

According to Assocom economist Bill Lacey: "Economic indicators are looking better — balance of payments, interest rates, rand, the gold price. There are reasons to be optimistic on the economic front."

Anglovaal Industries MD Jan Robbertze cautions, however, that while there is a "slight improvement" in the business mood, there is also concern that there will once again be little or no physical growth this year.

"For perhaps the third year running, even successful businesses could have static volumes."

There is also a danger of businessmen reading too much into the improved conditions.

"I've been wrong two years in a row in anticipating when the economy will get better. You can't put a time on it. When the country regains its financial standing, has access to capital and can undertake major projects, then things will start picking up.

"In the meantime, I tell my people they must plan on the basis that the situation will remain as tough as hell."

Robbertze echoes the views of other businessmen that, outside the spin-offs from political reform, business and industry can expect little direct assistance from government this year.

Like others, he would like to see reductions in taxation — notably company tax — from its present 50% level.

"The cost of capital replacement, particularly with the imported component, is huge with a 40c rand. You have to pay double what you paid originally. To finance that replacement, you must retain earnings. But with company tax at 50%, that's an enormous take.

"It was 42% when the rand was 100 US cents or even 110c. Compare that and companies are going to be in a very major squeeze."

Realistically, however, he expects few concessions from Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in this year's Budget.

"He has such great demands on the available resources that he will be very constrained. What I would like him to do and what he will do are very different. Expecting a cut in the tax rate is clearly optimistic, however desirable."

Clewlow agrees: "The economy would benefit tremendously if high taxation could be alleviated. Companies are faced with inflation and high taxation. Cashflows are proving inadequate to provide necessary capital for expansion and job creation.

"But business isn't the only concern. Barend du Plessis needs money to finance other things. When people say 'reduce taxation,' are they prepared to sacrifice other things, like housing and black education?"

One tax area where he believes government should be more compassionate is fringe benefits tax. He considers its introduction was ill-timed.

"Fringe benefits tax hit car sales. In hindsight, government should have abandoned it until the motor industry could absorb it. Was the tax worth the loss of industry, sales and jobs?

"Many jobs that were lost in 1985 were lost for ever. This is not the time to reorganise industry. We must accept we have established certain industries, that they help areas and employ many people.

"Perhaps they were set up for the wrong reasons in the first place. That doesn't matter now. We can't continue to destroy industries that employ so many people.

"In the Eastern Cape, it's not just jobs, but infrastructures and whole communities. Policies must be tailored to ensure these industries survive."

Boyd, who is chairman of the SA Motor Corporation (Samcor), wants government to delay implementing any increases in fringe benefits tax this year.

"I hope in the Budget we will see slow-time. The tax is being phased in. I hope the Minister will put it on hold for another year at present levels. The tax has hit the motor industry very badly.

"A lot of jobs were lost in the motor industry last year, many of them for ever. By the time the present rationalisation in the industry is complete, there will probably be less than 50% of the assembly workers there were in the peak years of the early 1980s."

The unemployment problem is a growing one, particularly with an estimated 200 000-300 000 new job-seekers having come on to the market in the new year.

While the worst of industry's lay-offs may be over, there are still plenty likely to come.

"Most of us have trimmed manpower as far as we can go, so I wouldn't expect a major new surge," says Robbertze. "There will still be retrenchments, but the major readjustments have been done."

Boyd adds: "I think 1986 will see further retrenchments. But by the end of the year, the process will be more or less complete."

Robbertze considers the main challenges facing business and industry this year to be holding earnings on static physical volumes; the effect of a 40c rand on transport, materials and other costs; capital replacement costs and industrial relations.

Assocom's Lacey believes that there is a more immediate need — restoring confidence.

"South African businessmen must have confidence for the future. Foreign businessmen can't be confident if we're not.

"Fear breeds fear. We must think positively. We must accept changes which occur and look to opportunities rather than problems."

Senior Assocom officials are due to meet Barend du Plessis on Thursday to discuss his Budget proposals.

Says Lacey: "The Budget has got to look to employment creation. Economic signs suggest growth, which should be helping that employment. Whether the Minister will want the taxpayer to help with that growth is another matter.

"We're wary of public sector-led growth. Public endeavours are not always as productive as the private sector."

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Di to quit party politics

CAPE TIMES 21/1/86

Di Bishop, who lost both her husband and best friend in a car accident last month, talks to GLYNNIS UNDERHILL about her decision to quit party politics when the provincial councils are abolished in June.

but her civil rights crusade will go on



PFP MPC for Gardens Di Bishop expects to be back on her feet soon. Photo Richard Bell

THE weeks that followed the deaths of human rights activists Molly Blackburn and Brian Bishop have been a critical period for the softly-spoken PFP MPC for Gardens, Di Bishop, who lost both a beloved husband and a close friend in one devastating blow

Today, as determined as ever to pursue justice and equality, the publicity-shy Di has made a quiet decision to remove herself from the public spotlight and quit party politics when the provincial councils are abolished in June.

Not that she plans to ease up on her anti-apartheid campaigning.

As the vice-chairman of the Western Cape region of the Black Sash, she feels she has more than enough work and it is likely her load will increase if the Black Sash decides to move its national headquarters to Cape Town this year

Still in pain, with both of her seriously injured legs in plaster, but hoping to be back on her feet in three months, Di has had time for reflection.

"I haven't really enjoyed being a public figure. I'm quite a shy person and the only thing that has encouraged me was the strong mandate I had from the people"

Di Bishop won the PFP Provincial seat in Gardens in 1981 by 1 825 votes and nobody was more surprised than her

"Brian and I were both so uninvolved in party politics that we had no idea I would stand a chance

"Then the by-elections turned into national elections It was a great shock suddenly to be thrown into 'white' politics."

A trained social worker with an honours degree in social work and former branch director of Nicro (the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders), Di was persuaded by Brian to stand for election.

When he was asked to stand for the PFP seat, he passed the buck to Di. She heard him on the phone to a PFP representative

"But you're talking to the wrong person, you should speak to Di.

"She studied at Stellenbosch University, she speaks fluent Afrikaans, I could see her shaking hands for hours and hours."

At first Di resisted the idea, but eventually she gave in

"Brian always wanted me to go into some sort of public life, not necessarily party politics

"I finally had my arm twisted but I relied heavily on him for decisions."

Di met Brian "putting out the rubbish" when they lived next door to one another in Observatory.

Theirs was a brief courtship.

"One day Brian phoned me up and said there was a special on diamonds at Macro Was I interested?"

As chairman and later deputy chairman of the Civil Rights league, Brian was a tireless campaigner for human rights.

He was also a past regional chairman of the Institute of Race Relations and an executive member of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce

Di had made her first anti-goverment stand at the age of 11 in 1961, when she refused to attend Republic celebrations at the Goodwood Showgrounds, but she had always been a "dormant" member of the PFP

It was also Brian who suggested she join the Black Sash

Her life of high profile began with her marriage 10 year ago.

Di has no regrets "I used the public platform, like Molly did, to highlight many issues that were not related to the Provincial Council"

Di and Molly Blackburn were voted in to the Cape Provincial Council the same year. It was the first time they had met.

"We became kindred spirits Both Molly and I talked for some time about quitting party politics We never felt terribly comfortable in that sphere of politics

"We felt confused about the role of the PFP and we had an immunity that not many people enjoy in this country."

After Brian's retirement in March last year, the Bishops, often aided by Molly and her husband Gavin, became indefatigable fighters for justice and democracy and waded into township areas on fact-finding missions

Their activities did not escape the notice of the shadowy rightwing groups

Last year Di's car was set alight and gutted and two teargas canisters thrown into their Oranjezicht house

Death threats were almost a weekly occurrence.

But it was on their last trip to Oudtshoorn, where the two couples collected affidavits on alleged police brutality, that the prominent campaigners lost their lives in a fatal car smash.

Despite her tragic loss Di is not throwing in the towel

"I am going to make myself as available as I can to respond to requests for help"

Metro THEATRES

SEA POINT METRO 1 44 7951
FRIDAY the 13th
(No 2 18)
Fri 10 2 5 15 7 45 10
Sat 2 5 15 7 45 10
Mon Thurs 10 2 5 15 8
You'll swear it was only a dream
Betsy Palmer Harry Crosby
Sat 10 a m Special Kiddies Show

SEA POINT METRO 2 44 7951
BACK TO THE FUTURE
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BY PUBLIC DEMAND
Fri & Sat 10 2 15 5 30 8 10 15
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OSCAR 45-2585 Adderley St
CINEMA-RACIALI
MONTY PYTHON'S
THE
MEANING OF LIFE
(No 2-18)
HELD OVER
Fri & Sat 10 2 5 15 7 45 10
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Zany Comedy
John Cleese Graham Chapman

GOODWOOD METRO 591-2641
MONTY PYTHON'S
THE
MEANING OF LIFE
(No 2-18)
Fri 10 2 15 5 30 8 30
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Mon Thurs 10 2 15 8
Zany Comedy
John Cleese Graham Chapman
Sat 10 a m Special Kiddies Show
Housewives Show January 15th
THE TERMINATOR (No 2-18)

RONDEBOSCH METRO 65-4569
Captain FURY
(No 2 18)
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2 Academy Award Winning Stars
Tatum O'Neal Irene Cara
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Mrs Di Bishop

Cape Times 21/11/86

Di Bishop: My future

The PFP MPC for Gardens, Mrs Di Bishop, who was injured in a car smash which claimed the lives of her husband, Mr Brian Bishop, and the PFP MPC for Walmer, Mrs Molly Blackburn, has announced that she will quit party politics when the Provincial Councils are abolished in June.

In an exclusive interview, she disclosed her intent to step down as a candidate and said "mixed feelings about the role of the PFP and the public spotlight" prompted her decision.

As vice-chairman of the Western Cape region of the Black Sash, she plans to devote her time to the organization.

● Interview, page 4

FCI has plan of action for change

Charter for business reform in SA

21/1/86. STAR
304A

The Federated Chamber of Industries has announced a plan of action which embraces a charter of social, economic and political rights for businesses in South Africa.

It said today that its Business Charter and Action Programme would be a positive contribution to solving the country's problems.

It added that South Africa was gripped by more discontent and confusion than ever before — despite significant reform in 1985 — and urgent solutions were needed to break the stalemate.

"In many ways we have reached a situation of near or practical stalemate. Serious and constructive thought must therefore be given to the road ahead and how to mannage the process of change in 1986 and beyond," the FCI said at a Press conference in Johannesburg.

It urged the Government to create a climate for negotiation, adding that business would play a role of mediation, conciliation and confidence-building. A major prerequisite for effective business mediation would be for the Government to increase its low domestic and international credibility.

South Africa should find urgent solutions to a number of complex economic issues which over the past few years, had caused retarded growth, higher inflation, and a failure to meet employment targets.

It said the charter was introduced "to commit the business community to universally accepted basic human rights", while the action programme was aimed at bridging "the wide credibility gaps between different political groups".

The action programme stressed "the urgent need for serious negotiation on political power sharing".

The FCI said business was committed, in a mediatory role, to bring this about.

Discrimination

Reform objectives included the removal of statutory racial discrimination, the negotiation of a dispensation of genuine political power-sharing, full and equal citizenship for all South Africans, the further development of a strong, free and independent trade union movement, and equal education opportunities.

Major priority issues to be addressed included the future pattern of industrial and economic development, employment creation, inflation and the economic opportunity and living standards of all population groups.

The Government had received little credit for the substantial political reform initiatives it had taken. Major political initiatives had been largely rejected by South Africa's urban blacks and many people overseas believed South Africa was in a state of revolution and anarchy.

An internationally convincing and accepted programme of political reform and economic reconstruction should be formulated to persuade the world that South Africa was a reasonable and acceptable credit and investment risk.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ARGUS 21/1/86 (HAB) (30KA

Doors of the DWP open to all opposition groups, says Dennis de la Cruz

The DWP aims to keep opposition alive inside and ouside Parliament. FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the Political Staff speaks to Mr Dennis de la Cruz

THE Democratic Workers' Party (DWP) in the House of Representatives sees an important role for itself in moves to keep opposition alive inside and outside Parliament.

The party's aims were outlined by its leader, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, at the DWP's first annual congress held in Cape Town at the weekend.

He said in a subsequent interview that the new coalition between the two major parties in the House of Delegates was a blow to opposition in Parliament.

"I extend an invitation to what is left of the opposition to get together with us for urgent talks," he said.

His party's doors were also open to opposition groups outside Parliament.

Mr de la Cruz said his party would intensify its fight this year for the removal of the remaining discriminatory laws in South Africa.

The DWP also believed South Africa needed a new constitution and the party would work towards this goal.

The party was prepared to speak to any of the extra-parliamentary opposition groups which opposed apartheid.

"But we will definitely retain our very strong stance against the use of violence to bring about social and political change," Mr de la Cruz said.

"We support the national convention concept which will give leaders of all race groups and political affiliations an opportunity to get together around the negotiating table to work out a blueprint for a new constitution for a united democratic South Africa."

Because of the exclusion of black people from the highest level of decision-making under the present constitution, the tricameral system had to be seen as a temporary measure.

"And because apartheid is firmly entrenched in the present constitution we cannot ignore the tremendous call from people of colour who reject the new deal. A new constitution must be worked on immediately."

Mr de la Cruz said the Labour Party could no longer be seen as opposition to the Government. This was shown by the LP's performance during last year's session of Parliament.

NP policy

Certain Bills against which strong opposition had been expected, were simply allowed by the Labour Party to go through. The Bills included such measures as the Police Amendment Bill, the Local Government Training Bill, the Coal Resources Bill and the Regional Service Councils Bill.

This proved that the LP was instrumental in the implementation of National Party policy.

The appointment of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse to the Cabinet as a Minister without portfolio was "token representation" which had made the LP vulnerable.

Mr de la Cruz said his party would continue to reject separate education as an "own affair" and challenged the Labour Party on the question of whether Minister Carter Ebrahim was the best man in that party's ranks to handle education policy.



Mr de la Cruz ... party will intensify its fight for the removal of discriminatory laws

"We support the call for his resignation because of the way he has bungled this delicate situation at the height of the unrest," Mr de la Cruz said.

The Government, after a recent spate of lobbying and talks with Western governments, still had to convince the world that it was tackling the fundamental issues of black political rights and the total abandonment of the concept of apartheid.

Effective action to begin urgent internal dialogue had to be initiated by the Government.

"We must move away from this consensus democracy to a more competitive democracy, because the consensus democracy of the Government is a conformist democracy.

"We repeat our call for the release of all political detainees, including Mr Nelson Mandela, and for the lifting of the state of emergency to ease the tension throughout the country.

"We will continue to oppose detention without trial. We abhor the fact that so many of our young people who have been detained are wasting away behind bars. We call on the Government again to bring them before a court of law or to release them," Mr de la Cruz said.

In his address to the DWP congress, Mr de la Cruz said:

"We have just emerged from one of the blackest years in the history of our country ... The time has come for the people of South Africa to come together and get to know one another."

Through the years the apartheid policies had been rigidly implemented through the white Parliament. This had polarised the South African people and had contributed to hatred and mistrust and even to open conflict in the form of boycotts, plundering, looting, murder and arson.

Such acts could not be tolerated.

Those who had remained silent because they were not represented in Parliament but who wanted a peaceful future free from oppression should now get together, Mr de la Cruz said.

Di Bishop to quit party politics in '86

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Progressive Federal Party MPC for Gardens and one of South Africa's better-known civil rights campaigners, Mrs Di Bishop, has decided to quit party politics when the Cape Provincial Council is abolished in June.

Mrs Bishop was injured in a recent car crash in which her husband, Mr Brian Bishop, and her close friend, Mrs Molly Blackburn, were killed.

She said in a newspaper interview in Cape Town today that she would stay on as an office-bearer of the Black Sash.

Citizen Times 22/1/86 (304A)

All shades of opinion consulted on plan

FCI sends govt reform proposal

JOHANNESBURG. — Representatives of all interested parties, including the African National Congress, the United Nations and the European Economic Community were consulted before the formation of the charter and action programme for reform released by the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) here yesterday.

The FCI director, Dr Johan van Zyl, emphasized at a press conference that the chamber's role in terms of bringing interested parties to the negotiating table was strictly mediatory.

He said the FCI sought only to provide a framework for fruitful negotiations to commence and had been careful to avoid trying to prescribe specific plans of action.

Dr Marinus Wiechers, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of South Africa said at the press conference that the FCI charter was in all important respects the same as the Freedom Charter.

● The FCI initiative has been given the full support of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa.

The ACC president, Mr A F C Lubke urged all business undertakings to give "firm commitment" to the FCI plan.

"We believe that it is in the best interests of reform in this country that all organizations are seen to be like-minded and at one with the need to contribute to speedy elimination of all discrimination."

The president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Mr Donald Masson, said in a statement yesterday that the AHI would comment on the FCI documents after further study. — Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — Far-reaching political and economic reform proposals have been presented to the government by the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI).

The proposals, which have been circulated to other national employer bodies and foreign embassies, are contained in a charter of social, economic and political rights and a comprehensive action programme for reform at all levels.

The charter proposes that a system of univeral suffrage be accepted in South Africa but with "due regard being given to the protection of the rights of minorities".

A key element of the proposals is the important mediatory role proposed for the business community in the negotiation process involved in introducing reforms.

The chamber says it firmly believes that the government is sincere in its desire to enter into negotiations with black leaders. However, experience indicated "that the process of political round-table bargaining cannot and will not start until all parties are convinced that government is genuinely willing to negotiate a new constitutional dispensation based on power-sharing up to the highest level".

Basic preconditions for a real negotiation process about the constitutional future of the country could include an undertaking to:

● Abolish statutory racial discrimination.

● Share power at central level in a single institution.

● Return to the basic norms of South African common law, thus reaffirming the rule of law.

● Release political prisoners and detainees.

A major prerequisite for effective business mediation was for the government to substantially increase its "currently low domestic and international credibility".

Among the most significant short-term steps needed were:

● Making available affordable serviced housing sites for urban blacks on a substantial scale.

● Immediately implementing freehold title for blacks.

● Elimination of forced removals.

● Rapidly opening up central business districts to all races.

Economically, the major priorities which needed to be addressed were:

● The future patter of industrial and econo mic development.

● Employment creation.

● Inflation.

● Economic opportunity and living standards of all the population groups.

The FCI action programme also identified the need for a "new, positive urbanization strategy" accompanied by privatization and deregulation and the opening of the economy to all population groups.

"Entrepreneurship by anyone should be allowed in all business areas and all legal restrictions pertaining to race should be removed when licences, permits and other dispensations are considered. Movement of all people should be free and unrestricted in order to allow them to seek job opportunities and to create work mobility."

The chamber supported the government's short-term economic policy of moderate stimulation of the economy, but said the emphasis should fall on lower interest rates linked with a cut in direct taxation and curbs on the share of government in the total economy. — Sapa

Heunis re-affirms reform

Political Reporter

THE MINISTER of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday rejected suggestions that the government was unwilling or incapable of spelling out South Africa's constitutional future.

Mr Heunis said this in the government's response to the Federated Chamber of Industries' (FCI) detailed Charter of Rights unveiled this week.

He said the government appreciated the FCI's recognition of the "considerable progress already made in the field of constitutional reform".

It was, however, a pity the impression was created that the government was either unwilling or incapable of spelling out a framework accommodating all South Africans, he added.

"The State President has indeed on several occasions stated unequivocal guidelines for future constitutional development.

These were "an undivided South Africa, one citizenship, universal franchise within structures decided upon by South Africans, sharing in the highest decision-making within democratic institutions up to the highest level by all, but without domination of one group over another".

FCI presents its political charter for SA business

BUS DAY 22/11/86 3044

THE Business Charter unveiled by the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) yesterday commits the organisation's members to supporting fundamental human rights for all South Africans. Everything from freedom of thought to universal suffrage is enshrined in the document, the latest and perhaps most important declaration of principle by the newly activist business sector.

The declaration is also a statement of good faith.

However, its final significance will depend on to what extent it is joined by other business groupings, to what extent it will be able to affect government action and to what extent it can reach blacks to achieve its stated aims.

In the long run it will be judged on whether it facilitates the dismantling of apartheid at the least human cost, brings international acceptance back to SA and, finally, to what extent its free enterprise values will survive in what it calls a "post-apartheid" society.

The FCI says that despite significant political reforms introduced by government, there is growing black frustration and agitation for political rights as reflected in rising protest and increased determination to secure fundamental change.

Domestic unrest, consumer boycotts and external sanctions and pressures have all taken their toll on the economy, and in particular have seriously undermined international investor and business confidence. As a result SA is facing a foreign financing crisis.

It says the business community has accepted that in this situation, far-reaching political reforms have to be demonstratively introduced to normalise the business environment.

It is the interest of organised business to act as a positive agent for change and to play a catalytic role in facilitating the reform process in SA, while at the same time making it clear where it stands in terms of fundemental democratic values and human rights as set out in the Business Charter.

What is needed now to restore credibility and confidence in SA is a realistic and visible programme of political reconstruction as a rallying point to address internal unity as well as the international community. Concrete results must be produced urgently.

The unacceptable alternative is to retreat into growing economic isolationism and drift into a repressive siege society, neccesitating greater government intervention and direct control over foreign exchange, imports, prices and wages, which will inevitably bring a serious decline in economic growth and economic stagnation.

FCI's proposed Action Plan is a credible, comprehensive political and economic package which reflects the values of the Business Charter.

The organisation firmly believes that the government is sincere in its desire to enter into negotiations with black leaders, which will not start until all parties are convinced that government is genuinely willing to negotiate a new constitutional dispensation based on power sharing up to the highest level.

In short, it says, there are important credibility gaps which render effective negotiation at present very difficult, if not impossible.

WHAT THE FCI WILL DO:

1 **URGE all members of industry, commerce and business generally to adhere to the charter's rights and principles;**

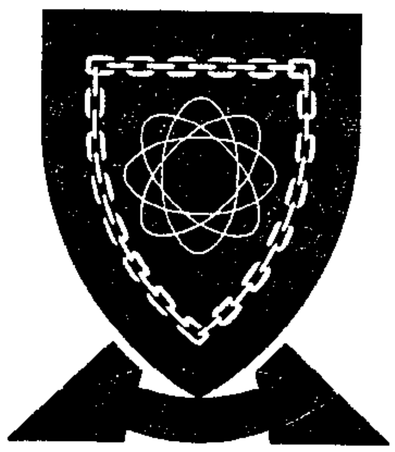
2 **INFLUENCE government and all political parties and groups to abide by the charter's rights and principles and in this respect assume an active role to scrutinise all discriminatory laws, measures and practices;**

3 **WORK towards the termination of turmoil, unrest and conditions of emergency;**

4 **STRIVE for the release of political prisoners as defined in the context of the charter;**

5 **EXPLORE means of supporting social, economic and political debate and constitutional negotiation towards the realisation of the charter's rights and principles;**

6 **SUPPORT education and training programmes, as well as social and welfare schemes;**



7 **UNDERTAKE measures to abolish racial discrimination and injustice within business organisations;**

8 **LAUNCH programmes for better public understanding of human rights and freedoms;**

9 **AIM at peace and stability in the Southern African region; and**

10 **SEEK international understanding and co-operation.**

ANDRE VAN ZYL

What is required is to urgently create a climate for negotiation and a generally accepted framework within which such negotiation can take place.

It is in this sphere that business can play its catalytic role. The role will be one of mediation, concilliation and confidence-building in bringing the parties together.

It would also implement a pre-negotiation phase in which the preconditions for negotiation, or what is on the agenda for discussion, is decided on.

That is a formidable challenge, but business has the advantage of recently having similar negotiating experience in establishing the Post-Wiehahn multi-racial industrial system.

In concert with the overly political aspects of reform, the FCI advocates a national economic strategy of growth-orientated economic adjustment, which would provide greater clarity and direction about the future pattern of economic development. A clear and explicit framework would do much to stimulate confidence and new investment.

It advocates a positive urbanisation strategy to replace influx control, and a structural adjustment in the economy so that all the people in SA can benefit. To most this is pretty sensible stuff.

As regards short-term policy, the FCI believes that moderate stimulation of the economy would most be appropriate to absorb excess capacity and to expand investment.

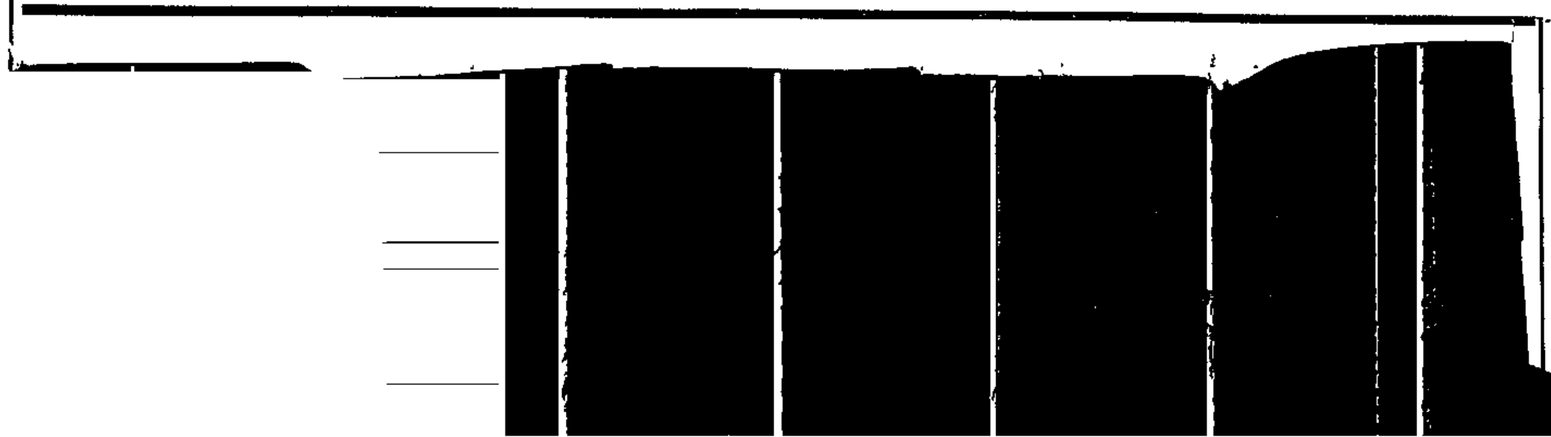
The emphasis should fall on lower interest rates, interlinked with a "supply-side" approach involving a cut in direct taxation, the lifting of the 10% surcharge and curbs on the share of government in the total economy to create scope and incentive for private entrepreneurship.

The biggest gain by business from defining its political position is credibility — business will no longer be accused of trying to be "all things to all men".

The Business Charter is based on and phrased in the traditional rhetoric of the best known and most widely accepted Bills of Rights in the Western world and the acceptance of an extensive declaration of human rights thus links the business community to the traditions of Western democracy.

Undoubtedly it will draw extensive support from countries in the free world, as well as from moderate blacks, but those who want nothing less than a radical reconstruction of the socio-economic order will be less than satisfied.

But it will be a notable advance if all members of industry, commerce and business are persuaded to adhere to rights and principles.



FCI talked to ANC after drafting charter

HA 304A STAR 22/1/86

By Sue Dobson

The Federated Chamber of Industries had informal talks with the African National Congress, the Government, and various organisations after drafting its business charter of social, economic and political rights and its accompanying action programme.

This was disclosed by members of the FCI at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The representatives were reluctant to give details of their meetings with the ANC.

They declined to name other organisations and leaders involved in the consultations.

However, they said that they had held discussions with various Cabinet Ministers including the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and his Cabinet committee.

The FCI representatives said that they had received a favourable response from the Government towards the documents, which had the full support of all FCI members.

"We saw our negotiations with the various parties as talks about talks and have not carried out formal discussions with any party as we believe this would expose them too much and break confidences," said the executive director of the FCI, Dr Johan van Zyl.

"The documents are based on trust and formal discussions with any particular party might jeopardise the charter and the outcome of events.

"We cannot prescribe preconditions for effective negotiation in South Africa.

"It is not our job to decide what are essential issues for the negotiating parties.

"At this stage we are trying to facilitate the getting together of all those parties concerned," he added.

NEW AVENUE

The FCI stressed that the charter and the informal talks already held should be viewed as a new point of departure for negotiation and an effort to bypass the current stalemate over political reform.

The FCI says it has offered the charter as a statement of fundamental human rights underpinning democratic government and the market economy.

The FCI's constitutional and legal advisor, Dr Marinus Wiechers, described the Chamber's charter as being similar to the ANC Freedom Charter.

"Although the two charters differ in strategy and detail they share similar principles," he said.

"We believe that our charter and the Freedom Charter have a similar core of values and that these form common ground from which negotiations can take place," said FCI director of economic affairs, Mr Arthur Hammond Tooke.

The American Chamber of Commerce (ACC) in South Africa has welcomed the charter and its action programme and has urged all businesses to give their commitment to the initiatives.

The ACC added that it would ask its entire membership to support the charter and to give it wide distribution in the United States.

than expected.

Cape Times 22/1/86 3044

All shades of opinion consulted on plan

JOHANNESBURG. — Representatives of all interested parties, including the African National Congress, the United Nations and the European Economic Community were consulted before the formation of the charter and action programme for reform released by the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) here yesterday.

The FCI director, Dr Johan van Zyl, emphasized at a press conference that the chamber's role in terms of bringing interested parties to the negotiating table was strictly mediatory.

He said the FCI sought only to provide a framework for fruitful negotiations to commence and had been careful to avoid trying to prescribe specific plans of action.

Dr Marinus Wiechers, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of South Africa said at the press conference that the FCI charter was in all important respects the same as the Freedom Charter.

● The FCI initiative has been given the full support of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa.

The ACC president, Mr A F C Lubke urged all business undertakings to give "firm commitment" to the FCI plan.

"We believe that it is in the best interests of reform in this country that all organizations are seen to be like-minded and at one with the need to contribute to speedy elimination of all discrimination."

The president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Mr Donald Masson, said in a statement yesterday that the AHI would comment on the FCI documents after further study. — Sapa

FCI sends govt reform proposal

JOHANNESBURG. — Far-reaching political and economic reform proposals have been presented to the government by the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI).

The proposals, which have been circulated to other national employer bodies and foreign embassies, are contained in a charter of social, economic and political rights and a comprehensive action programme for reform at all levels.

The charter proposes that a system of univeral suffrage be accepted in South Africa but with "due regard being given to the protection of the rights of minorities".

A key element of the proposals is the important mediatory role proposed for the business community in the negotiation process involved in introducing reforms.

The chamber says it firmly believes that the government is sincere in its desire to enter into negotiations with black leaders. However, experience indicated "that the process of political round-table bargaining cannot and will not start until all parties are convinced that government is genuinely willing to negotiate a new constitutional dispensation based on power-sharing up to the highest level".

Basic preconditions for a real negotiation process about the constitutional future of the country could include an undertaking to:

● Abolish statutory racial discrimination.

● Share power at central level in a single institution.

● Return to the basic norms of South African common law, thus reaffirming the rule of law.

● Release political prisoners and detainees.

A major prerequisite for effective business mediation was for the government to substantially increase its "currently low domestic and international credibility".

Among the most significant short-term steps needed were:

● Making available affordable serviced housing sites for urban blacks on a substantial scale.

● Immediately implementing freehold title for blacks.

● Elimination of forced removals.

● Rapidly opening up central business districts to all races.

Economically, the major priorities which needed to be addressed were:

● The future pattern of industrial and economic development.

● Employment creation.

● Inflation.

● Economic opportunity and living standards of all the population groups.

The FCI action programme also identified the need for a "new, positive urbanization strategy" accompanied by privatization and deregulation and the opening of the economy to all population groups.

"Entrepreneurship by anyone should be allowed in all business areas and all legal restrictions pertaining to race should be removed when licences, permits and other dispensations are considered. Movement of all people should be free and unrestricted in order to allow them to seek job opportunities and to create work mobility."

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Heunis re-affirms reform

Political Reporter

THE MINISTER of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday rejected suggestions that the government was unwilling or incapable of spelling out South Africa's constitutional future.

Mr Heunis said this in the government's response to the Federated Chamber of Industries' (FCI) detailed Charter of Rights unveiled this week.

He said the government appreciated the FCI's recognition of the "considerable progress already made in the field of constitutional reform".

It was, however, a pity the impression was created that the government was either unwilling or incapable of spelling out a framework accommodating all South Africans, he added.

"The State President has indeed on several occasions stated unequivocal guidelines for future constitutional development.

These were "an undivided South Africa, one citizenship, universal franchise within structures decided upon by South Africans, sharing in the highest decision-making within democratic institutions up to the highest level by all, but without domination of one group over another".

Natal business team in Britain

LONDON — A high-powered delegation of Natal businessmen has arrived in Britain on a fact-finding mission.

The delegation, which strongly favours the "Natal option" for sharing power in the province, was hosted by the SA Foundation at a dinner in honour of KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the weekend.

Their visit to Britain coincides with the release yesterday of the "Charter for Reform" by the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) — the boldest and most detailed business-sponsored reformist document to date.

JOHN BATTERSBY

It is expected that the delegation will publicly endorse the reform charter during their visit.

They have met the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) and are due to have further meetings with British businessmen and the media later this week.

The delegation is headed by Alex Hamilton, president of the Natal Chamber of Industry.

Its other members are: P G Gumede, president of the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce; C Mouton, president of the Durban Afrikaanse Sakekamer; and B Forssman, president of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce.

The group is to be joined soon by Arthur Hammond-Tooke, an executive director of the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI).

Their visit takes place against the background of a mounting boycott of SA goods by leading British chainstores such as the Co-Operative Society, British Home Stores and Sainsbury's.

There is mounting concern in business circles about the impact of the boycott on overseas orders for fresh produce and textiles in particular.

PRICE MOVES AT A GLANCE

REUTERS

KEY MARKET MOVEMENTS — JANUARY 20 to JANUARY 21

Gold		JSE	Previous			Latest			Johannesburg Stock Exchange		
$/oz	R/oz	Krugerrand	$/R Commercial	$/R Financial	DM/$	£/R	3 months BA	All Gold SD Index	Industrial SD Index	JSE Overall Index

Charter calls for full black rights

Business 'yes' to FCI reform plan

Bus Day 22/11/86. 3041A

FAR-REACHING political and economic reform proposals presented to government by the Federated Chamber of Industries have been welcomed by business organisations.

The proposals in a Business Charter of social, economic and political rights, as well as a comprehensive action programme, urge government to extend political rights and freedoms to black citizens. The FCI recommends the introduction of a system of universal suffrage with "due regard given to the protection of rights of minorities".

It calls on government to move towards an agreement with black leaders on power-sharing "to the highest level".

At yesterday's Press conference presenting the charter and programme, the FCI said representatives of all interested parties — including those of the African National Congress, the United Nations and the European Economic Community — were consulted for consensus.

FCI director Dr Johan van Zyl stressed the chamber's role was strictly intermediatory in bringing interested parties to the negotiating table. The FCI warned a number of preconditions were required before meaningful talks could begin.

ANDRE VAN ZYL

These included an administration undertaking to abolish legalised race discrimination, the introduction of a system of power-sharing through a single institution, the abolition of influx control and the release of all political prisoners.

Assocom said in a statement it broadly supported the basic FCI charter theme. A few months ago Assocom published its own view of future SA constitutional options — the Lombard Memorandum.

Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut president Donald Masson said in a statement the AHI had taken note of the FCI Business Charter contents and action programme.

American Chamber of Commerce in SA president Frank Lubke said the organisation fully supported the initiative.

The nearly 200 US-based companies operating in SA — including two local signatories pledged to the Sullivan Principals — endorsed the FCI call.

FCI adviser Dr Marinus Wiechers, Professor of Constitutional Law at Unisa, said the charter was in all important respects the same as Albert Luthuli's Freedom Charter, devised in the 1950s.

See Page 6

Safmarine calls for end to apartheid

DAVID FURLONGER

SAFMARINE has chosen the solo route in calling for an end to discriminatory legislation.

A credo in the shipping group's in-house magazine, *Wheelhouse*, says government must do away with such legislation in the coming parliamentary session and that all race groups should be given a representative position at all levels of government.

MD Mike Finlay says Safmarine elected to make its own statement against apartheid rather than support what he calls round-robin efforts by other businessmen.

These have included newspaper advertisements signed by dozens of prominent businessmen.

Says Finlay: "We were invited to partake in these round-robin letters, but thought it inappropriate to go that route."

The company chose instead to state its position in *Wheelhouse*, which is distributed to Safmarine offices worldwide.

Safmarine supports the call by business organisations for constitutional and legislative change.

"More specifically, Safmarine believes government should remove all legislation from the statute books that is supportive of any form of discrimination by way of race, colour or creed."

SA business urged to mediate in peace process

By Michael Chester

Business leaders were urged yesterday to launch new initiatives to persuade political critics at home and overseas that racial unrest can still be broken by peaceful solutions.

The priority should be to disprove doomsday forecasts that South Africa is limited to a choice between white repression or black dictatorship.

Big business was told it was far better equipped than warring politicians to handle delicate diplomatic mediations between extreme viewpoints.

The advice came from the influential Centre for International Affairs at Harvard University in the United States, which is running a special series of seminars and study workshops in search of a peace formula.

STRATEGIES

It came within 24 hours of the publication by the Federated Chamber of Industries of a "business charter" with proposals for social and economic reform.

Mr Robert Conway, South African-born consultant on "conflict resolution" at the Harvard centre and chairman of the workshop programme, has arrived in Johannesburg to encourage big business to co-ordinate new strategies.

"The political leaders in South Africa have lost all credibility in the US," he said, "and it has become vital for the private sector to convince the outside world that alternatives can be found to the extremes of black revolution or white repression.

"Attitudes are hardening inside the US."

CAPE TIMES 23/1/86

Foundation support for FCI

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Urban Foundation yesterday stood behind the "business charter and action programme" formulated by the Federated Chambers of Industry.

Dr Robin Lee, managing director of the Foundation, said: "The charter issued by the FCI represents an excellent statement of the basic values and rights which would characterize a truly democratic society.

"The real, and legitimate, concern of the private sector must also find expression in policies of rapid advancement within companies, increasing contact with organized labour, and contributions to appropriate campaigns of socio-economic reform. It cannot be enough to urge government to act."

He said South Africa urgently required clear thinking and vision, on a basis of principle, on the shape and nature of the society of the future.

"In our opinion the formation of a coalition of interests with the common goal of promoting sensible urbanization and removing influx control remains a model for the manner in which the many other goals articulated by the FCI might be achieved in practice.

"... more members of the private sector must join those top leaders who already make commitments ..."

FCI chief punts Natal power-sharing option

JOHN BATTERSBY 23/1/86

LONDON — Any Natal power-sharing option should coincide with a similar initiative at national level, says the Federated Chamber of Industries' Arthur Hammond-Tooke.

He told guests at a luncheon in London he favoured implementation of a power-sharing deal for Natal.

Hammond-Tooke is one of a party of Natal businessmen on a two-week mission to Britain.

He said the FCI Charter for Reform advocating universal franchise in a federal structure had not been rejected in any quarter.

He said it was intended to be a rallying point to draw all elements into a new political structure when the "price was right".

CAPE Times 23/1/86

Tutu's call 'deplorable'

Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday condemned the reported call by Bishop Desmond Tutu for Western nations to support the African National Congress.

Bishop Tutu, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, is currently on a speaking tour of the United States.

"The South African Government is shocked by this call by the Bishop, who had been internationally honoured for his contribution to peace," the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said in a statement yesterday.

"For a man of the cloth, his backing for a terrorist organization can only be described as deplorable."

Mr Heunis said the ANC was a terrorist organization, "similar to the IRA and the PLO, both of which are condemned as such by Western nations".

"As for the South African Government, it remains committed to peaceful change through negotiation, change by which racial injustice is being eliminated ... by which a system is being developed in which there will be no domination by any group over another and in which full political power sharing, up to the highest level, will be effected," Mr Heunis said.

Argus 23/1/86

Hands off Tutu, PFP warns Govt

Political Staff

IN the growing storm surrounding Bishop Desmond Tutu the Government was warned today by the Progressive Federal Party not to take executive action against the Anglican churchman but rather to unban the African National Congress.

Bishop Tutu's statements on his current tour of the United States, including his call for support of the African National Congress, were likely to have been the subject of discussion at yesterday's Cabinet meeting.

In a statement after the the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said the Government was shocked by the call of support for the ANC, saying that Bishop Tutu's backing of a terrorist organisation "can only be described as deplorable".

But it is unlikely that the Government will take action against the bishop as it believes his recent statements could discredit him in the eyes of his overseas audience.

Vice-President George Bush's criticism of Bishop Tutu's statements yesterday was seen as a step in this direction.

Division

In a statement that is likely to cause division in the ranks of the PFP, the chairman of the party's Federal Council, Dr Alex Boraine, warned the Government not to take executive action against Bishop Tutu, "as this would only be interpreted as a vindictive step against the messenger who brings the bad news".

Dr Boraine, a former Moderator of the Methodist Church of South Africa, continued: "There are no elected black leaders in the normal sense of the word and inevitably church and labour leaders have to assume a more direct role."

Dr Boraine said to call for the support of the ANC was to risk a statutory offence and charges of aiding and abetting a banned organisation.

"Rather than bringing into play legal machinery, it would be much wiser to unban the ANC because it enjoys considerable support among black South Africans and sooner or later we will have to deal with it and it will be better to do so around a table than over the barrel of a gun."

"Terrorism"

In his statement Mr Heunis said the Government remained committed to peaceful change and that support of the ANC could only impede that process.

"The ANC has been responsible for numerous acts of terrorism in which many people, mostly black South Africans, have died. This organisation, by its own statements, is openly committed to violence and revolution."

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Bishop Tutu has so far raised almost R1-million in his coast-to-coast campaign for political support and money for his financially ailing diocese.

With three days to go to the end of his highly successful tour of more than 18 cities and 40 speeches the churchman has collected at least R913 000 — double the target set by the foundation behind his tour.

Bishop Tutu ends his tour on Saturday with a dinner at the Santa Monica home of actress Jane Fonda and her husband Tom Hayden.

● Tutu's image in the US, Page 16.

Govt bid to mend relations

Political Correspondent

THE government has launched a major campaign aimed at mending race relations and shoring up confidence in its tricameral constitution.

The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said yesterday that his department had released directives to encourage interracial contact between local government, church, trade and other public bodies.

The latest initiative is geared towards creating better relations between the races "bearing in mind the new constitutional dispensation" and in fostering "the correct perspective of government procedures and actions".

The driving force behind the campaign is a country-wide network of 190 multi-racial "network committees" launched 11 years ago.

"We don't want South Africans to develop in watertight compartments," said Mr Badenhorst. Asked about the possible reasons, he said: "We have unfortunately moved apart from each other ... Perhaps it may be apartheid."

When questioned on the possibility of integrated schools, he said it was not his intention to interfere in the government's education policy.

condemned him in 1982 as being financed by Pretoria with the aim of destabilising the Jonathan regime. Past indications, notably an admission by former Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Hennie van der Walt in 1982, are that Mokhele would be prepared to sign a pact with SA.

Assuming that Lekhanya, having restored order among the armed factions, calls elections and a somewhat socialist-leaning Mokhele emerges triumphant (which is not necessarily inevitable), little is likely to change from SA's point of view. Lesotho's economic dependence on SA will remain. From its membership of the South African Customs Union comes 70% of the country's national revenue. Basotho miners employed on South African mines (40% of the country's male population and the most productive segment) earn Lesotho half its gnp (about R1 billion) in remittances from SA.

Furthermore, Lesotho's joint development with SA of the Highlands Water Scheme is regarded as valuable enough to both not to jeopardise it in the event of any party — of whatever political stripe — coming to power. The scheme is set to double Lesotho's income once it is operational in 20 years' time.

Lekhanya had not (as the *FM* went to press) spelled out the course he will follow. Yet his conservative leanings, closeness to King Moshoeshoe, and concern at the devastating prospects of a prolonged South African border squeeze, evidently propelled him to remove the intransigent Jonathan (see box).

Jonathan's political demise was precipitated by SA's choking of the country's vital supply lines. After less than a month, this form of South African pressure demonstrated Lesotho's utter dependence on SA. The effective economic blockade thus seems to have proved a more potent weapon than cross-border attacks in clamping down on the ANC. This assumes, of course, that the new authority in Lesotho and Pretoria are able to work out a way of monitoring refugees from SA, who last year entered Lesotho at a rate of 50 a month.

The events leading up to last Sunday night's relatively quiet ousting of Jonathan are still far from clear. Four days after apparently trying to prevail upon Jonathan to change his stance against SA's demands to expel ANC refugees, Lekhanya acted.

It seems that Lekhanya put his foot down after becoming "fed up," as one ambassador in Maseru put it, at Jonathan's lack of response to the concern he had communicated to the PM earlier this year about the increasingly tense situation in the country. The Youth League of the ruling BNP, whose first loyalty was essentially to Jonathan, appear to have alienated many people by "throwing their weight around."

What was initially reported as a "coup" a week ago — when Lekhanya's men surrounded Jonathan's office in downtown Maseru — seems in fact to have been the general's ultimatum to Jonathan to reign in and disarm the Youth League and to deal with Pretoria. Lekhanya, according to one account, took the PM to the King and explained that his loyalty was first to Moshoeshoe, and not necessarily to Jonathan.

Just what kind of role Moshoeshoe, whom Lekhanya named Head of State, will play remains to be seen. Moshoeshoe is linked to the royalist Maremathou Freedom Party, which is not regarded as a force in the land. In 1970, Maremathou won only two seats. Like Lesotho's electorate — which has the highest literacy rate in black Africa — the king has been on a n enforced political holiday for 20 years, since signing a virtual declaration of abdication in 1966.

At any rate, it will be interesting to see whether the king shaves his beard, which he vowed not to until such time as Lesotho was returned to constitutional government. ■

THE FCI CHARTER

Visionary, but. . .

"Words, words, words," said Hamlet when asked what he read. For some time the business community has made its views known on reform — that negotiation with accepted black leaders must begin, influx control must go, as well as group areas and the whole shooting match.

The latest initiative is the Federated Chamber of Industries' (FCI's) Charter of Social, Economic and Political Rights; and the supporting Action Programme of South African Business. Do these documents contribute towards a solution of our difficulties; are they the Magna Carta of reform the FCI believes them to be — or just more words?

The FCI's Charter of Social, Economic and Political Rights has a magisterial ring. But it is far less convincing on detail and may err through being too ambitious in scope.

We have certainly come a long way from the heady, if puzzling, days of the Carlton and Good Hope conferences when business was asked by P W Botha (then Prime Minister) to stand by him in reform. Some, indeed, asked then: what precisely does he mean? Well, as it turned out, essentially a loosening-up of the informal sector and the pass system, freehold for blacks, the eradication of the race-sex laws — and, alas, decentralisation. Everyone hopes for more.

All this is trite. The real question is whether business can play the role of facilitator (as psychiatrist Carl Rogers would put it) in the current political ferment. There have certainly been significant entries into the political arena by various groups, sometimes alone, sometimes in concert.

We have seen major businessmen urging swifter reform on President Botha. Some have trekked to Lusaka to meet the banned and exiled African National Congress (ANC). And — in its quiet way — perhaps one of the most important developments has been the formation of the Private Sector Council on Urbanisation.

The council comprises representatives of the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI), the FCI, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc), and the Urban Foundation (UF). In summary, its stated goals include:

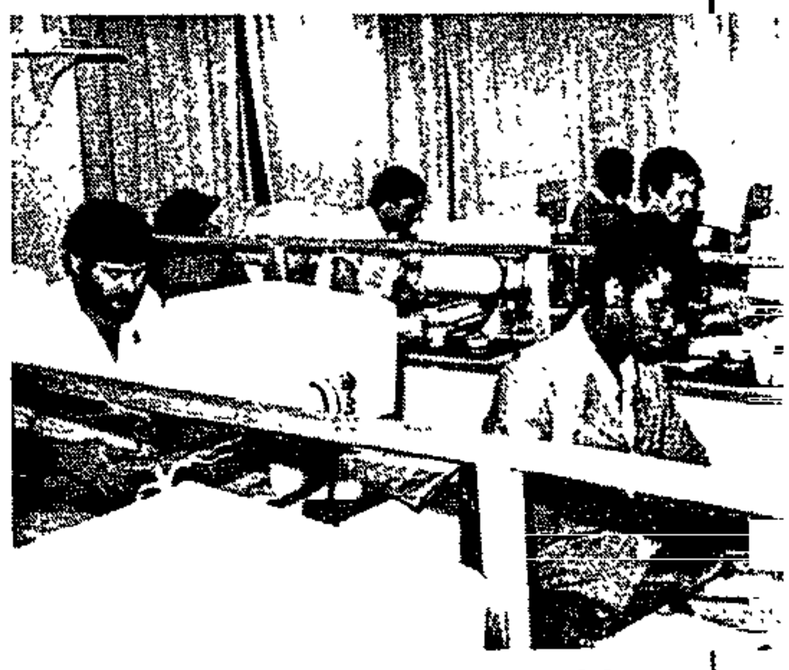
☐ A parliamentary commitment by government to remove influx control;

☐ An immediate end to shack demolitions, forced removals, and freezes on city growth;

☐ Acceleration of the acquisition and servicing of land at affordable prices;



Confrontation brings chaos



Conciliation creates wealth

A PROGRAMME FOR JUSTICE

The FCI's Charter of Social, Economic and Political Rights, with the accompanying Action Programme for South African Business, consolidate most existing reform suggestions. A basic perception is that no serious political bargaining can begin "until all parties are convinced that government is willing to negotiate a new constitutional dispensation based on power-sharing up to the highest level."

To get there, according to the Action Programme, "a fundamental requirement is to create rapidly and urgently a climate for negotiation and a generally accepted framework within which such negotiation can occur." The role of business will be that of facilitator, urging a new urbanisation strategy, privatisation and deregulation, opening the economy to all, and the elimination of social barriers based on race.

With that, it calls for:

☐ An undertaking by government to abolish statutory race discrimination in all legislation;
☐ The restoration of a common South African citizenship;
☐ The abolition of specific laws such as influx control and the Group Areas Act;
☐ Lifting the State of Emergency;
☐ A return to the basic norms of South African common law, thus re-affirming the rule of law; and
☐ The release of political prisoners from detention.

In the short term, the Action Programme calls for a "moderate stimulation of the economy . . . to absorb excess capacity and to expand investment. The emphasis should fall on lower interest rates interlinked with a supply-side approach involving a cut in direct taxation and curbs on the share of government in the total economy to create the scope and incentive for private entrepreneurship."

The Charter itself sets out the basic philosophical premises on which the Action Programme is to be based. It covers the areas of human rights in these categories: social and cultural; economic; civil and political; and personal and public responsibilities.

Space precludes giving full details, but the following statements are typical:

☐ All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights;
☐ Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life; and the widest possible protection and assistance should be afforded to the family, which is the natural and fundamental group in society;
☐ Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. . .;
☐ Everyone has the right to equal educational opportunities. . .;
☐ Persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and to use their own language;
☐ Everyone has the right freely to employ labour and to own or manage a business. . .;
☐ Everyone has the right to work and to free choice of employment;
☐ No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile, and everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal in the determination of his rights and of any obligations and of any criminal charges against him;
☐ No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;
☐ Everyone born in SA or the independent or national states . . . has the right to South African citizenship;
☐ Due regard being given to the protection of the rights of minorities, the will of the people is the basis of the authority of the government, and this shall be expressed by way of periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures; and
☐ SA, as a sovereign state, shall respect the rights and independence of all nations and shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation, not war.

☐ Plans to increase the population density of existing townships "in formal and informal ways;"
☐ Deregulation of the informal sector;
☐ A reconsideration of industrial decentralisation; and
☐ Reconsideration of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts.

These are practical and considered suggestions. It is against this and similar private-sector initiatives that the FCI Charter and Action Programme must be measured. It must also be asked why the FCI was unable to get other employer bodies and the UF to initial what are in many respects libertarian and bold documents (see box).

The AHI is brief: "No comment at this stage."

Assocom's Raymond Parsons is somewhat more forthcoming: "Assocom broadly supports the basic theme of the FCI Business Charter and its emphasis on continued business involvement in the reform process, but the details will have to be further studied. . .

"A few months ago Assocom published its own view of future constitutional options in SA — the so-called Lombard Memorandum: a document which embodies many of the sentiments contained in the latest Business Charter. (We) therefore believe there is common ground between Assocom and FCI perceptions of where the business community ought to stand on questions of political and economic reform. The Assocom executive council will in due course give careful consideration to the FCI Charter."

A cautious response, to say the least — particularly since the *FM* understands that the Charter has been available in select circles for several months.

Perhaps part of the FCI Charter's problem is that it is at once visionary, in search of the millenium as it were; and yet, in practical detail, not sufficiently instructive. To call for one-man-one-vote (inevitably in a unitary state, it would seem, given the lofty principles of the Charter) as *well* as for the safeguarding of minority ethnic rights (Pretoria's bottom line) is actually impossible to implement at present.

The pleas for the restoration of the rule of law; abolition of influx control and group areas legislation; freehold now; common citizenship — these have *already* been articulated, and in greater detail and depth, by the various business groups, either singly or, as we said, in concert.

It seems, in many respects, that the Charter and Action Programme represent an attempt to lay the basis for a new constitution. That is asking for the moon in the current climate of terror bombs and repression. Nonetheless, because the FCI is a major and influential business body, the papers will heighten awareness of the degree to which business as a whole is looking for a way out of our economic and political mess.



FCI leaders unveil Charter . . . sincere initiative

24/1/86 (illegible) (illegible) 304A FM

That is welcome.

To secure a climate in which serious negotiation on power-sharing at central level can take place without acrimony is an enormous task. It is one in which business is not alone in seeking to play a mediatory role. The various churches, opposition parties, and even the press are doing their best in a bad, and some would say mad, world.

Business, as the FCI indicates, does have an edge in one respect. This is that employers participated in the changes in the labour field after the Wiehahn reports — the mass unionisation of blacks in legal structures. The *relative* stability in the factories and mines involved a learning process by both labour and management. It worked because the unions were able to deliver real gains to their members.

Is there, however, any such thing as a Wiehahn report, so to speak, on reform? Perhaps the FCI's Charter seeks to be just that — and it can't be, since it is weak in ways and means, which Wiehahn was not.

Again, the Charter best known to blacks is the socialist Freedom Charter. While many will endorse many of the sentiments in the FCI Charter, there is a long row to hoe by way of persuasion. Not to speak of getting government to see the sense of much that it contains.

It is not improbable, in fact, that change will come from the local level first, rather than from, say, a national convention — which is not to say that that route should not be actively pursued, since it makes sense and is, in the long run, probably inevitable, and revolution remote.

However, at present, black groups are divided and could not form a common front for negotiation even if government was to seriously take such a reconciliatory step. As an astute analysis of black politics (see *Current Affairs*) points out, most gains made by blacks since turmoil began in the Vaal Triangle townships on September 3 1984 have been at local level, through local negotiation.

The FCI Charter does not recognise this, or the diversity of black political organisation, or even the essential intransigence of government. Instead it goes out of its way to praise government for the reforms it has made, which is fair enough except that government is not going to accede to one-man-one-vote in a unitary state, "not today and not tomorrow," as Mr Botha might say.

If, therefore, the release of the papers was designed to pre-empt a Rubicon 2 — which some fear will be delivered when Parliament resumes at the end of the month — it won't. It could in fact have the opposite effect: raising impossible expectations again.

Nonetheless, the FCI Charter is clearly a sincere and challenging initiative. We welcome it as such. We are sure that while other employer bodies have chosen not to endorse it in full, they agree with many aspects. Indeed, through such bodies as the Council on Urbanisation (with its FCI representation), they are in the process of both mediation and grassroots reform. One step at a time, as they say. ■

METROPOLITAN LIFE

Playing with the big boys

There's a familiar ring about it: a life company starts talking about a JSE listing; the press is summoned to an aseptic boardroom, where eloquent executives provide an impressive record of past performance; and another low-profiled insurer is propelled into the investing public's minds.

It happened twice last year, when Southern Life and Crusader Life moved toward a listing, and it will happen at least twice more this year, when Metropolitan Life (Metpol) and Legal & General Volkskas (renamed Lifegro) go the same route.

The latest, Metpol, is an interesting listing and rather a large one. Rated among the 10 largest insurers in SA, with assets approaching R1 billion, it intends listing 43,2m shares of which 15m will be issued in the public offer at 315c, implying total market capitalisation of R136,1m. Unlike other listed life companies, which deal mainly in the middle-to-upper end of the insurance market, Metpol has a heavy bias towards lower income groups, and is active mainly in black and coloured markets.

After the issue Metpol, now a wholly-owned subsidiary of Sankorp/Sanlam, will be held 65% by Sankorp/Sanlam, and 35% by the public.

With the shares of Liberty, Southern and the Prudential all having around 3% historic yield, Metpol has pitched its issue on a relatively safe 4,4% forward yield. The margin, mind you, is somewhat thin, and although stagging profits of around 20% seem assured, they are unlikely to match the hefty gains of the Southern issue.

One may reasonably ask whether Metpol deserves to be rated with the likes of Liberty or Southern. After all, it operates in a relatively high-risk niche of the market, where lapses can be excessive; and, because it deals in cheaper policies, marginal costs are fairly high.

Metropolitan Life (Metpol) operates in a relatively risky area of the insurance market, dealing in fairly cheap policies with high marginal costs. But the company believes its earnings and dividend record over the past five years speaks for itself, and that performance will be right up there with the industry heavyweights.

MD Willem Pretorius believes his company justifies a rating on par with the industry giants. He argues that: "Every insurance company, including us, builds into its insurance premiums components for risk, profits and costs.

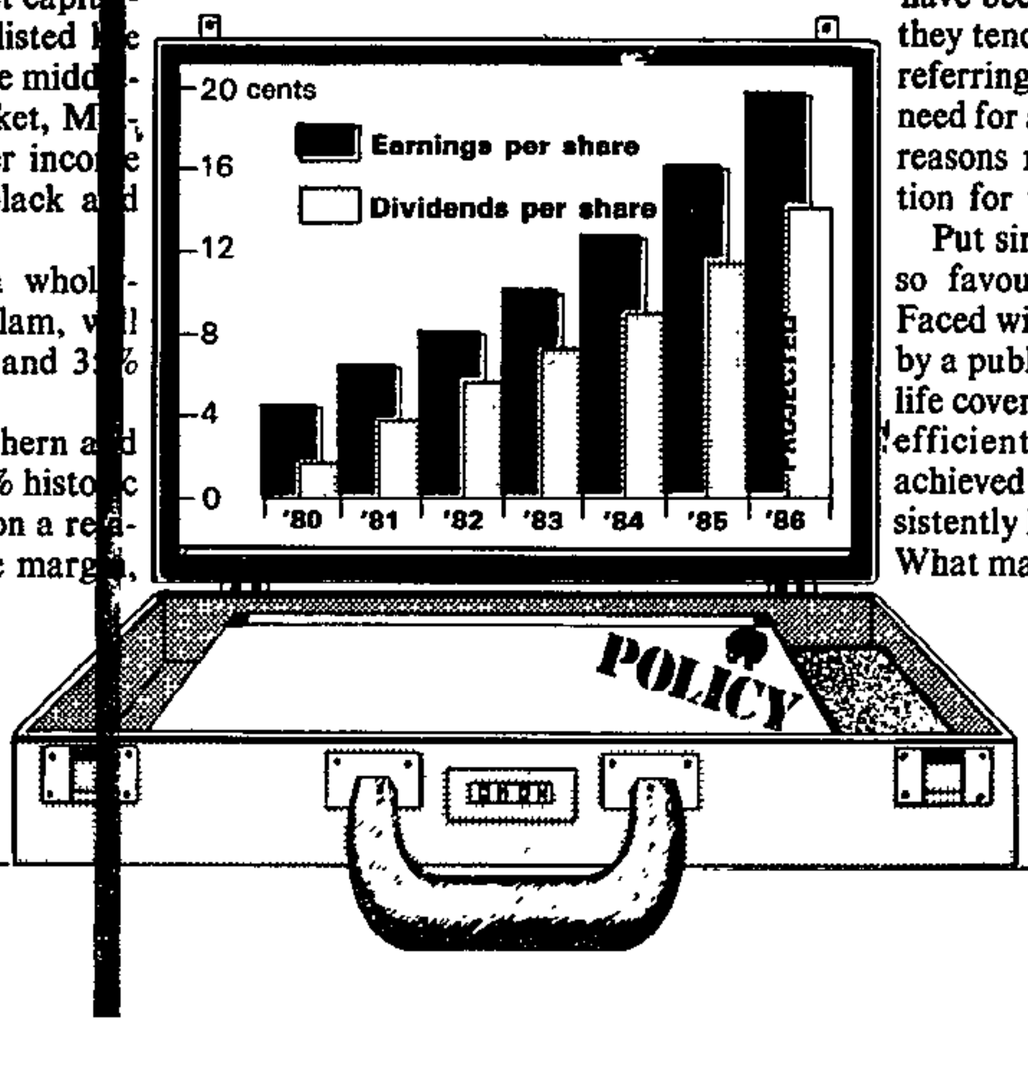
"As long as our actuary correctly projects costs and policy lapse trends, Metpol can trade as profitably as the best; the fact that we are somewhat downmarket makes no difference," Pretorius adds. To support his contention, he points to Metpol's earnings and dividend record over the past five years, which, indeed, is as impressive as those of any of the industry high-flyers.

It is no coincidence that life companies have been queuing up to be listed. Although they tend to justify a need for new capital by referring to "new business strain" and the need for aggressive expansion, I believe other reasons may lie behind their sudden affection for the JSE.

Put simply, economic factors have seldom so favoured an insurer seeking a listing. Faced with a tide of cash inflow, fed to them by a public increasingly predisposed towards life cover, insurance companies have become efficient investors. Investment returns achieved by companies like Metpol are consistently high, invariably outpacing inflation. What makes a new capital issue so attractive now is that, with interest rates at high levels, the cost of raising additional funds is a mere fraction of their potential re-invested returns.

In January 1983, for example, an insurer seeking a listing would

FILLING ITS COFFERS



kwaNatal option interests the Cape

STAR 24/1/86.
(304 H)

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Leading South African businessmen now in London believe the so-called "kwaNatal Option" for power-sharing between the races in Natal and kwaZulu may become the blueprint for other provinces.

Mr Alex Hamilton, president of the Natal Chamber of Industries, said yesterday that groups in the Eastern and Western Cape had shown keen interest in the plan.

They were mainly businessmen wishing to play a part in speeding constitutional reform. They had discussed the kwaNatal Option and believed it could also work in the Cape.

Mr Arthur Hammond-Tooke, director of the South African Federated Chambers of Industry, said it was significant that, when the Buthelezi Commission first made its proposals, the Government had wanted nothing to do with it.

But the Cabinet was now prepared to consider proposals for power-sharing between kwaZulu and the Natal Provincial Council — although there was as yet no certainty that the plans would finally be accepted.

NO RESENTMENT

Mr Hammond-Tooke said he did not believe blacks in other provinces would feel resentful if black residents of Natal and kwaZulu were granted power-sharing rights ahead of other provinces. They would rather recognise it as an option also open to them.

The kwaZulu Option would probably result in black candidates standing for election to a provincial body in mainly black areas, and whites in white areas. But candidates of any colour could stand in any area.

"If Chief Buthelezi were to stand in my constituency, I know who I would vote for. I'd vote for Chief Buthelezi."

He said the kwaZulu leader had emerged as a statesman and it was a pity that his role as a fighter for real and peaceful change was not properly recognised internationally.

(When Chief Buthelezi addressed Britain's parliamentary foreign affairs committee this week, he attracted only a small group of journalists and observers. It was in sharp contrast to the packed audience when ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo gave evidence several weeks earlier).

'Africans in Cabinet soon'

E. Post 24/1/86

304A

By DIRK VAN ZYL, Political Correspondent



Mr CHRIS RENCKEN

CAPE TOWN — A senior National Party spokesman confirmed today that it is Government policy to bring Africans into the Cabinet as soon as it is feasible.

Mr Chris Rencken, the NP's chief information officer and MP for Benoni, was asked to comment on the front-page lead report in this week's edition of the Herstigte Nasionale Party organ, Die Afrikaner.

He said such a Cabinet — which he preferred to call the "executive" — could be a different type from the present one, constituted under a different type of constitution, such as a confederal or federal one.

The newspaper wrote that blacks would soon be brought into the Cabinet — possibly during the forthcoming parliamentary session — and quotes Mr Rencken as its main source.

It reports him as telling the in-house magazine of a major hotel group in October last year: "You can't try to manipulate the news media ... We believe that the country's international image will change when there are two or three black Cabinet Ministers."

Die Afrikaner reports further that, asked when this was likely to happen, Mr Rencken replied: "In the next parliamentary session, if I can have my way."

Die Afrikaner comes to the conclusion that Mr Rencken, as chief NP information officer, is hardly likely to have made these statements in a personal capacity, and that it would probably have to have been in tune with the Government's official standpoint.

Mr Rencken told the Evening Post today that the report was "basically correct", but he had used the term "executive" rather than "Cabinet."

He said bringing Africans into the Cabinet would depend on the "successful completion of the negotiation process" and "as far as I'm concerned it should happen as soon as possible".

Mr Rencken said he did not think it would happen this session — although this is what he would like — and "it could be a different type of Cabinet under a different type of constitution".

He said that it was the Government's stated policy to bring in Africans at the highest constitutional level and that the NP was not in favour of a fourth parliamentary chamber for Africans.

whose leaders, Ken Owen report

BUS DAY 24/1/87 304A

I say 'unban the ANC'



HUGH MURRAY

Hugh Murray, one of the organisers of last year's contact between SA businessmen and the ANC, looks back in the light of the ANC's renewed commitment to violence. Murray is publisher of *Leadership*, a quarterly journal that covers the political economy

THE ANC decision to extend the "armed struggle" into white areas — or any area of SA for that matter — is indefensible.

How any political movement imagines it can justify the indiscriminate killing and maiming of civilians is beyond me. Yet, I still believe that continued contact with the ANC remains the only way to change the hideous pattern of violence that threatens this country.

This will no doubt surprise those who believe the radical shift in ANC circles towards more violence has caused deep embarrassment and regret among those involved in last year's Zambian meeting with Oliver Tambo and his closest advisers.

I cannot speak for the others who attended, but I personally am deeply dismayed at the ANC's approach to 1986. It is completely contrary to the mood that prevailed earlier.

In a number of private meetings with leading figures in the ANC over the past two years or so, I was given a firm indication that certain influential members of the organisation were looking for ways and means to de-escalate the violence and create a suitable climate for their return to SA. There was, they said, reason to talk about it.

Exploratory

And it was against this background that businessmen led by Gavin Relly met the ANC leaders in the Luangwa Valley on September 13 last year.

It is important to note that the ANC did not agree at this meeting to move in the direction private talks had indicated they might.

But it should also be borne in mind that this was to have been purely an exploratory, familiarisation contact. There was no question of negotiation.

The ANC stressed, however, that they had no deliberate plan to move the violence into white areas. They had been misunderstood, they claimed, and any harm to whites would only result from the "overflow" factor.

Thus, the attitude of some that the new policy has discredited the talks is understandable. Moreover, I am sure it has caused a great deal of heart-searching among those who went to Zambia.

Superficially at least, it may even appear that the contact was a mistake.

If it was "wrong," however, I must add that, given better timing than the present, I am prepared to be "wrong" again.

As everyone who went knew, there were grave risks attached to the visit — not least the justifiable concern about giving the ANC excessive credibility. But I would be surprised if anyone who attended the meeting actively regrets having gone.

Polarised

It was, after all, a genuine attempt at important dialogue, and if anyone feels the participants now have egg on their faces, I would suggest it's high time these detractors accepted that some discomfort and personal disquiet is an inevitable consequence of dealing with such a polarised group as the ANC.

I accept that the more militant approach of the ANC, which most who know the organisation anticipate will build up to an explosive 10th anniversary of June 16, 1976 (Soweto), has made contact with the organisation at the moment almost impossible for most people to consider.

And I am as horrified as anyone over ANC tactics. As recently as December 1985 I had a top ANC official in Lusaka tell me that this year (1986) "the people will put SA to the torch".

Still, I cannot believe that anyone who tries actively to dissuade the ANC from this course is wrong.

Granted the odds of success at this stage are miniscule. It may not be possible to change their direction, bearing in mind the apparently increased influence of the communists.

Nor do I believe the hardline Marxists will ever shift away from their absurdly rationalised policy of nationalisation of industry and the major financial institutions.

The ANC image now is one of political and economic tyranny and I know few people, black or white, who would support an organisation which sought votes from the masses, in free and fair elections, using such a platform.

What's more, I am reasonably certain that fundamental differences would emerge and many nationalists in the ANC would eventually find the communist direction intolerable.

Unified

Keeping the ANC out of the political marketplace, and its leaders banned or in jail, has caused it to become perhaps the most successful and currently unified political grouping in SA.

For this reason I believe the ANC should be unbanned and subjected to the scrutiny of the people.

Much of its mystique and appeal would dissipate as its leaders sought to compete, warts and all, with the land's other bona fide political representatives.

WP

BUS DAY 24/11/86 304A

SA business urged to speak with one voice

ALAN PEAT

COMMERCE and industry must speak with a single, unified voice on the issue of dismantling apartheid, say business leaders.

They say the local business community has too many representative bodies and that disunity delays attempts at international association.

A spokesman for the US Corporate Council (USCC), a grouping of nearly 100 top US businesses with SA interests, says: "We have had a slow-down in our efforts since before Christmas.

"The thing we are wrestling with is how we can find a mechanism for SA business to talk with one voice."

Executive director Ken Mason cites his American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) as an example:

"We get together and give one voice for Amcham, the Sullivan Group and the USCC.

"There should be a similar central voice for SA business."

The SA Foundation is considered by many to be best suited to represent the business community.

Donald Masson, president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, says the foundation has the ability and overseas contacts.

This view is shared by British Consul-General Colin Brant.

"One wouldn't look on any one organisation as being mutually exclusive of others. They are all representing their constituents.

"Overall, one would take the SA Foundation as representative of the big firms here as all-embracing."

There is serious doubt, however, about the practicality of the idea.

The Federated Chamber of Industries' Johan van Zyl says it is easy enough to get various bodies together over a single business project.

"But on a broad political issue, the individual political viewpoints make themselves heard, and there is no really discernible unity.

"Basically, there is no real agreement on the theory because of fears of their own organisation's viewpoints being swamped by the others."

Jan Steyn, chairman of the Private Sector Council, agrees.

"It is not only unachievable, but impractical," he says.

Bus DAY 24/11/86 304A 2

Boraine warns on taking action as...

State denies Tutu will be charged



● TUTU

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

GOVERNMENT was not planning to act against the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu after his call in the US for support for the African National Congress, government sources said in Cape Town yesterday.

The sources were responding to PFP chairman Alex Boraine's warning to government not to act against Bishop Tutu, but rather to unban the ANC and negotiate with it.

However, Boraine said yesterday the strong attack on Tutu by Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis suggested there was a chance the executive was considering action against Tutu when he returned.

Boraine said government could be planning either to remove Tutu's passport, ban him or detain him.

"It seemed far-fetched to think the government would act against World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Alan Boesak, but they withdrew his passport," Boraine said.

Statements Tutu is reported to have made during his US tour include:

☐ That international banks should refuse to renegotiate loans with the SA government as a pressure to dismantle apartheid;

☐ That he would risk being charged with treason by calling for sanctions against;

☐ "If, as most of us believe, they (SA) do have nuclear capability, I don't put it past them to have their own version of a scorched-earth policy;"

☐ "We have an example of blatant State terrorism in SA in the form of apartheid, which kills four-year-olds with rubber bullets;"

☐ "When you have a few white people killed, the world suddenly talks about terrorism. It doesn't think anything of the terrorism of 1 000 dead that has happened when people, most times, have been trying to carry out peaceful demonstrations."

Boraine believed the international community would see action against Tutu as a case of "killing the messenger instead of dealing with the message".

"If it's true that Tutu called on the West to support the ANC, then he's laying himself open to the charge of furthering the aims of the banned ANC.

"But I suggest that the government save lives and limit damage by meeting with the ANC instead of using Tutu as a chopping block," Boraine said.

He said the black community would see repressive action against Tutu as yet another gagging of their own spokesmen and a step which would further isolate blacks from whites.

Ridgeway Tel: 680-9559
Shop 22, Checkers Centre
Stephanus Street, Ridgeway Ext. 3
Vereeniging Tel: (016) 21-4671/2
Cnr. Voortrekker Str. Ext. and
Lewis Street

Wynberg Tel: 440-8246
9 Andries Street
KewTownship(BehindJoshuaDoore)
Vereeniging Tel: (012) 663-1200
Shop 70
Verwoerdburgstad shopping centre.
Program is s273



Govt's last chance to clarify plan for reform — Slabbert

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — This session of Parliament, starting next week, is a watershed as it is the Government's last opportunity to restore some kind of sanity and clarity to its reform programme, Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert has warned.

In a wide-ranging interview yesterday, he said that if South Africa had not resolved certain crucial issues by the end of the session, the country was going to be internationally more isolated, regionally more despised and domestically more polarised than ever before.

"There is no question that as far as our major allies and Western contacts are concerned it would be a disaster if the Government underestimated the significance of January 31 (when President Botha opens Parliament).

CLARIFY

"From a number of key sources I have been persuaded that this is regarded as a kind of last chance to clarify the confusion and enable particularly the business community to assist reform in South Africa," Dr Slabbert said.

He said that in the session the Government had also once and for all to clarify its policy towards neighbouring states.

On the domestic front, Dr Slabbert said, the Government would have to clarify what it meant with terms such as "power sharing", "no domination", "no discrimination", "one citizenship" and "universal suffrage".

"These are important concepts within the South African context, but they are fast losing all political currency because it is not apparent what the Government means when it uses them."

Dr Slabbert said the PFP's task in the session was to call the Government to account for its actions of the past year.

Whites 'blind' to what is happening to blacks

STAR 24/1/86 #A 304A 239

There is an ancient Indian parable about blind men who felt an elephant's leg, tail and ear respectively, and concluded that the objects they had touched were a log, a rope and a fan, respectively.

Conscious only of the part, they drew totally erroneous conclusions about the nature of the whole.

In South Africa today, the whites are like those blind men in their perceptions of what is happening in the black community.

This was brought home to me again with brutal force when a highly intelligent and articulate community leader from one of the Vaal Triangle townships came to see me last week.

"Whites have no conception of how terrible life has become for us," he said.

"The radical elements — UDF and Azapo — conduct a reign of terror and commit such unspeakable atrocities against anyone who opposes them that moderates have been struck dumb with fear.

Political

"To speak out against them, to refuse to participate in political action organised by them, especially to attempt to organise in any way to resist them, is to invite them to pour petrol over you, or your family, and leave you to die in agony.

"Even if the police and the security forces are present by day, radical terror rules by night.

"Contrary to what you hear, most blacks are relieved to have the security forces patrolling and bringing some peace into their lives during daylight hours. Yet even Afrikaner organisations like the AHI play the radicals' game by joining in cries for withdrawal of the security forces.

"We feel completely abandoned by the State, by the Afrikaner, by the English liberals, by all those who have a moral or political responsibility to stand by us."

I asked him why blacks did not form vigilante groups to resist radical terror, as would certainly happen in white communities if the authorities failed to maintain law and order.

He replied that vigilante groups were illegal, and the Government had made it plain that any such

MY VIEW



Martin Spring

groups formed by blacks would be suppressed.

I asked him why black "children" (many of them adults, incidentally, as they are 18 or older) were beyond the control and restraining influence of their parents.

His reply was that several years ago the traditional vehicle used for exercising such control, the makgotla, was outlawed by the Government and black parents warned that if they conducted such "courts" and applied corporal punishment, the victims would be able to sue them before the white courts for assault, and would win their cases.

Surrogate

Another traditional means, especially important to single-parent households headed by a woman, was the use of the schoolteacher as a surrogate father to administer corporal punishment in case of bad behaviour reported by the parent.

A coalition of radical blacks, white liberals and bleeding-hearts in the State education authorities put a stop to that.

From this visit, and other information I have received from black friends, it is clear that the radicals not only dominate many of the townships, but they are steadily expanding their influence, especially into smaller communities outside districts covered by the state of emergency, and into rural areas such as Lebowa.

The State seems powerless to prevent this, to maintain law and order, or to protect its natural allies in the black community.

Most whites are unaware of what is happening because the media (including the Afrikaans media) depend almost exclusively on black journalists who are either UDF or Azapo supporters, or are too intimidated to write anything other than the radical line.

Nearly all the few white journalists who specialise in reporting on black events were drawn into doing so out of political sympathy for the views of radical groups like the ANC.

It is understandable if regrettable that in this age of advocacy journalism, they should largely tend to ignore unpleasant facts that contradict their beliefs or cast a bad light on the behaviour of their friends.

The tragedy of moderate blacks — and they must number many millions — is that they have no voice and few defenders.

Killing

The Afrikaner-dominated State, unconsciously racists, seems to assume that it is of little importance if blacks go on killing one another so long as the killing does not spill into white areas.

The Englikaner-dominated liberal establishment, preoccupied with its tribal jihad against the Afrikaner State, seems reluctant to admit to the ugly side of the radical forces it is trying to court into an anti-Afrikaner alliance.

Eight months ago I pointed out in this column that the wave of intimidation unleashed on black moderates was clearly following the pattern of Algeria, where French rule was destroyed not by attacking the French but by using terror to beat Arabs into zombie-like unity, so polarising the country that it became ungovernable.

The total failure of the State to act since then in any effective way to protect the lives, property and freedom of expression of black moderates, means that we have drifted further towards a revolutionary confrontation that would be disastrous for us all.

The Government must act now, even if this involves a switch to a more typically African legal system. And the Press must accept its moral responsibility to report fairly on what is happening in the townships.

'Politics of negotiation still possible in SA'

STAR 24.1.86. 304A

By Susan Pleming

The possibility of negotiation in South Africa still exists despite the apparent political deadlock between black and white in the country.

This is the opinion of Mr Steven Friedman, a special research fellow at the South African Institute of Race Relations, who recently completed a research paper entitled "Black Politics at the Crossroads".

"Possibilities exist for creating negotiation politics in the townships, which offers some hope of breaking out of the spiral of random militancy and repression which has plagued them since 1976.

"Only if these possibilities are realised will the present impasse create a new atmosphere in the townships, which will see some power pass from whites to blacks, in a way which ensures that change will occur in an orderly way and not in response to either the petrol bomb or the gun," Mr Friedman said.

Referring to the banned African National Congress, Mr Friedman said negotiation could not take place without this group.

It was significant that opinion surveys of black attitudes had found the ANC had more support than any of the legal organisations.

"Even groups which have profound doubts about its politics, such as Inkatha and the unions, are forced by this climate to pay some homage to the ANC tradition," he said.

Although the potential for negotiation between black and white existed, Mr Friedman said powerful forces worked against this negotiation.

FREE ACTIVITY

Negotiation would not work unless free political activity was allowed in the townships, he said.

He added that the state of emergency would have to be lifted, banned political movements allowed to operate freely and political prisoners released. Police in the townships would also have to return to their normal role of preventing and detecting crime.

Mr Friedman described the unrest in 1984 and 1985 as a "sharp departure" from the upheavals in 1976. The plight of the economy was far more severe now than in 1976 and this limited the Government's ability to cool township unrest by introducing material improvements.

The nature of black political activity was also different and the formation of civic, youth and student groups had given it a new focus.

Another key change was the emergence of the black labour movement which had brought a new force to community politics.

"In particular they have stressed that the style of organisation they favour in the factories, in which leaders act only on a firm mandate from their constituents, be followed in community politics as well," said Mr Friedman.

But, Mr Friedman added, organisation in some townships was still weak. In some areas such as the East Rand militancy seemed to be running out of steam, while in others there were signs of a community backlash against the coercion used by some activists to enforce control over township action.

In additon to this, the youths who had led the township action lacked political sophistication and their militancy often alienated potential township allies, he said.

Races have 'unfortunately' moved apart

Govt opts for togetherness

24/1/86 STAR 304A

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In unveiling its new "directives" for the promotion of intergroup relations, the Government has embarked on a significant attempt not only to reverse decades of racial compartmentalisation, but to promote actively contact between the country's groups.

"I am convinced that we don't know each other," the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said yesterday at a news conference held publicise the directives.

"For example, our children don't know each other. We want to bring our young people together, we don't want them to develop in airtight compartments. Unfortunately we have moved away from each other and we must bring the people together again," he said.

Such words from a Nationalist Minister would have been unthinkable two decades ago. Today they are supremely ironic. So much water — and goodwill — has gone under the bridge in all the years of the Nationalist segregation doctrine.

Now the Government states, as the first point in its intergroup relations directives, that positive attitudes and human relations cannot be achieved by legislation.

"These qualities are of an intrinsic nature and can be acquired only by means of a process of education, a willingness to co-operate and the elimination of ignorance by all parties concerned.

"This requires a process of evolution which needs time and patience. In order to stimulate this process a relations action has been lodged," the directives say.

The main vehicles of this action are the relations committees which have already been established in the major centres.

Initially, the idea is that not all population groups will necessarily be represented simultaneously on the area relations committees, according to the directives. But each area is free to appoint its relations committee on the basis it sees fit.

The ultimate goal is that all population groups will sit on the same committee for a particular area.

The range of activities of the committees includes: the creation of an awareness and the encouragement of participation in local authority structures; consultation with employer and employee organisations; liaison with church societies, teachers' bodies, associations and youth organisations; and the creation of opportunities for school principals to converse with one another.

Community leaders are to be made aware of problems, while sport and other informal contact will be used to gain appreciation of the values and norms of others.

Informal discussions are to be held with those community leaders who are opposed to change and who thwart reform by rejecting structures and customs.

The committees are also to identify and eliminate points of friction. They will try to achieve consensus through "open-hearted discussions".

If consensus cannot be reached and it is clear that further talks will serve no purpose, discussions are to be terminated and the matter left to the senior relations officers (civil servants appointed in each area) who may consult their regional or head offices.

The directives specify certain ways in which the committees may exercise their functions:

- By liaising with prominent individuals in the local community so as to motivate them to promote sound inter-group relations.
- By asking speakers on topical matters to address meetings of members of the various communities who could afterwards discuss matters among themselves.
- By making available written information about the various communities and topical matters concerning sound human relations.
- By attending to local discriminatory matters which could cause friction. Each committee should act as a vigilance body to give guidance and discreet advice and, if necessary, make representations.
- By creating opportunities such as conferences and other gatherings for interested parties jointly to identify and take action on problem areas.
- By presenting joint cultural and other activities such as plays, films, music, song, art and debating competitions.

NP committed to 'blacks as ministers'

Cape Times 25/1/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

30LA

THE National Party is fully committed to having blacks as ministers with executive powers in the central government "as soon as possible", according to the NP's senior information officer, Mr Chris Rencken.

"As far as the National Party is concerned, there are no objections to including blacks in the central executive at the highest level," Mr Rencken said in an interview yesterday.

Such a dispensation would necessitate a complete revamping of the existing constitution, "conceivably" opening the way for the inclusion of blacks in the central cabinet or within separate black ministers' councils with "own affairs" responsibilities or both, he said.

However, not subject to negotiation was a one-man one-vote system based on a common voters' role. "We will not take that," he said.

The Benoni MP said the vision of power-sharing with blacks had the backing of President P W Botha and senior members of the cabinet.

'Pace of change'

Mr Rencken said one of the major stumbling blocks to getting the government's ambitious new initiative off the ground was the hesitancy of black leaders to agree to participate in an election plan which could lead to representatives being included in the executive.

"The National Party does not see its way clear to implementing plans for the inclusion of blacks unilaterally, so the pace of change is not determined solely by the government."

Mr Rencken said the government had already achieved "some progress in negotiations with blacks" but that too many leaders appeared to want a "cut and dried blueprint" placed before them which they could either accept or reject.

He noted that while the NP had in principle accepted the inclusion of blacks at the highest level of the executive, the mechanisms that would be used to achieve this were open to negotiation.

POLITICAL REPORT

Schwarz urges Govt to face SA's real struggle

304A STAR 25/2/86.

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The real struggle facing South Africa was in respect of political power and the division of wealth, the House of Assembly has been told.

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) called on the Government for clarity on the promised formula for dividing State expenditure between the different population groups.

Speaking in the third-reading debate on the white mini-budget, he said there was agreement that apartheid had to go. But the division of State expenditure was now one of the major social and political issues.

When the present Constitution was considered by Parliament it was hoped there would be a formula for the division of funds.

So far, the Government had not produced a formula.

If discrimination was to be removed in all State departments, what sort of timetable would there be for this, Mr Schwarz asked.

In considering this question, the formula for dividing State expenditure was important.

There were two serious misconceptions that had to be removed:

● Blacks hold the misconception that attainment of political power would change their economic plight.

● Whites, on the other hand, think political power could be shared while retaining the same economic privileges now enjoyed by them.

Did the chairman of the Ministers' Council and Minister of the Budget, Mr F W de Klerk, believe equality could be achieved without a reduction in the level of services for the white community?

HIGH INFLATION

Mr Schwarz said the present high level of inflation was eroding the machinery for producing wealth in South Africa.

Would white South Africans be prepared to pay more for the education of their children? Would the standards of white education remain the same in real terms?

Mr Schwarz suggested the Minister should say what sacrifices were required from whites "in order to survive".

Replying to the debate, Minister de Klerk said Mr Schwarz had anticipated the debate to be held when proposals for a formula for the division of State funds were introduced.



Mr Harry Schwarz . . . Government must produce a formula.

"I am sure we can devise such formulas. We have made progress and are near he point where we can announce something," Mr de Klerk said.

It remained the Government's goal to maintain equality of opportunity in all fields. But the goal of equal provision could not be attained overnight.

The Government realised there were backlogs and that there was a need to eliminate them as quickly as possible.

Sacrifices would have to be made on all sides, he said.

CAPE TIMES 25/1/86

Cape

'Natal option' must go national, says FCI director

3044

Own Correspondent

LONDON — It was essential that any "local option" for power-sharing in Natal should coincide with a similar initiative at national level, Mr Arthur Hammond-Tooke, a director of the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) said.

Mr Hammond-Tooke was speaking at a lunch given by the South Africa Foundation for a delegation of Natal businessmen lead by Mr Alex Hamilton, president of the Natal Chamber of Industry.

The Natal businessmen spoke strongly in favour of the implementation of power-sharing deal for Natal along the lines recommended in the Buthelezi Commission.

The delegation is on a two-week fact-finding mission to Britain during which it will have discussions with a wide-range of businessmen, politicians and trade union representatives.

They met Lord Anthony Barber, Britain's representative on the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG), Labour MP Mr Donald Anderson and representatives of UKSATA — the UK-SA Trade Association.

Yesterday the group met Mr Mike Walsh, head of the international department of the Trades Union Congress.

Briefing journalists on the FCI charter for reform earlier this week Mr Hammond-Tooke welcomed the positive response from the South African government to the charter and noted that the reformist document advocating universal franchise in a federal structure had not been rejected in any quarter.

Messages of support had already been received from Nafcoc and the Natal Chamber of Industry, he said.

He said the FCI had spent two hours with the cabinet committee on constitutional affairs under the chairmanship of Mr Chris Heunis discussing the document before it was released.

He said it was intended to be a "rallying point" to draw all elements into a new political structure "when the price is right".

CP won't take part in 'bluff'

PARLIAMENT — The Conservative Party would not take part in the "bluff" of the National Party with its political wordplay, **Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP, Rissik)** said yesterday.

Speaking in the third reading debate on the House's Part Appropriation Bill, he said that what the Government was holding forth to white voters as "self-determination" did not meet any basic definition of the word.

The truth or falsity of this terminology was catching up with the NP.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Mr Pik Botha**, had said there could under certain circumstances be a black State President.

The Minister of Agriculture had apparently explained in his constituency that "old Pik said this because he was tired".

Tired or not, Mr Botha had said it, and there were many people in the Government who shared this view.

The CP refused to surrender the sovereignty of whites.

Mr van der Merwe also said February 24 was a memorable date for the CP as this was the day on which, four years ago, its members had finally taken a stand against the attempts of the then Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to introduce the principle of power-sharing through the back door of the NP caucus. — Sapa.

Barend's Bill will change finance Acts

PARLIAMENT — A technical Bill on financial institutions amending the Insurance, Pension Funds and Stock Exchange Control Acts, was introduced yesterday by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, at a joint sitting.

The amendments to the Insurance Act provide for the extension of registrar's powers; more stringent conditions for recognition of outstanding premiums as an insurance asset; and for the transmission to insurers of short-term premiums collected by intermediaries.

Moving the Second Reading of the Financial Institutions Amendment Bill, Mr du Plessis said further amendments to the Act provided for greater protection of debtors against exploitation under "so-called conditional transactions", and another aimed at enabling the registrar to exercise effective control over entry to the insurance industry.

Amendments to the Pension Fund Act related to the valuator's triennial report, financial reports disclosing deficits and loans granted by a registered pension fund to its members.

Amendments to the Stock Exhanges Control Act were regulatory. — Sapa.

A new gander at the Rubicon?

STAR 25/11/86

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS
BY HARVEY TYSON



With inflation, taxes and politics the way they are, there are very few things we have left to count except our blessings Count 'em:

First, you are lucky enough not to be P W Botha.

Second, you didn't make that "Rubicon" speech on August 15 last year.

Third, you don't have to make (or dodge) "Rubicon 2" at the opening of Parliament on Friday.

No matter what he says or does, P W is likely to get wet in another attempt at crossing the Rubicon.

If he decides to defy expectations again, he may need to go into hiding. But what if he makes the following promises?

- "I reject racial discrimination, impairment of dignity and inequality based on race.
- "I offer citizenship to everyone, in a single state; I offer votes to all and protection for minorities.
- "I will negotiate with leaders of all communities
- "My Government will not dictate, but talk in a spirit of give-and-take.
- "My Government will review the pass laws, lift the emergency when violence abates, and release political prisoners when possible.
- "We shall seek peace and stability with our neighbouring states."

Could anybody ask for more?

Yes. Because he has already made all those promises (in almost those words, only a fortnight after the Rubicon disaster). No one but the European Economic Community (EEC) took much notice of the second sweeping declaration, and even fewer believed it.

Words are not enough. What South Africa and the world wants now is action, though a statement of intent, dealing clearly with specific legislation, and specific dates might help. Lifting the state of emergency certainly would, even though it means only getting back to square one.

★ ★ ★

Have you ever pondered the fact that while one man's meat is another's poison, what's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander?

Rather than leave you with that thought, let's deal directly with some specific meat, sauce, and the rest. The SABC did remarkably well in its detailed coverage of the Lesotho coup (even if it anticipated the event in the way the Press once exaggerated the death of Mark Twain). SABC cameras captured scenes of people fleeing down the streets of Maseru during the crisis, and others ululating with joy when Chief Jonathan was deposed

Two TV teams were dispatched to the scene, plus radio reporters, I presume. One TV crew was expelled, and the SABC was justifiably angry Their staff persisted like good professionals in trying to cover the action, and the SABC put one of its expelled teams back as soon as it was possible to do so.

But all this good work has raised a number of questions and accusations from other professionals:

Why didn't the SABC protest when TV crews were banned from filming in our own country?

Why was the presence of cameramen at the scene of crisis acceptable to the SABC in Lesotho, but not South Africa?

Were all the scenes shown of the Maseru crisis in fact contemporaneous? Or was the SABC guilty of what overseas TV has been accused of: using old footage to apply to a current event?

And those current pictures of people dancing in the streets of Maseru — did it happen simply through spontaneous joy, or did the presence of TV cameras and some nods and winks jolly the scene along?

Whatever the answers, I believe it was wrong to expel the SABC from Lesotho without a proven case to support a ban, and wrong to do the same to TV crews in South Africa.

What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, of course. And if some isolated members of the media dispense poison, that's no reason to ban all the rest who are trying to give the public the real meat.

Wish I hadn't reverted to that mixture of proverbs. Let's change the subject again.

★ ★

In the year 2000, with any luck, South African citizens will look back to January 1986 to study the origins of a low-key, little-known movement and identify it as one of the most valuable reforms of the past half-century.

The movement, which has only just started, is a diverse campaign to restore a proper regard for the law.

South Africans are being reminded that as individuals, regardless of colour, they have legal rights and that these are more precious even than a vote. The message is going out in many ways. I have space only to name some examples, but watch the trend

The Star hopes to report the details as they develop. It is important because the security of every one of us is dependent on sound law, properly exercised. Rule of law is dying in our country, but it can be restored. If we are to avoid South Africa becoming "a typical African or South American" dictatorship (black or white), every citizen needs to fight for the preservation of proper law.

One way is for people simply to know the law, and to use it.

- Assocom has called for a return to basic law.
- The Legal Resources Centre is doing a tremendous job by helping the helpless to use the law. The organisation's task ensures better justice, and can only increase awareness and appreciation of the law among a group who are often accused of wanting to overthrow it.
- The Federated Chamber of Industries, in its charter of justice published this week, announced plans to "launch programmes for better public understanding of human rights and freedoms".
- The South African Law Society is sponsoring an educational programme designed to teach everybody their rights. It is a campaign to make known what in the United States is called "street law". The project will be piloted through some Natal schools, but the society hopes it will eventually become part of the school curriculum throughout South Africa. Meanwhile, lectures on "street law" may soon begin for adult audiences.

The significance of this trend towards public awareness of individual rights is illustrated by the situation in Zimbabwe. There rule of law disappeared under permanent "state of emergency rules" introduced years ago by Mr Ian Smith's government. Proper law has never succeeded in asserting itself again. Authoritarian laws introduced by Rhodesia to curb recalcitrant blacks are now used by Prime Minister Mugabe against black and white Zimbabweans.

What's sauce for the goose . . .

★ ★ ★

With Graeme Pollock's broken finger, and half a dozen other players on both sides nursing bruised and bent fingers, it is touch and go whether they will have enough to get through all the Yellow Pages.

Govt 'wants black ministers'

25/1/86 304A Mercury

CAPE TOWN—The National Party is fully committed to having blacks as ministers with executive powers in the central Government 'as soon a possible', according to the NP's senior information officer, Mr Chris Rencken.

Mercury Correspondent

'As far as the National Party is concerned, there are no objections to including blacks in the central executive at the highest level,' Mr Rencken said in an interview yesterday.

This, he said, would necessitate a complete revamping of the existing Constitution, 'conceivably' opening the way for the inclusion of blacks in the central Cabinet or within separate black ministers' councils with 'own affairs' responsibilities or both, he said.

Buthelezi

The Benoni MP said this vision of power-sharing with blacks had the backing of President Botha and senior members of the Cabinet, adding that as far as Mr Pik Botha was concerned, 'blacks can come into the Government tomorrow'.

Mr Rencken said one of achieved 'some progress in negotiations with blacks' but too many leaders appeared to want a 'cut and dried blueprint' which they could either accept or reject.

He noted that while the NP had in principle accepted the inclusion of blacks at the highest level of the executive, the mechanisms that would be used to achieve this remained unresolved and were open to negotiation.

However, the Government would prefer to have elected rather than nominated blacks to fill senior positions.

What was clear was that the Constitution would have to be changed, additional special structures devised, 'and there will have to be black mini-

NP approval for blacks in cabinet

DISPATCH 25/1/86

304A

Dispatch Correspondent

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"As far as the National Party is concerned, there are no objections to including blacks in the central executive at the highest level," Mr Rencken said in an interview yesterday

Such dispensation would necessitate a complete revamping of the existing constitution, "conceivably" opening the way for the inclusion of blacks in the central cabinet or within separate black ministers' councils with "own affairs" responsibilities or both, he said

The Benoni MP said this vision of power-sharing with blacks had the backing of President P. W Botha and senior members of the cabinet, adding that as far as Mr Pik Botha was concerned, "blacks can come into the government tomorrow".

Mr Rencken said one of the major stumbling blocks to getting the government's ambitious new initiative off the ground was the hesitancy of black leaders to agree to participate in an election plan which could lead to representatives being included in the executive

While some black leaders had agreed to go along with such elections, there were "notable exclusions" like Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi who had so far resisted the scheme

He insisted that if black leaders had been more willing to come forward to talk with the government last year "we could have been very far in negotiations now" about black power-sharing

"The National Party does not see its way clear to implementing plans for the inclusion of blacks unilaterally, so the pace of change is not determined solely by the government

"The NP's policy is that it wants to share power. The ball is now in the court of the black leaders — there are no obstacles from our side"

Mr Rencken said the government had already achieved "some progress in negotiations with blacks" but that too many leaders appeared to want a "cut and dried blueprint" placed before them.

He noted that while the NP had accepted in principle the inclusion of blacks at the highest level of the executive, the mechanisms that would be used to achieve this remained unresolved and were open to negotiation

However, the government would prefer to have elected rather than nominated blacks to fill senior positions

What was clear was that the constitution would have to be changed, additional special structures devised, and "there will have to be black ministers"

The only thing not subject to negotiation was a one-man one-vote system based on a common voters roll

NEWS IN BRIEF

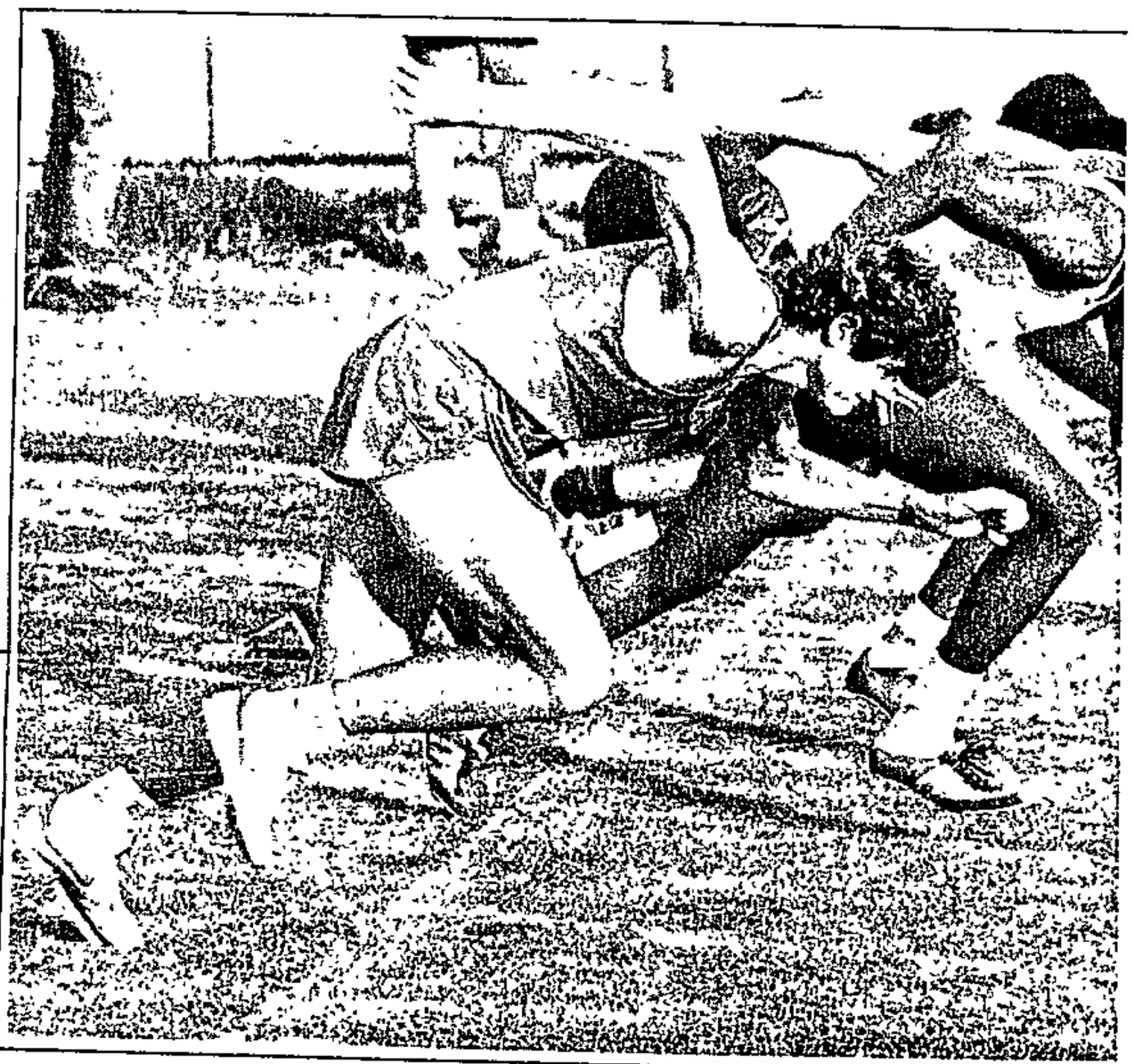
Sergeant dies

PRETORIA — A Mamelodi police sergeant, Mr Zenzile Makhudu, died in hospital yesterday after he was injured when two handgrenades were hurled at his house on Thursday

A woman who was apparently in the house during the attack was also injured — Sapa

Miners fired

JOHANNESBURG — More than 800 miners



Normal relations with SA our aim — Lekhanya

Houses drenched

Ward 30 election war ends tomorrow

After just over a month of heated campaigning during which the National Party and Progressive Federal Party candidates have accused each other of using "smear tactics", voters in the Bellevue/Judith's Paarl ward will elect their new representative to the city council tomorrow.

They have to choose between Johannesburg attorney and law lecturer Mr Tony Leon (29), of the PFP, and Mr Sam Bloomberg (61) of the NP, whose work for Suicides Anonymous has been highlighted by his recent rescue of a 19-year-old suicidal mother from a city rooftop.

Mr Bloomberg's subsequent participation in a debate on suicide on national television drew acrimonious comments from Mr Leon, including a claim that SABC-TV was deliberately giving Mr Bloomberg prime-time coverage before his election.

Mr Leon has also said Mr Bloomberg had used "smear tactics" by accusing him of being inexperienced and of damaging NP posters.

Mr Bloomberg in turn has claimed the PFP is in disarray and that its members are "clutching at straws" to retain their dwindling support. "Their smear campaign has misfired — connecting me to serving the public has only damaged themselves," said Mr Bloomberg.

Both candidates have experienced difficulties with personally contacting the electorate, as almost half of the 5 678 registered voters in Ward 30 no longer live in the area.

However, both candidates are predicting that the expected 30 to 40 percent poll will bring a resounding win for their party.

"The PFP will score a fantastic victory," Mr Leon, who has promised to live in Bellevue after his election, said yesterday.

His opponent says he has contacted between 60 and 70 percent of voters. "They automatically know me as a doer and a fighter and have no problem with seeing me as involved with community security," said Mr Bloomberg.

Mr Bloomberg has promised to improve anti-crime measures in the area, to increase traffic control and to investigate traffic "black spots".

● The polling station at the Masonic Lodge, Hunter Street, Bellevue, will open at 7 am and close at 9 pm tomorrow. The result is expected to be announced some time after 10 pm.

● Photograph: Alf Kumalo.



ay — but, yes, it is Springbok
e isn't running on land. Sonja
year and she has found the best
ggravating the injury is to don a
and "run" in the water.

ANC point of debate for PFP

CAPE TOWN — Division is mounting in the Progressive Federal Party over the role of the banned African National Congress after remarks attributed to Bishop Tutu. The issue coulddominate the party's caucus meeting next week.

Last night party members were publicly at pains to say that there was no split in the party ranks. At this stage a serious split does not seem likely.

Not only is the unbanning of the ANC likely to be an issue at the PFP caucus meeting next week, but now seems likely to be a major subject in the No Confidence Debate in parliament.

● See Page 8.

PFP clash with Govt over call to unban the ANC

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

STAR 25/1/86

CAPE TOWN — A row has blown up between the Government and the Progressive Federal Party over Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu's support for the African National Congress.

Senior members of the Cabinet have reacted strongly to Thursday's call by PFP federal executive chairman, Dr Alex Boraine, not to take action against Bishop Tutu but to rather unban the ANC.

In the interview he said he did not necessarily agree with everything Bishop Tutu said but he felt it was better to deal with the ANC now over a table than over the barrel of a gun.

Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said in reaction Dr Boriane's statements showed the PFP was prepared to deal with people who suppoted violence.

He did not believe this was the policy of the PFP and felt it reflected the opinion of only a restricted section of the PFP.

In reply Dr Boraine hit back saying the response of the Government, particularly speculation of splits in the PFP, was hysterical. It was a transparent exercise to discredit the PFP and draw attention away from the disastrous failure of its own policy, he said.

PRIORITY

"The PFP has stated repeatedly its unequivocable opposition to all forms of violence either to maintain the status quo or to bring about change.

"The PFP has also consistently urged negotiation must receive the highest priority. While it may be enjoyable to negotiate merely with those with whom we are in agreement, if we are to resolve the conflict in South Africa we have to negotiate with all the parties," he said.

"The PFP is totally committed to saving lives, reducing violence and bringing about a peaceful resolution to the tragic divisions in South Africa."

Dr Boraine said the PFP would not be intimidated by slurs and innuendo.

"The Government reaction was a clear signal of the kind of smear politics they are going to use during the forthcoming session of Parliament," Dr Boraine said.

● See Page 9.

Getting down to business

CITY P. 20/11/86.

By TEBELLO RADEBE

THE Federated Chamber of Industries this week released a charter of human rights and an Action Program "to help move South Africa towards a more stable, just and prosperous society".

The charter, says the FCI, is based on Western "democratic" traditions and is based on various bills of rights and the United Nations International Declaration of Economic, Social and Political Rights

The Chamber has given the following reasons for adopting the charter.

★ There is presently widespread discontent and confusion inside the country

★ Major initiatives have been largely rejected by urban black people as authentic steps towards the elimination of apartheid and real power-sharing

★ SA has no clear statement of fundamental social and political rights

★ There is a firmly and widely held perception overseas, as well as among many urban black people, that SA is in a state of revolution and anarchy and that the Government is unwilling to find solutions to its political problems

★ These political perceptions have been reinforced by SA's partial moratorium on its international debt repayments and the weakness of its economy.

The Chamber also says the West and African states should approach SA with more "flexibility" because it is important to find a way to avoid confrontation.

On the home front, the Chamber notes that urban black people are very reluctant to start negotiations, partly because the credibility of black leaders depends on not accepting the apartheid framework

This, says the Chamber, means that before starting serious negotiations, black leaders will have to be assured that

★ They will be negotiating as partners with equal status, and

★ That the political framework will not be a means of making apartheid more acceptable

The FCI says it is necessary to agree on pre-conditions for serious negotiation

The FCI plans to implement the charter by:

★ Urging all members of industry to adhere to the rights and principles in the charter

★ Influencing Government and all political parties and groups to abide by the principles in the charter

★ Working towards the termination of turmoil, unrest and the state of emergency

★ Striving for the release of political prisoners as defined in the context of the charter, and

★ Exploring means of supporting social and political debate

EL gets school units

CITY P. 26/11/86

By BENITO PHILLIPS

EAST London builders are working all-out to meet their deadline to build the first 50 temporary school units for 1 700 secondary pupils in Duncan Village.

Scholars will start registering for the new school year on January 28.

In addition, a further 60 units will be built for 2 300 higher primary pupils and 50 units for 1 800 lower primary pupils by the end of February

At present there are no schools in Duncan Village and a joint decision to have temporary schools built was taken at a meeting between the Duncan Village Residents' Association and East London MP Peet de Pontes

According to De Pontes, R1,94-million will be spent on the project.

The school units will be built so that when those schools burnt during the unrest last year are rebuilt, these structures can easily be converted to acceptable three-bedroomed houses

At a recent meeting, pupils were told that although they were required to register, they shouldn't pay school fees or buy books until they were absolutely certain that classes would resume normally

Unions support Tutu's attack

CITY P 24/11/86



BISHOP TUTU
Bitter attacks

BISHOP Desmond Tutu – who was this week honoured with an American award for non-violence – received both praise and criticism for statements made while on his three-week tour in America

His bitter attack on the Sullivan Principles for American business corporations in SA won praise from black trade unions

"We wholeheartedly endorse what Bishop Tutu says," said Council of Unions of SA general secretary Pirowshaw Camay

"These principles continue to be an alibi for the continued presence of these corporations in SA"

Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions co-ordinator Phandelani Nefolovhodwe said the principles – since its founding seven years ago – have been seen by black workers as a means to protect capitalism

Tutu's attack comes weeks after the author, Philadelphia church leader and human rights campaigner Leon Sullivan, urged US companies in SA to practice civil obedience by opening all housing under their control to black workers

Sullivan also demanded a total boycott of SA if "grand apartheid" was not eliminated by 1987.

American vice-president George Bush severely criticised Tutu's actions and said it was casting "a shadow over his standing"

He said he was worried about some of Tutu's recent statements on violence

Tutu's pleas for disinvestment and stricter measures against SA would not influence Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement he said

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NEWS

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said Mr Selene

Pessimism remains over pace of proposed reform

BUSDAY 27/11/86 304A

Focus on already laden Parliament schedule

PARLIAMENT starts its new session this Friday, with the prospect of having to deal with an extremely weighty pile of draft legislation during 1986.

This year has yet to shake out of the hiatus of an extended recess and already 47 Bills have been tabled, with 27 of these through the committee stage.

This is more than half the yearly average handled under the old constitution — before the introduction of the tricameral system — and there is a lot more in the pipeline.

Meaningful

Political observers note that government was clearly reticent about introducing really meaningful legislation during 1985.

Possible exceptions concerned the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act and the Regional Services Councils legislation.

It is now believed that pressures have become so great that the Cabinet will find it difficult to maintain delaying tactics for much longer.

Several important reports, for example, have come out of the President's Council and will demand a response from government this year.

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

The implication is that Parliament will be hard-pressed to get through the amount of work in store.

The session is already a week shorter than usual, but there is no indication to date it will be extended to accommodate the expected work load.

"There will be a lot of resistance from members on that score," notes one.

It is believed that considerably more accent will focus on Own Affairs issues this year, and the doing away of Provincial Councils in about June should accelerate this development.

Minister of National Education and chairman of the Ministers' Council, F W de Klerk, is known to be strongly in favour of "beefing-up" decisions taken at Own Affairs level, and is expected to push for more legislative decision-making by the other Houses.

Both the ruling and opposition parties in the House of Assembly have still to hold their first caucus meetings of the year, to map out strategies for the session.

There can be little doubt, however, that the opposition Progressive Federal Party intends making last year's unrest and the education crisis central issues of debate.

Also destined for the agenda is SA's external debt problem, the high and unacceptable rate of inflation, government's penchant for over-spending and its continued "over-involvement" in the economy.

Major study

The opposition is expected to renew calls for government to accelerate the reform process and, in order to reinforce its stance, has undertaken a major study to determine the actual cost of apartheid.

Pessimism remains, however, that government's procrastination will be transformed into a meaningful programme of reform this year.

There are thus few expectations that President P W Botha will open Parliament on Friday with a promise of good tidings ahead.

BUS DAY 27/1/86

Business shows PW the way

JOHN BATTERSBY



● BOTHA

LONDON — Has the SA business community stolen President P W Botha's thunder ahead of his Rubicon II speech next week?

That is the question being asked in London after a flurry of activity and the launching of a long-awaited Business Charter by the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI).

Simultaneously, a delegation of top Natal business leaders has been conducting a hard-sell on the Natal option for regional power-sharing with KwaZulu along the lines of the five-year-old Buthelezi Commission's plan.

Both claim the renewed interest and encouragement of Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

To complete the picture, KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been blazing a quiet but impressive trail through Strasbourg, Paris, London and Copenhagen and giving evidence to the Commons Foreign Affairs committee.

The pieces of the jigsaw began to come together at a joint briefing for selected members of the British media by the Natal delegation and FCI executive director Arthur Hammond-Tooke.

While the FCI's programme of action consolidates a series of business initiatives over the past 12 months, the charter for social, economic and political change goes a step further.

It firmly nails the FCI's colours to the mast of universal suffrage in a free, nonracial and democratic system with "due regard being given to the protection of the rights of minorities".

It is the business community's response to the African National Congress's Freedom Charter and there is more common ground than may at first be apparent.

The FCI invites a federal system based on universal suffrage with a bill of rights and guarantees on property ownership and the free enterprise system.

But it is the timing of the FCI's business charter — coming 10 days before Botha's speech to the opening of Parliament — that gives it a special impact.

Hammond-Tooke presented the charter as a rallying point "to draw all relevant parties into the process of political dialogue when the price is right".

He said the FCI would urge government to have no non-negotiables and not to insist that the ANC renounce violence as a precondition for dialogue.

Botha is widely expected to unveil a confederal plan — still based on race — next week and to approve a regional power-sharing arrangement in Natal.

The warning was sounded by a questioner at one of the launching sessions in London that if the rest of black South Africa perceived the Natal option as an Afrikaner-Zulu pact which excluded other blacks, it could unleash a wave of anger which would make the resistance to black exclusion from the tricameral Parliament pale by comparison.

Instead of accelerating the trend towards local options, it could provide a new focus of resistance for organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF), Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Clearly, the architects of the FCI charter are aware of this danger.

The FCI document has sent a strong signal to Botha on the eve of the most important speech of his political career.

His response will determine whether 1986 will be the year of siege or dialogue.

Leutwiler to present proposals on SA's debt problem next month

BUS DAY 27/1/88

ZURICH — Mediator Fritz Leutwiler is to present a set of proposals on SA's foreign debt problem on a take-it-or-leave-it basis to foreign bankers next month.



● LEUTWILER

Erich Heini, spokesman for the former Swiss National Bank president, said Leutwiler would meet representatives of about 30 banks on February 20 in London.

He said Leutwiler had already told SA bankers he would present proposals to solve SA's debt problem on a take-it-or-leave-it basis.

Heini said Leutwiler would expect all of the 300 creditor banks to agree to the full package of proposals. He declined to give details of the plan.

The meeting will be Leutwiler's second with bankers since agreeing last September to help reschedule SA's foreign debt, which currently stands at nearly $24bn.

Leutwiler held talks with government earlier this month. — Sapa-AP.

Stofberg: I will strike an HNP note every time

(804A) 27/1/86 STAR

By David Braun, The Star's Political Correspondent, reporting from Cape Town

When Mr Louis Stofberg leads the Herstigte Nasionale Party into Parliament as its sole representative on Friday he is determined not to be an adjunct of the larger Conservative Party.

It is traditional that new MPs be led into Parliament for swearing in before the Table of the relevant House by one or two serving members, usually of the same party. But in Mr Stofberg's case, because there are no other HNP members, it is not clear who will do the honours.

"One thing the HNP cannot allow is to let representatives of another party lead me in. My presence in Parliament will be an HNP presence and nobody else's. I will strike an HNP note every time I open my mouth," Mr Stofberg said in an interview.

Satisfaction

Whichever way Mr Stofberg is admitted to Parliament, and of course there is no way that he can be barred, when he strides down the green carpet of the House of Assembly virtually every pair of eyes present will stare at him with open hostility.

Mr Stofberg may feel a twinge of smug satisfaction if President Botha is present, for it was Mr Botha who threw him out of the National Party in 1969.

Within weeks of his expulsion, and those of three of his Transvaal colleagues, the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, called a snap general election, and the HNP four were thrust into the political wilderness until Mr Stofberg's upset victory in the Sasolburg by-election last October.

In the intervening 16 years Mr Stofberg has struggled tenaciously to return to Parliament, losing eight electoral battles and several desposits.

In the process, Mr Stofberg and the HNP have made bitter enemies in the National Party, so very few of that party's 128 MPs will look upon the new member for Sasolburg kindly.



Mr Louis Stofberg

The 27 Progs and five New Republic Party members can hardly be expected to be enthusiastic about an MP so far to the Right of them, while not even the 18 Conservatives are going to be too happy.

Although in the eyes of most of South Africa there is no difference between the HNP and the CP, there is currently much acrimony between the two right-wing parties, especially since Mr Stofberg demonstrated that the HNP is able to pull off an electoral victory and was not dependent on the Conservatives for its survival.

Mr Stofberg clearly wants to take this independence further, and that is why he will not have anything to do with the CP in Parliament. The 59-year-old MP instead plans to be the "Helen Suzman of the Right" — serving alone in Parliament for his party in the same way that Mrs Suzman did for the Progessive Party for 13 years.

Investigative

Like Mrs Suzman, he plans to have a formidible back-up team outside Parliament, to do the investigative work, prepare questions and help with research for speeches.

Mr Stofberg does not want to reveal the nature of the HNP's strategy in Parliament, or which issues or personalities he will be gunning for. "That will make it too easy for the Nats," he said.

"But obviously I am going to take on the Nats, and the system. The HNP does not support this system of Parliament. We want something completely different."

A glance at HNP policy will show what Mr Stofberg wants. His party stands for a return to the policies of Dr Verwoerd. That means the total partition of races at every political, social, cultural and recreational level.

It would also push for a socialist form of economy with substantial redistribution of wealth from the "money powers". It is extremely hawkish on defence and internal security matters, and Calvinistic in its approach to censorship and Sunday observance.

One commentator recently described Mr Stofberg as a "flat earther who makes Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht look like a flaming liberal".

In fact, although he is very conservative even by South African standards, Mr Stofberg is no fool. A former journalist (on *Die Burger*) and practising attorney, he has had wide experience in business, local administration, the provincial council and three years in Parliament (before losing his seat in the election after he was expelled from the NP).

Prosperous

He has also played a major role as general secretary of the HNP, keeping the movement alive and prosperous in the face of many a bitter electoral setback. Now he is just as enthusiastic about leading his party into a new era.

"Our whole party has suddenly become very conscious of Parliament. Where before we were an extra-parliamentary party, relying for information of what was happening there on the newspapers, now we are going to be there, taking part in its debates and legislation.

"I have already been informed that I will represent the HNP in its own right at the Whips' meetings, and I believe that I will be round about the sixth or seventh speaker in the no-confidence debate.

"I will use every opportunity I have to probe the Government during question time, and I will make the HNP's contribution in the debates.

"But then I will not be alone. The whole party is behind me and we are going to make our presence felt," he said.

P W may look at RSC setup



Mr BARRY ERASMUS

By KIN BENTLEY

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, might address the question of black representation within regional service councils (RSCs) in areas where black community councils have resigned when he opens Parliament on Friday.

This is the view of the administrator, of Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle Township, Mr Barry Erasmus, who was asked today which leaders would represent black communities like Kwanobuhle — which do not have black town councils — on the RSCs.

Mr Erasmus and the Kwanobuhle Town Clerk, Mr Eddie Coetzee, met about 30 leaders from 12 civic organisations on Saturday.

He said the meeting had been called so that they could determine who the real leaders of the people were. All organisations had been invited.

Mr Sam Haas, chairman of the Uitenhage Areas Committee, who led the African delegation, was elected chairman of the meeting.

Mr Erasmus said that although he — as administrator — could serve as representative of Kwanobuhle on the future RSC, he would "personally like to see a black man" doing the job.

He said the Government was aware of the fact that there were no black councils in some area and "I believe it will take cognisance of this".

He was optimistic that blacks would agree to this initial form of "multiracial" government.

"There is such a conciliatory spirit at the moment. There is an atmosphere of change."

Mr Erasmus said a four-man ad hoc committee had been formed, comprising himself, Mr Coetzee, Mr Haas and another black delegate to the meeting.

He said he would try to arrange a meeting this week with the Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier Ernest Schnetler, to enable Mr Haas to discuss with him the holding of a report-back mass meeting.

He said he was sure calls by the community for the release of detainees, the withrawal of the troops and the lifting of the state of emergency would be met systematically, provided the community showed a commitment to peace.

Today attempts to contact Mr Haas failed.

Blacks in Parliament?

THE South African Government had failed in its announcements on changes in apartheid policy to indicate whether blacks would be allowed into Parliament, the South African Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

The institute, quoting a briefing titled "African Rights and the 1986 Parliamentary Session," said unless blacks are admitted to Parliament, promises by the Government that blacks would participate in decision-making "at the highest level" would not be fulfilled.

"The Government has announced what could be significant changes in grand apartheid ideology but fails to clarify whether blacks will be allowed into Parliament," said a statement.

It said "township violence, other internal pressures, insurgency, international forces and the expectations generated by the Government's own promises of political reform" would ensure that the political rights of blacks were a major focus of the parliamentary session which begins on Friday.

The statement said the briefing listed all the major statements on the question of political reform made by the State President, Mr P W Botha and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

It identified questions given rise by the statements and which had so far not been answered, it added.

On the question of citizenship, it said the Government had failed to clarify the content of common citizenship and "whether Africans will have the same citizenship rights (including political rights) as whites."

It also said the State President had "apparently" committed himself to a universal franchise but he had given no indication of how "far he is prepared to go beyond the vote Africans already have to elect their own representatives in the homelands." — Sapa.

Nats differ on action against Bishop Tutu

ARGUS 28/1/86

30 KA

Political Staff

THE Government was keeping a low profile today on Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg.

There are differences of opinion within the National Party over what action should be taken against him about his call for Western support for the African National Congress.

Bishop Tutu returned to South Africa yesterday from his tour of the United States, saying he stood by what he had said there.

ATTACK

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, who last week made a stinging attack on the bishop's call, had no comment to make today.

Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order, also had no comment today.

The issue is likely to be discussed by the Cabinet tomorrow or at next week's meeting of the State Security Council, according to Government spokesmen.

Some Nationalists would like charges to be laid against Bishop Tutu for supporting the ANC, or to have his passport taken away.

However, others argue that Bishop Tutu is fast discrediting himself. This became evident, they say, when United States Vice-President, Mr George Bush, publicly questioned the bishop's objectives.

If action were taken it would make a martyr of him and increase his credibility.

The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg that Bishop Tutu, said he did not support the ANC's violent methods, although he subscribed to its objectives.

He said that in the church his anti-violence position was a conservative one. The church taught that the time could come when there was justification in overthrowing a tyrannical government by violence.

"NON-RACIAL"

But a position justifying a "just war" had not yet been reached.

"I have said many times before that I support the ANC in its objectives of a unified, non-racial and democratic country, but I do not support its methods of violence."

The bishop said he had raised nearly R2,5-million, including scholarships in America worth more than R500 000.

With a new parliamentary session about to start diplomats and analysts agree . . .

304 A
DISPATCH
28/1/86

More easing of apartheid

From Reuter correspondent VICTOR MALLET in Cape Town

The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, who has just turned 70, looks set to spend this year and the rest of his political career steadily eroding apartheid while maintaining the white man's grip on power in South Africa.

This is the view of western diplomats and political analysts in Cape Town. Observing unabated rioting in black townships, they see 1986 as another critical year for reform of South Afria's internationally condemned system of racial segregation.

Mr Botha and his cabinet are certain to announce further measures to ease apartheid during the parliamentary session, which begins on Friday, government sources say.

But the President's ruling National Party, forever anxious about loss of support from right-wing whites who want the apartheid status quo maintained, is hardly likely to satisfy the growing political aspirations of the black majority, the analysts said.

Mr Botha himself has stood firmly by the principle of segregated schools and residential areas and there are no signs that one of the main foundations of apartheid, the Population Registration Act which classifies people by race from birth, is to be dismantled.

"Too little, too late," was the cry of the government's black opponents last year each time Pretoria announced the demise of another apartheid law, such as one barring marriages between whites and blacks.

Western diplomats stationed in South Africa and political analysts expect that cry to be repeated this year.

There is feverish speculation among politicians, diplomats and the media about the possible contents of Mr Botha's speech to open parliament on Friday.

"It will be measured not by what (the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret) Thatcher says or what Ronald Reagan says but by what the people of South Africa want for themselves and for their children," the Rev Allan Boesak told a prayer meeting recently.

Apartheid provisions likely to be amended this year include the pass laws, the regulations loathed by conservative and radical blacks alike which restrict where blacks may live and work, government sources said.

The government is also expected to work towards the restoration of South African citizenship to millions of blacks who were forced to become nationals of nominally-independent tribal homelands.

This year's parliamentary session will be the second of a new assembly that includes Indian and coloured members in separate and junior debating chambers alongside the traditional white chamber. The majority of blacks are still excluded.

"The year 1986, events are making increasingly clear, is to be the year of greatly accelerated reform," said a recent state radio commentary that invariably reflects official thinking.

It said that this year "on a wide variety of fronts, reform initiated earlier will come into operation, discriminatory measures that have been investigated are to be dealt with and progress must be made in giving practical effect to fundamental policies formulated and spelt out during 1985."

Opinions in South Africa and abroad on the significance of any reforms will inevitably differ sharply.

Visiting US congressmen said after meeting Mr Botha this month they had little hope that major changes were in the offing.

But a Swiss banker Dr Fritz Leutwiler, who is mediating between Pretoria and foreign banks over billions of dollars of frozen South African debt repayments, said he was confident of political reforms after meeting Mr Botha.

Mr Botha has repeatedly ruled out a one-man, one-vote democracy in a unitary state, and newspapers have speculated that his government is considering a form of federation that would ensure continued white minority dominance.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a relatively conservative black leader, recently called on Mr Botha to sign a declaration of intent stating that South Africa was a single country which should have a single constitution with equality for all.

"The State President refuses to accept the need for such a document and he is consequently isolated from the major forces in the country which could be utilised to bring about a government of national reconciliation capable of governing South Africa through a transitional period," Chief Buthelezi said.

Over 1,000 people, mostly black, have died in the past two years during racial violence and the ANC says it is stepping up its campaign to overthrow Mr Botha's white-dominated government.

Mr Botha, who blames the ANC for the unrest as well as for guerilla attacks, has been under pressure from extreme right-wing whites to crack down even more harshly on black dissent instead of concentrating on reform.



MR BOTHA . . . a form of federation?

But Mr Botha's National Party, in power since 1948, is still overwhelmingly dominant in white politics and does not need to face a white general election until 1989.

A recent survey of whites by the state-funded Human Sciences Research Council found that 56,2 per cent of whites wanted blacks to be included in parliament in some way, while 65,5 per cent supported either Mr Botha or the National Party or both.

Only one per cent of whites said they favoured a future under black majority rule.

"On the eve of the parliamentary session the message from the whites is clear — don't stop now," said Cape Town's centrist Argus newspaper in an editorial on the survey.

"In fact let's get a move on towards a negotiated dispensation in which all the people of South Africa have a share in running their country."

B-Day for the rand as dealers await President's key speech

HAROLD FRIDJHON

FRIDAY is B-Day (Botha Day) for the rand.

If President P W Botha, in his address to Parliament, is perceived not to be negative in his remarks about reform and change, the rand could respond by rising to the $0,47-$0,49 band in the next few weeks, particularly if gold continues to perform, according to a usually well-informed foreign exchange manager.

On the other hand, the rand could slide to $0,41-$0,42 if Botha gives a repitition of his Rubicon speech.

One expert believes the rand will not repeat its disasterous plunge, which followed the President's don't-push-me-too-far address to the Natal nationalists, because the technical position of the currency is very different from what it was in August.

Then there were extensive open speculative positions against the rand between local and offshore banks.

The leads and lags situation was overstrained, with exporters delaying the repatriation of their receipts as long as possible to get a favourably low rand rate for their dollars, while importers rushed to buy dollars in case the rand/dollar rate collapsed.

The rand was a punchball being hammered from both sides.

And the Reserve Bank, desperately short of dollars, lacked the resources to support the battered currency.

At present the leads and lags hiatus is under control. Exporters must take forward cover on their expected receipts within seven days of the shipping of their goods. This gives them very little margin to take any speculative positions. And importers no longer rush the market to buy dollars; they are prepared to hold back just in case the rand is a little stronger tomorrow.

The banks' opportunities to play the currency markets are very much curtailed.

The Reserve Bank, though pouring out dollars to repay foreign debts not ensnared in the standstill net, certainly has the facilities with which to regulate the rand's movements. This is the result of the gold mines and De Beers being paid in rands and not in dollars for their export earnings.

But while the mood is bullish, the market — unlike the stock exchange — has not been carried away by the higher gold price. Attitudes are still very conservative.

None of the foreign exchange experts consulted this week was prepared to talk of a $0,50 rand, in spite of the current weakness of the dollar. The uppermost sustainable level appears to be $0,49 until some finality has been achieved in the rescheduling of the country's foreign debts.

After Friday's Botha speech, the next hurdle is the debt negotiation. Of course they are linked. If overseas bankers are not disappointed by what the President has to say, rescheduling may be less difficult than some commentators appear to think. If he is not positive, the tightly-controlled rand will probably bear the brunt of international displeasure.

For the next four days both importers and, to a much lesser extent, exporters must adjust their forward-cover positions involving the rand, not by any economic expectations. Their view on the markets can only be subjective, governed by their perceptions of what the President is going to say.

With the dollar looking weak importers with dollar/foreign currency commitments, except for sterling, are advised by the banks to cover forward. Barclays suggests 60% cover but Standard does not specify any percentage.

Exporters, says Standard, could stay out of the market, but Barclays recommends 40% cover.

CAPE TIMES 28/1/86

Bishop slates State 'terrorism'

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Rt Rev Bruce Evans, has severely criticized the government and equated police actions which have resulted in township deaths with terrorism.

In the current issue of his newsletter, the Searchlight, he calls for prayers for the country's rulers — "that they will repent and humble themselves so as to apologize for the iniquities they have brought upon millions and millions of human beings".

Bishop Evans also says it is up to Christians to see that Christian values are not only upheld "but that they replace the pagan values that have dominated our lives in this country for so long, producing (this) violent society".

In his newsletter, Bishop Evans tells of visiting the grief-stricken parents of a teenage girl recently killed during a police action in Walmer township.

"In Amanzimtoti and in the Northern Transvaal we have had the horror of indiscriminate bomb blasts which have killed and injured numbers of innocent people. This kind of madness must be condemned in the strongest terms. People have been outraged by these attacks, and rightly so.

"But a worrying thing is why there is not the same outrage when a little girl is killed by those who are there to uphold law and order. Is there any difference in 'terrorist activity' between bomb blasts killing innocent people and a policeman shooting a little girl, or police in Casspirs opening fire on innocent people going to a funeral as they did in Langa, Uitenhage, last year?

"Violence is violence and terrorism is terrorism, whether it comes from the ANC or the State. And Christians must condemn both."

Bishop Evans says that 1986 is likely to get worse because "we have a government that has ruled this country with violence for nearly 40 years".

He thanked God that there had been some changes and improvements, but said that "Christians could no longer keep silent and be inactive".

Bishop Evans urged Christians to pray for the abolition of apartheid, and that the government will "put aside its arrogance, talk with all recognized leadership, including the ANC, and begin to move towards democratic majority rule". — Sapa

PFP bid for all-race committee

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

JO'BURG



The PFP's Mr Sam Moss

At today's city council meeting the Progressive Federal Party will make its third attempt to have two motions debated — the formation of a multiracial reform committee and the return of certain management powers to the full council.

The introduction of the controversial motions by PFP leader Mr Sam Moss MPC and councillor Mr Geoff Stark, was stalled by the ruling National Party/Independent Ratepayers' coalition in October and failed to make the 11 pm deadline on the overcrowded agenda for the November meeting.

Mr Moss's motion called for meaningful bridges to be created among race groups in Johannesburg by the establishment of a committee consisting of all races and members of the public and private sector.

He has suggested that management committee has not played an active enough role in opening up lines of communication at a time when urban unrest is becoming entrenched in South Africa.

Mr Stark's motion seeks to curb management committee powers and involve the entire council in decision-making.

Sparks could fly over the Townships Board's ruling on the rezoning of a nearly two-acre Houghton stand for office use, marking the introduction of commercialism into the upmarket area despite council and residents' opposition.

Mrs Molly Kopel has placed a series of question on the order paper attempting to clarify the management committee's attitude to confining improved maternity benefits to women whose husbands have started or completed military training.

She is expected to take a strong stand on the recently ammended conditions of service concerning maternity leave, arguing that the ruling is sexist and discriminatory.

Power bill to rise by R626 000

SANDTON

Sandton electricity tariffs will rise by 12,75 percent today after Escom's announcement in December that the rising cost of coal had forced it to increase bulk supply tariffs.

The Sandton Town Council said last night this would entail a further cost of R626 100 in 1986 which had to be passed on to the consumer as it could not be absorbed by the council.

The price for each unit has increased from 6,02 c to 6,68 c for domestic consumers.

Where domestic consumers have their supply metered in bulk, it will increase from 8 c to 8,87 c for the first units and from 7,40 c to 8,21 c a unit thereafter.

The first 5 000 units for business and industrial consumers will increase from R18 to R20 and each unit thereafter from 2 c to 2,18 c.

● The Sandton municipality is continuing to take over from Escom as the direct supplyer of power to the residents of the town after a request from Escom.

The council resolved last night to ask Escom to cede its distribution licence for three erven in Rivonia extension 15. These will now be served by the municipal grid.

Street project for Bryanston

Sandton's town planners have come up with a "refreshingly" economical and practical road plan which will improve Bryanston roads and save the municipality more than R2 million

The plan uses mid-block roads and culs-de-sac to gain access to the many new properties created by the sub-division of the three to four-acre erven in the area.

At the same time effective traffic flow will be allowed by declaring five roads, Bryanston Drive, Grosvenor Road, Cumberland Avenue, Wilton Avenue and Homestead Avenue "limited access roads". This means that sub-divided erven facing those roads must ensure their new portions have access to a mid-block road or cul-de-sac.

The new plan was adopted by the council at its meeting last night — the first this year.

The plan will cost an estimated R84 000 and will reduce expropriation and construction costs for the council.

The road length to be constructed has been cut by 7,5 km, a saving of R2,06 million. The road widths have been reduced from 16 to 13 m

The saving on road length and breadth also means Bryanston residents save 97 500 sq m of land which would have been turned into thoroughfares.

Road plan to be submitted

The Sandton Town Council last night resolved to submit a five-year road plan to Johannesburg for incorporation into the Jomet five-year plan and the 1986/7 implementation plan.

This means Jomet will have to make available the money for the construction of the roads

They include the construction of a central bus station, the upgrading of Bowling Avenue, Woodmead, the tarring of 1st Street Marlboro and the initial widening of Maude and West streets to Rivonia Road.

Govt blocks attempt to integrate town council

By Janine Simon

Sandton's attempts to have its Indian residential area, Marlboro Gardens, declared a ward of the town with representation on the town council have been opposed by national and provincial authorities

However the council last night resolved to "keep the matter alive" and requested the management committee to consider polling residents about the issue

This followed objections by several councillors, including Mr Ricky Valente, Mr Edward Coote and Mr Peter Gardiner, to the council's accepting the Government's response

The question of incorporating Marlboro Gardens into the town arose in September after the council extended the powers of the Marlboro Gardens management committee.

At the time the council also resolved to petition the State President and provincial and local authorities to allow the residents of Marlboro Gardens direct representation on the Sandton Town Council.

The State President referred the matter to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis. He replied that the council's proposals were not in accordance with Government policy

The Administrator of the Transvaal added that in terms of the 1983 constitution and the Local Bodies Franchise act, it was impossible for an Indian Community to obtain representation on a white local authority

Expect a tone-setter

STAR
B04A
28/1/86

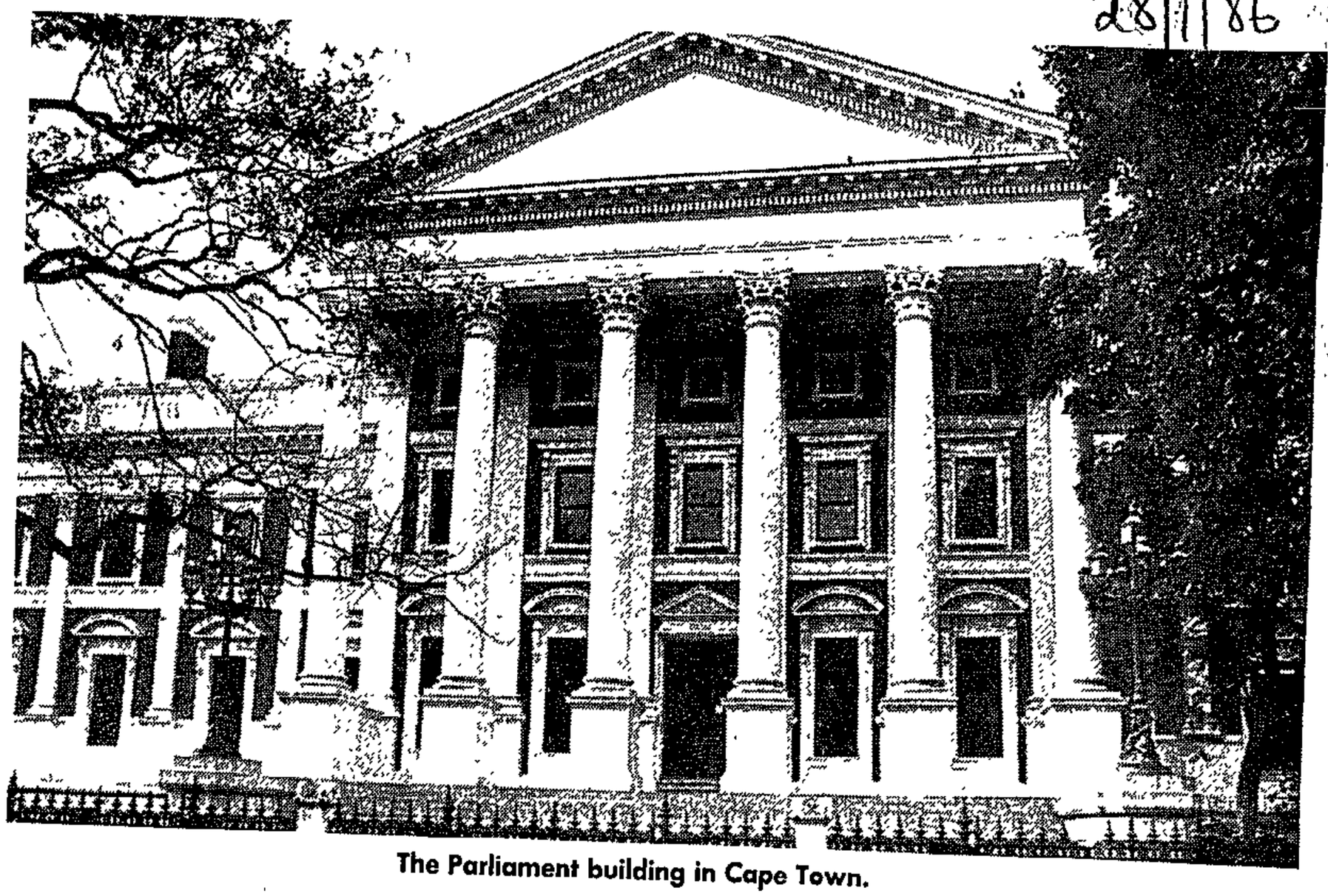
By David Braun, The Star's Political Correspondent, reporting from Cape Town

On Friday President Botha opens a new session of Parliament, and South Africa and much of the Western world will be listening attentively for any clues of his reform programme in the year ahead.

The word is that the speech will be more of a tone-setter than a grand announcement of major reforms.

Mr Botha is expected to recapitulate on the reforms he announced last year and will almost certainly restate his Government's commitment to negotiations with people who have rejected violence.

The goals he will reiterate will be common citizenship, universal suffrage and equal participation in the country's political structures up to the highest level. But the structures will have to provide for group differentiation and the guarantee that no one group will dominate the others.



The Parliament building in Cape Town.

Timetable

In short, most observers are not expecting anything dramatic.

The President may give an indication of a timetable for implementing some of last year's promises (particularly with regard to deregularisation, citizenship and property rights).

There is a suggestion that he may announce the proclamation of the opening of the first three central business districts (Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban) for free trading.

He may also give some details of what the Government is prepared to do about influx control and the pass laws (although the word here is that even on this subject there should not be too much excitement).

There is some speculation that the Government is ready to appoint blacks to the Cabinet, possibly as a means to get negotiations with black leaders off the ground (but this may not be announced until later in the session).

The President will boast about recent improvements in the economy (but not mention that the economy, although perhaps improved since, say six months ago, is still worse off than it was last January).

The no-confidence debate which starts next week could be more fiery than usual. The Government has almost nothing to show for itself over the last year, while its economic performance and the handling of the domestic unrest have provided a lot of ammunition for the opposition.

The National Party's tactics will be to divert attention from the Government's shortcomings and failures by trying to project the Progressive Federal Party as being too soft on security (talking to the ANC, not being supportive of the police, not condemning Bishop Tutu's calls for Western support for the ANC).

The Conservative Party will be branded as hopelessly outmoded, while the debut of the Herstigte Nasionale Party will almost certainly contribute to the liveliness of some debates.

At least one senior Nationalist is expecting a withering attack from the PFP for the Government's handling of the economy, and a barrage from the CP for its political performance. From the CP's point of view everything they have predicted has come true, he said.

The PFP plans to attack the Government on three fronts: the handling of sanctions and the debt crisis; regional policy towards neighbouring countries; and domestic confusion over reform.

Over in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates the no-confidence debate is expected to centre mainly on demands for the further dismantling of apartheid, particularly with regard to the Group Areas Act, race classification and separate amenities.

Under fire

The ruling Labour Party in the House of Representatives will come under fire from the Democratic Workers' Party for its handling of coloured education.

In the Indian House the newly formed coalition between the governing National Peoples' Party and the opposition Solidarity is likely to deflect much of the attack from the NPP's handling of the administration.

As Parliament picks up steam the odds are that the major confrontations will be between the Government and the coloured and Indian Houses. The junior partners are heavily pressed to bring about parity in spending on education and other services while progress must also be shown on scrapping discriminatory legislation.

In terms of legislation generally, the parliamentary committees have been fairly productive in the recess and close on 50 Bills are ready to be submitted to the various Houses for debate and decision.

Among the legislation already through the committees are Bills allowing Indians to work and reside in the Free State, the scrapping of racial connotations from the immigration laws, tightening of control over oil pollution, the provision for more land to be transferred to the independent homelands (certain farms) and legislation providing for building societies to become limited companies.

The big question mark hanging over Parliament, however, is whether the events which take place outside the buildings which make up the complex will supersede in importance the deliberations and decisions inside — as happened to a great extent in 1985.

No-confidence debate likely to be top of most agendas

Party caucuses plan strategies for 1986

304A
STAR
28/11/86

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Parliamentary party caucuses are meeting behind closed doors over the next few days to discuss and plan their strategies for the new year.

Top of their agendas is likely to be next week's no-confidence debate and the year's legislation programme.

The National Party caucus meets tomorrow and on Thursday. Speculation last year that the party was at odds over the leadership and pace set by President Botha appeared to be unfounded after November's extraordinary caucus meeting in Pretoria.

Instead, the caucus then unanimously endorsed Mr Botha's leadership and his reform programme. This week's gathering is not expected to highlight party differences. MPs expect to be briefed on the latest security and foreign relations situations, and on the outline and contents of Mr Botha's speech at Friday's opening of Parliament.

Failures

The major thrust of the Government's strategy for the no-confidence debate will be to try to highlight divisions within the Progressive Federal Party and calling the party soft on security and terrorism.

The PFP's caucus also meets tomorrow, when it is expected that recent conflicting views expressed by its members on the ANC will be sorted out. The two factions in the party may have angry words about recent public statements on the ANC by Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the party's federal executive, and Mr Horace van Rensburg, maverick MP for Bryanston.

The PFP's broad strategy in the no-confidence debate will be to highlight the Government's failures on the international, regional and domestic fronts.

Almost certainly on the agenda of the Conservative Party's caucus meeting on Thursday will be the issue of closer co-operation with the Herstigte Nasionale Party, and particularly with the HNP's newly elected MP, Mr Louis Stofberg.

Party sources indicate that the CP's tactic in the no-confidence debate will be to show that the National Party has lost control, and the will to govern.

Caucus meetings of the parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates are likely to be less preoccupied with the no-confidence debate.

Although they share goals of progress in the dismantling of apartheid, and may be expected to make demands to this effect in next week's debates, there are certain pressing issues distracting them. The Labour Party in the House of Representatives must look at the current crisis in coloured education and the credibility problem it has with its electorate.

In the House of Delegates the focus is likely to be on attempts to form a coalition by the two major parties, and attempts to thwart the move by a group of Solidarity MPs.

DISPATCH [redacted] 304A

09/11/86

Education to be equal for all — Botha

CAPE TOWN — Programmes aimed at active progress towards the goal of equal education would be announced in the "foreseeable future," the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, said yesterday.

Opening Parliament, he said measures would be taken in the coming year to extend the participation of all concerned in education.

Furthermore, the government was also determined to create structures during the year which would soon realise equal standards of examination and certification of qualifications for all communities.

"I should like to repeat today the government's commitment to equal provision of education for all population groups . . . the process of reform, aimed at achieving this, is in full progress in the educational field," he told a joint sitting of all three Houses of Parliament.

One of the most important steps was the establishment of a single education department for general policy for all communities, through which overall guidelines for the provision of education were being laid down.

These included the equitable allocation of resources to the various communities.

"Real progress has also been made in the quality of education for black communities," Mr Botha said.

Investigations and projects launched covered the improved provision of education for pupils in rural areas, management training for principals and departmental heads, a bridging period to bring children to school-readiness, a system to promote career education and a comprehensive effort to improve the academic and professional qualifications of teachers.

"Programmes aimed at active progress towards the goal of parity in the provision of education will be announced in the foreseeable future," Mr Botha said, adding that this would exert "substantial" pressure on the treasury.

"During the coming year, measures will be taken in order to extend the participation of all concerned in education."

Further announcements on the continued reform of the country's education system could be expected shortly, he added. — Sapa.

Leutwiler has 'take-it-or-leave-it plan ready'

Bankers hope PW will open way to $14-bn rescheduling

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Bankers hope that President Botha's speech when he opens Parliament on Friday will provide an opportunity for the re-scheduling of about $14-billion in foreign debts caught up in the payments standstill since the end of August.

But the fear is that the speech will not provide such an opportunity, says Peter Montagnon in today's *Financial Times*.

Rarely has politics intruded so brusquely into the business of practical banking as over South Africa, he says.

"By comparison with the South African negotiations, the task of re-scheduling Argentina's debts after the Falklands crisis or those of Poland after the military takeover, pale into insignificance."

The difference this time is the pervasive influence of public opinion. Banks, particularly those in the United States, have come under great pressure from customers and shareholders not to lend to South Africa.

The result is that the fate of South Africa's debt hinges less on what reforms Mr Botha actually proposes in his Friday speech than on public reaction in creditor countries to those reforms.

Only if this reaction is positive will the modest debt restructuring now envisaged be possible.

But Montagnon says few bankers can list exactly what reforms would be acceptable. Many shrink from the suggestion of Dr Fritz Leutwiler, the Swiss mediator between Pretoria and the bank creditors, that any re-scheduling agreement should contain a political preamble or annexe setting out their basic demands.

Shortly after Mr Botha's speech, Dr Leutwiler is expected to circulate new debt restructuring proposals to main creditor banks. This will be followed by a meeting of bank creditors in London on February 20.

This time the proposals are expected to be much more in line with bankers' thinking than the earlier ones, which were rejected.

Dr Leutwiler has indicated that he is looking initially at a short-term package which would give the creditors the opportunity of looking at the country's after a few years.

The idea also is that the proposals would be presented on a take-it-or-leave-it basis in the form of an agreed minute which both Pretoria and the creditors could initial but which does not have the value of a full re-scheduling contract.

That might get around the political objections of some lenders to dealing with South Africa, but it could also pose legal and accounting problems, says Montagnon.

In any case the consensus of bankers at present is not very hopeful even for this type of watered-down re-structuring.

Few regard Dr Leutwiler's hopes of a settlement being in place by the time the present standstill expires at the end of March as anything other than wildly optimistic.

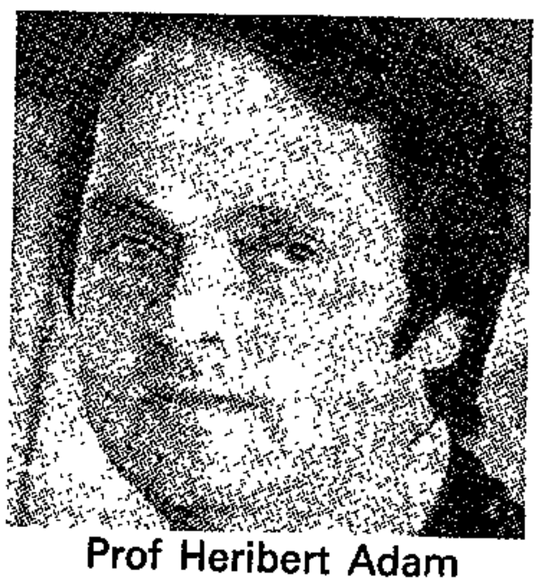
South Africa after apartheid (1)

CAPE TIMES 30/1/86 (304A)

Fifteen years after **HERIBERT ADAM'S** prophetic study "Modernizing racial domination" correctly predicted that an updated apartheid order would last in South Africa, Professor Adam, of Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada, and South African sociologist **KOGILA MOODLEY** are bringing out a new book concluding that non-racial democracy has a greater chance in South Africa than many sceptics realize.

To be published by the University of California Press, Berkeley, California, the American edition of the book will be titled "Dismantling racial domination: Society and politics in post-apartheid South Africa".

This is the first of two extracts.



Prof Heribert Adam

THE Group Areas Act constitutes the most far reaching legacy of the Verwoerdian dream. Long after all apartheid laws are repealed, the factual resettlement in racially homogeneous localities will persist.

Neighbourhood schools will mean predominantly racial schools. Leisure activities and normal social contact will take place largely within ethnically similar communities.

In light of these unalterable social facts, the question arises how the initial injustice and lingering bitterness from the act can be accommodated.

How should a democratic election take the racial structures into account?

Should a non-racial policy reverse the legacy through deliberate ethnic unscrambling, or should it adopt more a course of equalizing the infrastructure and services of vastly unequal neighbourhoods?

The Federal Republic of Germany paid substantial compensation to the surviving victims of nazism. The Canadian government symbolically acknowledged its guilt over the war-time expropriation and relocation of Japanese-Canadians.

Real market value

In this vein, the South African government could at least accept financial responsibility for the losses of victims of the Group Areas Act.

While confiscated properties of coloured people, Asians and Africans were "compensated" at the discretion of officials, they were in most cases immediately sold to white bidders for a much higher real market value.

It is this difference between compensation paid and actual market value, recorded in subsequent sales and available in the deeds of land registers, that could, together with accrued interests, form the basis of an easily administerable monetary settlement.

Such a gesture would not even take into account the psychological anguish suffered by the past racist expropriation.

Surprisingly, none of the Indian or coloured political parties has so far made financial restitution for group area losses part of their platform.

While all these parties advocate the abolition of the Group Areas Act, this demand overlooks that many relocated victims and their children have become accustomed to their new environment and do not want to move again. But they do resent the losses incurred and the past easy enrichment by white municipalities at their expense.

Since the white municipal authorities were the main beneficiaries of the act, a special restitution tax, levied upon those authorities and added to white area property taxes, would be the morally most justifiable way to finance the scheme.

If individual compensation is considered non-feasible, then the municipal upgrading of services and infrastructure in the generally inferior non-white areas through these special taxes could be made a priority.

Indeed, the ethnic residential pattern created under the act is likely to persist for a long time, even restoring individuals' right to choose where they wish to live.

In this case, the class differences between affluent and poor neighbourhoods are likely to be accentuated.

The black middle-class will gradually move out and the havenots will be left among themselves in their racially homogenous ghettos, compared with the racially mixed better areas.

Few whites, Indians or coloured people will be moving into the Guguletus, Sowetos or Umlazis, which will become even more the run-down east side quarters across the railway track for the impoverished rural newcomers in search of scarce jobs.

If the multiracial haves want to avoid the seething discontent of the ghettos spilling over into their affluent areas along the lines of ubiquitous crime in Rio, Detroit or Lagos, they had better make the townships sufficiently attractive to allow for a civilized life in place of depressed hopelessness.

How? Unlike the American model where municipal expenditures on a suburb or city area depend on the taxes raised in it, the Canadian and European example of metropolitan financing is preferable. Here taxes collected *at large* are spent more according to need and the richer parts subsidize the poorer city sections.

Another model of financing could raise the resources through levies upon employers (according to the numbers of black employees) since the firms benefit most from the black dormitories. However, this scheme would discourage labour-intensive production and inevitably lead to further replacements through mechanization and hence unemployment.

While the financing of the black areas has to be allocated according to the resources raided *at large*, political representation is optimally ensured in its opposite, namely a ward system.

In such a system all neighbourhoods or designated areas of a metropolitan region (wards) are guaranteed representation on the councils.

In theory, a black person could run for office in a predominantly white ward and vice versa although in practice most representatives would be respected residents of their ward.

Ward candidates could run individually or, more likely, as members of political parties, operating across ward boundaries.

Can't be swamped

More than in an election at large, a ward system would minimize the dependency of the weaker parts on the goodwill of the more powerful sectors, because of guaranteed direct representation.

At the same time, a ward system would ensure that minority ethnic groups are represented, since their vote in their residential area cannot be swamped by majority ethnics in a winner-takes-all system.

It would be wise to allow for several rather than one ward representative on the municipal/regional council, to be elected by proportional voting.

In this way, several political groupings within a constituency can vie for their share and expect to be represented rather than fall by the wayside as would be the case in the Westminster system.

In order to avoid unwieldy councils, it would therefore be wise to delineate larger wards, represented by several different delegates, than smaller ones, representd by only one person. Similar rules would apply to numerically equal-size rural constituencies. They will by nature be more ethnically heterogeneous.

Local councils can be no substitute for central political representation. But democratically elected grass roots representatives at the local level could initially also be the basis for an indirect election of a regional and central parliament.

All ward councillors could elect a regional and central assembly from among themselves, according to proportional representation of whatever groupings emerge.

Presumably, the greater rationality of elected ward representatives would also ensure a more competent central assembly by minimizing the chances of demagogues through the screening of their peers.

Above all, the indirect voting in a proportional system would reflect the ethnic and/or ideological composition of the country because no minority or area would remain unrepresented. If such a system were to be backed by the consociational prescriptions of veto rights for minorities in existential matters as well as required representation on all administrative bodies, an optimal and widely legitimate democratic system would emerge.

In all likelihood most representatives would be blacks. But by all accounts these new delegates would also in their minority reflect the predominantly moderate social-democratic and religious outlook of their constituency.

The majority of these representative spokespersons would have no difficulty forming coalitions with like-minded members of other ethnic groups and most will already be members of non-racial parties anyway.

Headcounts

It would be a fatal mistake on the part of the present rulers to manipulate representation through fiscal, ethnic, or numerical gerrymandering. Neither the taxes paid, nor the ethnic composition of a district can serve as legitimate criterion for its voting strength.

Headcounts of residents or registration of voters alone guarantees legitimacy. That such equal counting of adult persons for a one-person-one-equal-vote system will necessarily overlap to a large extent with existing residential patterns of ethnic homogeneity, is a result of the Group Areas Act. It would be prudent to ensure that the delineation of constituencies is carried out by a multiracial body of representatives or judges who enjoy the highest confidence for impartiality.

Constituency representation by a numerically more or less equal number of wards differs from the government's proposal for regional government in fundamental respects.

It is not based on discredited urban black councils or other racially homogeneous bodies but on a non-racial universal franchise that does not institutionalize enforced racial categories and yet the ethnic composition of an area is fairly reflected in the likely representation.

It also eliminates the racial distinction between "own" and "general" affairs, so central to the 1983 constitution. Instead, legitimate area interests come to the fore. These are articulated by whoever the majority of residents thinks can represent them best, as in all Western democracies.

(To be concluded.)

Botswana fears SA clamp

BUS DAY 30/1/86

GABORONE — An economic clamp by SA would cripple Botswana, President Quett Masire said yesterday.

"One thing is certain: We know our economy would be terribly crippled if a blockade took place and our lives would be turned into misery," he said.

Speaking at a Press conference in Gaborone, he added that although Botswana was not able to impose economic sanctions against SA, it would not stand in the way of those who proposed to impose them

He accused Pretoria of deliberately destabilising neighbouring black-ruled states to prevent them from pursuing independent policies

"We recognise, however, that South Africa is under great internal and international pressure Its reactions to its problems and criticism from the international community often disturbs its judgment.

"I cannot rule out border restrictions We do not know what South Africa will do"

He said his government viewed seriously SA threats to raid Botswana in pursuit of guerrillas.

"We are victims of phenomenal bouts of blind rage on the part of the South African government.

"South Africa has already attacked my country. It has recently blockaded Lesotho.

"These are drastic and chilling events that have affected our relations adversely," the President said.

Referring to Foreign Minister Pik Botha's statement at the weekend that appropriate action would be taken if Botswana did not close the guerrilla infiltration route, he appealed to the international community to dissuade Pretoria from carrying out its threats

Masire said Botswana did not allow its territory to be used as a launching pad for attacks on SA.

He said there was "no likelihood of taking on" the SA Defence Force as it was far superior to Botswana's security forces and any contacts would be one-sided

Masire said Pretoria had been invited to send officials to investigate alleged ANC activities in his country, but Pretoria had not responded and had also not paid reparations for the commando raid on Gaborone last June in which 12 people were killed.

He said that, although SA had claimed that the raid had been aimed at an ANC base, the victims had been civilians. The UN Security Council had censured SA and asked it to compensate Botswana

He said Botswana would continue to accept SA refugees.

"The government of South Africa looks upon refugees with suspicion. It also looks upon any country in which refugees from South Africa have been granted asylum with the same suspicion"

He added that the current turmoil in SA was having an adverse effect on his country's economy

Botswana is heavily dependent economically on SA. Virtually all its imports and exports are transported through SA — Sapa-Reuter

Report says progress scant and prospects poor

BUS DAY 30/1/86

SA, drought blamed as SADCC leaders meet

HARARE — Southern Africa's black states open an annual conference on development today with a warning that the outlook is poor after five years of bad economic performance.

The two-day meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) brings together high-level representatives of its nine members and more than 40 countries and international bodies backing their development efforts

The nine banded together in 1980 with the common aim of reducing their dependence on SA.

The SADCC members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In a frank appraisal of its progress in the past five years, a report by SADCC staff, released in advance of the Harare meeting, stated flatly. "The general economic performance has been unsatisfactory and prospects for the foreseeable future look unpromising"

It said the long-term goals of self-sufficiency, regional integration and reduced reliance on SA were sound but strategies were needed to turn them into concrete gains.

Blaming SA destabilisation and a crippling three-year drought as the major factors which hampered its efforts in the first five years, the report added: "It has taken all the running SADCC could do to avoid falling back."

Nevertheless, it continued, "results to date are modest but far from negligible."

The report said SA destabilisation had cost members $10bn during 1980-1984: "An astronomical sum for a region of nine developing countries, some of which are least developed and land-locked."

Calling the sum an "underestimate", the report said it was based on such factors as direct war damage, extra defence spending, higher transport costs and lost exports and tourism earnings.

SADCC officials estimate the nine members' per capita output fell 15%-20% during 1980-1984. It began to rise again last year, but only by 1%, well below population growth

The conference will set policies and goals for the SADCC over the next five years, a period when officials see the organisation growing in stature.

One diplomat involved in administering regional SADCC projects said. "Partly due to the past year's unrest in SA, which has focused attention on the region, SADCC has begun to come into its own after a period a couple of years back when it was drifting rather aimlessly.

"It might have had to run hard to stay in place, but at least it hasn't fallen back." — Sapa-Reuter.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Citizenship likely to be a highlight of P W speech

30/1/86



● BOTHA

PRESIDENT P W Botha's opening speech to Parliament tomorrow is being seen as one of the most important and significant in the country's history

In it he is expected to outline government plans as well as review reform successes achieved so far

He is not expected to make any dramatic announcements or changes in policy direction.

On the plus side, however, his speech is not expected to contain any retrogressive steps.

Botha has already spelt out how far he is prepared to go in dismantling apartheid. The steps implementing measures already announced are expected to dominate his speech as well as the forthcoming session of Parliament.

He is, however, expected to reveal further developments in the restitution of citizenship rights to those who lost them through the granting of independence or self-government.

Moves to increase the mobility of workers and the granting of extended residential rights are also expected to be announced.

The elimination of pass laws and modifications to influx control regulations are other aspects expected to receive attention.

It is understood that steps to improve the quality of life and standard of education have been in the melting pot for some time but were hindered by the slump.

Such announcements could well come in the light of the improved gold price, the better rand/dollar rate and the much more favourable balance of trade figure.

Botha could also reveal his thinking on the possibility of a Natal-KwaZulu federal state.

Another issue almost certain to be mentioned is the question of terrorist infiltration.

It is understood that Botha is fairly satisfied with measures taken to curtail the activities of the ANC operating in and from neighbouring states

He is, however, expected to chastise Botswana for continued support of the ANC.

South Africa's foreign debt crisis and ways of solving the dilemma will also receive attention.

The outcome of recent talks with US congressmen and the US Secretary of State for African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, as well as other diplomatic initiatives are also expected to be tackled.

Botha's speech, which will be televised live, starts at 11 am. — Sapa.

UK trade balance looking healthy

LONDON — Britain's balance of trade improved sharply last month, showing its first visible trade surplus since last May.

Britain had a current-account surplus of £691m last month, up £423m from November. Exports rose by £117m to £6,425bn and imports fell by £140m to £6,3bn.

The visible trade surplus rose to £125m from a deficit of £132m in November, but earnings of £566m in so-called invisible trade — such as banking, insurance, tourism and shipping — accounted for the overall surplus. — Sapa-AP.

'No moves against Tutu'

BUS DAY 30/1/86

GOVERNMENT is not considering any action against the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu after the Bishop of Johannesburg's recent statements in the US, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said yesterday

Botha, who has the power to deny or withdraw a passport if he considers a holder's travelling abroad being not in SA's interests, added he had not seen the particulars of everything Tutu said in the US.

"It would appear to me, from reports I have seen, that Bishop Tutu has made some rash and foolish statements. It is my impression that he will now be explaining these statements to his diocese and, perhaps, even to his political friends.

"In any event, I think Bishop Tutu's remarks were of such a nature that all reasonable South Africans will find them totally unacceptable.

"He has most certainly dented his reputation as a man of the cloth," Botha added

Far from talk of seizing Tutu's passport, as has been speculated the authorities might do, some government members have said how pleased they are that Tutu's passport, which expired at the end of last year, had been renewed. — Sapa

Crocker comments on PW's next speech

30/1/86 STAR 8004A

'Concrete vision' wanted

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Government is hoping that the State President, Mr P W Botha, will set out in his opening of Parliament speech a "concrete vision" of the direction of reform in South Africa, says Dr Chester Crocker.

Dr Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, said it would be inappropriate on the eve of the speech for the US to indicate the details of what it hoped to see.

But it could be assumed that Mr Botha's speech would digest the things the SA leadership had said it was ready to do in previous discussions, hints, Press conferences and party conference statements.

"We obviously would hope to see as much as possible that would give a concrete vision for all of us to see where the reform process may be headed," Dr Crocker said in his first news conference since his return from his most recent visit to Southern Africa.

He said the US hoped the speech "would make tangible the commitments to scrapping concrete areas of apartheid law, would demonstrate a sense of urgency about doing all these things, and would point towards a climate that would enable blacks and whites to talk to each other."

Asked if he was optimistic or pessimistic about the speech, Dr Crocker said: "I think I am realistic."

Speaking about Southern Africa's problems in general, Dr Crocker said: "We feel that the region ... is dangerous, that if the parties seek to use purely violent solutions, military means, to resolve their problems, they are only going to bring about more destruction and ultimately undercut their own interests."

Mr Crocker confirmed that he had taken a message from President Reagan to President Botha — but he did not disclose its contents.

He said it was clear to the US that there was widespread recognition in South Africa, inside and outside the Government, that something must be done to break "the apparent logjam that exists now on issues of reducing the internal violence, moving forward on the reform process and bringing about dialogue."

Dr Crocker said he did not want to speculate about the chances of defusing the situation in South Africa in the near future.

"We obviously hope that can be done. That certainly is what our diplomacy is all about."

CArt Trmis 30/1/86 304A

Hopes and fears about SA debts

By PETER MONTAGNON
of The Financial Times

LONDON. — The hope among bankers with loans outstanding to South Africa is that President P W Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament tomorrow will provide an opportunity for the rescheduling of some $14-billion (R31,8b) in foreign debt caught up in the payments standstill since the end of August. The fear is that it will not.

Rarely has politics intruded so brusquely into the business of practical banking. By comparison with the South African negotiations, the task of rescheduling Argentina's debts after the Falklands War or those of Poland after the military take-over pale into insignificance.

Pressure not to lend

The difference this time is the pervasive influence of public opinion. Banks, particularly those in the United States, have come under great pressure not to lend to South Africa. Last year, for example, US local authorities, including New York City, withdrew deposits from banks with South African connections.

The result is that the fate of South Africa's debt hinges less heavily on what reforms Mr Botha actually proposes in tomorrow's speech than on public reaction in creditor countries to those proposals. Only if this is positive will the modest debt restructuring now envisaged be feasible.

But bankers are novices at the political game. Few indeed are those who can list exactly the reforms South Africa would need to impose for a rescheduling to become acceptable. Many shrink from the suggestion of Dr Fritz Leutwiler, the Swiss mediator between Pretoria and bank creditors, that any rescheduling agreement contain a political preamble or annex setting out their basic demands.

Soon after Mr Botha's speech, Dr Leutwiler is expected to circulate debt restructuring proposals to main creditor banks. This will be followed by a meeting of bank creditors in London on February 20. Dr Leutwiler has already said that the new proposals will be much less ambitious than those circulated by Pretoria late last year and which were resoundingly rejected by creditor banks.

Quite apart from their political objections, bankers found these proposals unacceptable in financial terms. The proposals called, among other things, for no principal to be repaid before 1990 and for all debt maturities to be shifted forward by five years thereafter. But one result of Pretoria putting them out at all was that it opened for the first time a real debate on what the banks wanted in concrete terms.

This time the proposals are expected to be much more in line with bankers' thinking. Dr Leutwiler has indicated that he is looking initially at a short-term package which would give creditors the opportunity of looking again at the country's problems after, say, a couple of years.

The idea also is that the proposals would be presented on a take-it-or-leave-it basis in the form of an agreed minute which both Pretoria and creditors could initial but which did not have the value of a full rescheduling contract.

Wildly optimistic

That might get around the political objections of some lenders to dealing with South Africa, but it could also pose legal and accounting problems in some individual countries as banks came under pressure to make loss provisions against debt which is no longer being serviced under a proper contract.

In any case, the consensus of bankers at present is not very hopeful even for this type of watered-down restructuring. Few regard hopes of a settlement by the end of March as anything other than wildly optimistic.

The world waits for PW's speech tomorrow

SPAR 30/1/86 (3044)

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Diplomats, businessmen and leaders across the political spectrum will be listening attentively to President P W Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament tomorrow.

Fearful of a repeat debacle following wide-spread disappointment with last August's Rubicon speech, Government Ministers have gone out of their way in recent weeks to play down expectations concerning tomorrow's address.

Instead of major specific reforms, they say, Mr Botha will be setting the tone for 1986 — that this is the year in which the Government plans to implement its reform promises of 1985.

The President is expected to at least set out his reform goals of one citizenship, universal suffrage and one South Africa, in clearer and stronger terms. He may also give some details on this session's legislation programme, especially with regard to black South African citizenship, the abolition of the pass laws, deregularisation of small businesses and power-sharing in second-tier Government.

Many Nationalists believe 1986 must be more than just a year of consolidation and that substantial progress will have to be made on the issue of black political participation at the highest legislative and executive levels.

There are suggestions that the Government is about to propose some kind of structure to allow top-level black participation, including representation in the Cabinet, as a short-term mechanism until a permanent multiracial system can be negotiated.

Tomorrow's speech may throw some light on this, although Mr Botha may choose not to give details until either his reply to next week's No Confidence debate or during the debate on his budget vote later in the session.

Little sign of standstill in civil strife

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

As the State President, Mr P W Botha, gets his 1986 parliamentary show on the road tomorrow, it will be in the shadow of ongoing unrest in many black areas.

Although some observers believe the violence is now slowly abating, there appears to be little sign of a standstill in the civil strife which has claimed more than 1 000 lives since the Vaal Triangle first erupted in September 1984.

The declaration on June 21 last year of a state of emergency appeared to douse the flames in some areas, but did nothing to alleviate the situation in others.

By and large, the cycle of death and detentions has continued, with the country's latest explosion of civil strife coming this week in Cape Town's KTC squatter camp, where fierce fighting left four people dead on Monday.

Guguletu, kwaZekele and Kagiso have also been the scene of disturbances in the last few days.

One place where calm has ruled, however, has been black schools, which are reported, with a few exceptions, to be quiet following the return this week of many pupils.

Among those monitoring the unrest is the South African Institute of Race Relations, which has reported a total of 879 unrest-related deaths in 1985 alone — an average of 2,41 a day.

So far this year, the institute reports, there have been no fewer than 149 deaths, 59 of them in alleged faction fighting in Natal.

In Soweto, there was a marked increase in killings after the emergency — only nine deaths occurred between January and June 1985 compared with 48 between June 21 and the end of last year.

The weekly roll-call of detentions has continued, with 31 people being held under the emergency last week, according to police.

Some observers believe this figure is a good sign, pointing to the fact that it is the lowest weekly number of detentions since the state of emergency was announced.

In the weeks after Mr Botha's shock announcement, the weekly number of detentions sometimes reached as high as 700 — an average of 100 people a day.

According to weekly police lists, a total of 6 616 people has been detained at some stage since the emergency, although a police spokesman in Pretoria said only 330 people were still being held.

However, a spokeman for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee said to the overall total had to be added the more than 700 pupils from one school who had been detained briefly and were not counted in official figures.

There had also been about 2 000 people detained in terms of security legislation during the 12 months of 1985 and about 300 of these were still believed to be in police hands.

FEW COURT ACTIONS

In spite of growing numbers of detainees, there have been relatively few court actions to come out of the unrest, with only one major treason trial — that of 22 Vaal Triangle activists — now under way in Delmas.

Another trial, involving 16 of the more prominent UDF leaders and scheduled for the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, was largely abandoned by the State late last year.

One unresolved matter is the death of at least 14 people in Mamelodi in November. This will be replayed next month when an independent commission of inquiry — established by the Pretoria Council of Churches — looks into the incident.

For their part, the police say they believe the state of emergency is gradually bringing "insurgents" to their knees, but they have nevertheless warned that they will continue to be "extremely vigilant".

In the face of a recent ANC threat to escalate the "struggle" into a "people's war" the police have said they will be ruthless with offenders.

It's now the democratic process versus violence

30/1/86 STAR 304A

This is an edited version of an address by Mr David Willers, the South Africa Foundation's London director, on the occasion of a dinner he hosted for a delegation of Natal businessmen led by Mr A Hamilton, president of the Natal Chamber of Industries, selected British journalists and members of the Royal Overseas League in London on January 18.

The real clash in South African politics is that between those who rely on violence and those who insist on remaining involved in the democratic process

Because blacks have been excluded from the parliamentary process, it does not mean that they do not have democratic rights.

It is blacks' democratic rights (including the employment of non-violent strategies) which are threatened. They are threatened not only by actions of the State, but also by some who are involved in the struggle for liberation.

Apartheid survives only because it is maintained by State violence Apartheid would long since have ceased to be, had the State not clothed itself with Draconian powers and used them to combat popular democratic opposition to apartheid

When, therefore, I speak about the undesirability of violence in the politics of South Africa, I refer to violence from the State and violence used by the ANC to make South Africa ungovernable.

Those who have opted to use violence to bring about change in South Africa defend their choice by saying that there is nothing left to do That this is just not true is shown by the fact that Inkatha has made massive gains for black politics during the last 10 years

Equal rights

It, more than any other organisation, has played a role which has brought the South African Government to the point where it is beginning to recognise that apartheid must go and that South Africa is one country, with one people, who should all have equal democratic rights

Even if the State President has not taken a single significant step to move the country towards power-sharing between black and white, and even if he still hopes to entrench white interests, the fact remains that the South African Government today recognises that classical apartheid cannot be implemented.

I do not say this to indicate any kind of faith in the National Party's ability to govern more wisely now than it has done in the past. Nor am I in any way to be heard as saying that the struggle for liberation has been won

We face an intensely difficult situation in South Africa, because now that there are real prospects of change, the National Party has shown a lamentable inability to bring it about.

Instead of moving towards a popular national government, the State President and his Cabinet colleagues are desperately fighting a rearguard action against the forces of change, and continue to attempt to keep South African politics revolving around National Party interests, as it has done ever since 1948.

When I talk about the prospects of change I am not talking about a change of heart in the National Party. If the National Party could find a way of perpetuating apartheid, it should do so even now, and if it could find a way of entrenching white decision-making as central to the political process, it would most certainly do so.

I say there are prospects of change which we have never had before because harsh economic, demographic, political and diplomatic realities are combining to militate against the perpetuation of racism based on Afrikaner ideologies

Apartheid is not a policy that can now be supported by the country's economy Big business in South Africa has for the first time in the country's history defined a political role for itself

Organised commerce, industry and mining have condemned apartheid and are now insistently arguing the need for real reform They are doing so not because they have suddenly found a new ideological motivation. They do so because they perceive that their medium and long-term vested interests are deeply threatened by apartheid

Only those who reject capitalism and the free enterprise system do not welcome the shift of big business towards the political arena

That shift is very clear and it is real.

I want to advance the argument today that in our South African circumstances, we cannot eliminate violence by violence

More State violence to deal with counter-violence simply produces more counter-violence South Africa is now finding to its cost that the upward spiralling of violence is becoming unmanageable It is clear that the State can no longer manage violence and it is clear that those who oppose it can only use it and not manage it.

In our circumstances, violence can be eradicated only by violence if there will be a violent victory by one side over the other.

A violent victory by the State will doom South Africa, and a violent victory by those opposing the State will do the same.

No prospects

There are no prospects in my opinion of a violent overthrow of the State leading to a fair and just South Africa. The State will be overthrown by violence only after both sides have adopted scorched-earth policies which will destroy everything we value.

It is my constant argument that we can de-escalate violence and break its ugly upward spiralling only if there are meaningful democratic gains which the ordinary people recognise as gains

We need democratic opposition to apartheid now and we need non-violent tactics and strategies which go with it now. It is now that we need to curb that excessive use of violence both on the part of the State and those who oppose it — or it will lay waste everything before it.

Those who argue for the isolation of South Africa are arguing for the isolation of the country from the positive influences which can be brought to bear on South Africa by the international community

Those who are arguing for disinvestment are arguing for the reduction of the potency in the forces of democratic, non-violent opposition to apartheid It is the purveyors of violence who ask most vehemently for the isolation of South Africa and for economic sanctions against it

Their primary objective now is to reduce South Africa to ungovernability and they have to destroy the economy to do so.

They are blinded by their violent aspirations They simply do not see, or decide to ignore, the fact that economies cannot be switched on or off at will, nor can a crushed economy be resuscitated overnight.

Over 50 percent of all black South Africans are 15 and younger There is a huge population bulge moving towards the market place

If the South African economy is damaged, hunger which is now already endemic will be turned into mass starvation, and the millions already unemployed in South Africa will be greatly added to, producing a situation in which whatever political victories are achieved, there will be no real gains for ordinary people

Quite beyond the ultimate outcome of a destroyed economy, those who favour violence are vehemently arguing for disinvestment because democratic non-violent opposition to apartheid is stronger at times of economic growth than it is of economic depression

Powerful elite

Black South Africans know that the viability of democratic opposition to apartheid threatens those who are forsworn to bring about change through violence

Successful democratic opposition will prove them wrong and remove them from any prospects of becoming the country's powerful elite. Individual aspirations and party political interests among those who use violence, demand that they undermine democratic opposition

Whereas before, the ANC mission in exile sought to use violence against the State, it has now committed itself in word and deed to extend its violent programmes in such a way that a people's war is started.

The violence once used against the State is now being freely used, not only against the State, but against all those who oppose violence as the primary means of bringing about change in South Africa.

Those who are attempting to make South Africa ungovernable now through violence, have not learnt the lessons of history that if they succeed, the country will remain ungovernable for them and for anybody else

You cannot create a decent, modern, democratic society through violence. Whatever else we do, the process of liberating our country must culminate in a government of national reconciliation.

This will not happen if violence wins the day, because the country will have been economically and politically isolated and left to the fate of violent forces

Increased violence will result in increased polarisation and will reach such magnitudes that it will take generations to overcome its aftermath and to produce a national government working within the framework of democratic consensus.

Blacks and whites are now totally interdependent in the economic field It is the total dependence of whites on blacks which is firing democratic opposition to apartheid and deepening black negotiating advantages.

Negotiations are at their best when both sides have got too much to lose unless negotiation succeeds That is the position in which we are now in South Africa

The negotiating advantages of blacks are reduced during times of economic depression It is the vertical mobility of blacks through society during times of economic growth which adds to black bargaining power.

Vast backlogs

Whether South Africans like it or not, a stable future, under whatever government, will depend upon economic prosperity There will be no stability in the future unless the country moves to overcome the vast backlogs there are in housing, education and health and welfare services.

An electorate of millions of starving people who have gained nothing from political victories in the eradication of apartheid, will present unmanageable political problems.

The destruction of the South African economy in the process of liberating the country will present future governments with an impossible situation, and in those circumstances, we will witness the inability of any government to rely on democracy and consensus politics.

Whether South Africa likes it or not, our ability in future to maintain an open democracy in South Africa, will depend upon the country having a viable achievement-oriented economy.

And whether we like it or not, it is only the free enterprise system which in our circumstances and for as far as we can see ahead, will make the South African economy efficient.

Need access

For as far as we can see ahead, we will remain dependent on the inflow of capital, technology, and managerial skills, and we will for the foreseeable future need access to international markets which will come only if South Africa remains in the Western industrial sphere of interest.

However hideous apartheid is, and however much the West sympathises with those who protest against it violently, all reality demands that the West now moves to strengthen the forces of democratic opposition and moves to minimise the forces of violent opposition to apartheid.

I have had to face the hard truth that until now the threat of violence and the threat of the isolation of South Africa exerted positive influences on the country, but that the actuality of that violence, and the actuality of that isolation, would do irreparable damage to the kind of reforms which the West actually demands.

PROFESSOR GETS FIVE YEARS TO | RADIO SA

CAPE TIMES 31/1/86

South Africa after (3 OLA) apartheid (2)

*Fifteen years after **HERIBERT ADAM'S** prophetic study "Modernizing racial domination" correctly predicted that an updated apartheid order would last in South Africa, Professor Adam, of Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada, and South African sociologist **KOGILA MOODLEY** are bringing out a new book concluding that non-racial democracy has a greater chance in South Africa than many sceptics realize.*

To be published by the University of California Press, Berkeley, California, the American edition of the book will be titled "Dismantling racial domination: Society and politics in post-apartheid South Africa."

This is the second of two extracts; the first appeared yesterday.

CONSTITUTIONAL group rights as well as a Bill of Individual Rights alone do not guarantee justice. At best, they proclaim an intention. What is crucial is whether and how stated rights can be enforced against violators.

In the last analysis constitutional rights reflect power relations. Security remains a bottomline, and security mostly emanates from control over armed force.

A sovereign state is usually characterized as exercising the monopoly of force in its territory. However, there are many examples where a sovereign state permits the self-policing of areas under its control.

Therefore, if it were agreed upon that the police forces were locally recruited and employed, they would also reflect the dominant ethnic composition of the population in each area.

This is already practised widely with the exception that the overall control remains in Afrikaner hands. This would have to change towards a more autonomous community police.

The necessary co-ordination between the different forces in a metropolitan area under the ultimate control of the elected regional administration would pose few problems.

As far as the military is concerned, however, ethnic units could facilitate a Lebanization of South Africa.

The army must owe its allegiance to the state rather than to its communal segments if the state is not to disintegrate in a crisis.

Domain of one group

Here, the Zimbabwean example of a racially well integrated army could serve as a model.

As long as the military is not the domain of one ethnic group but proportionally represents all population groups, perhaps even deliberately over-representing minorities, it can hardly be used to suppress one segment unless it risks falling apart.

The inevitable institutional socialization into an integrated small but efficient professional military of high standards, perhaps backed up by auxiliary volunteer commandos in each area under professional control, can be expected to override sectional or racial loyalties.

This is clearly the case with black soldiers and policemen in the present system where the army ethic has proven stronger than racial solidarity. In fact, black policemen are considered far more ruthless because of the constant hidden suspicion of disloyalty to their white masters.

More far reaching proposals, such as to leave military control in white hands as an ultimate safeguard for handing over political power to a majority government, fail to recognize the legitimate demands of a sovereign government that it cannot tolerate a potentially or openly hostile counterforce in its midst.

However, should a majority in free negotiations agree to give minorities such hard security assurances as tolerating ethnically controlled armies, the Afrikaners could hardly expect a more generous compromise in return for abandoning ultimate political control.

Besides such negotiated security provisions, territorially based jurisdictions for Afrikaners ("white bantustans") amount to anachronistic dreams of right-wing ideologues in an interdependent economy.

Gush Enumins, be they on the West Bank or in the Orange Free State, cause more problems for peaceful co-existence than they lessen opposition to it.

If racist ideologues would like to buy their own land and work it exclusive of black labour, there is nothing that should stop such ancient flights of utopia.

If some rural Afrikaners wish to imitate Hutterite colonies or other communes of alternative lifestyles, so be it. Private communes of racist escapists from a threatening reality will inevitably fade into insignificance as long as they are not publicly sanctioned by special legal status.

Wide range of rights

However, a good case may be made for state recognition of collective cultural rights.

Cultural self-determination is not bound to a territorial base. Indeed, the UN's *Study on the Rights of Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* lists a wide range of rights that could fall under the rubric "cultural, religious and language" autonomy.

The most crucial would be educational policy, that is, the right to establish denominational schools.

The observance of religious or customary holidays as well as the right to use the minority language in official communications provide other examples of desirable public ethnic recognition.

One could also ask why should there not be an exclusively Zulu, Afrikaner, Islamic or Hindu TV station and broadcasting facility in place of a state-regulated uniform institution, espousing a correct line of official propaganda, as exists from Pretoria to Cairo at present?

As long as such multiculturalism is supported by a large enough constituency and does not infringe on the common, overriding individual citizenship rights of its adherents, the diversity of "meaning-conferring activities" can only enrich the whole society.

There are various legal forms and precedents which such cultural self-determination can emulate in a new non-racial South Africa. The PFP proposal of corporate "cultural councils", represented in an Upper House, is that most widely known suggeston.

The bodies could also in part be modelled after the self-governing professional societies in the medical and legal field.

Their self-regulatory existence rests on the assumption of a special competency on the basis of special interests and knowledge unique to members of a religion or ethnicity.

The widely supported self-government of native people in North America provides another model of legitimate collective self-determination. Natives try to break out of the welfare colonialism by reclaiming their aboriginal land base and first nation status.

Those examples of legitimate cultural self-expression in South Africa, however, are inextricably tied to two prerequisites: (a) that group boundaries and membership are no longer imposed but self-chosen; and (b) that no unequal political power and economic privilege is publicly bound up with private ethnicity and heritage maintenance.

Viability

Viability of SA politics 'on trial'

Call Times 31/1/86

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party — and the political parties committed to constitutional politics — face a crucial test during the 1986 session of Parliament which opens today.

Perhaps more than ever before what will be "on trial" — in the eyes of most citizens and many abroad — will be the viability of a brand of constitutional politics that has spawned the present conflict-torn South Africa.

A danger facing the conventional parties this session is that the actions and concerns of those who have been locked out of Parliament, or have refused to participate in the system, will increasingly dominate the political stage.

Mistrust of "the system" has become so acute over the past year that government spokesmen have been forced to concede that even leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — let alone the UDF, Azapo or the ANC — are reluctant to be drawn into government-sponsored talks on "power-sharing".

President P W Botha's opening speech to Parliament today would be an ideal opportunity to start opening the lines of communication with extra-parliamentary forces.

To do this his speech will have to be a far cry both in tone and content from his disastrous "Rubicon" address in Durban last year.

However, government sources have been anxious to play down expectations of today's "Rubicon II", and Mr Botha is expected only to consolidate and elaborate upon statements he has made during the past year.

Any announcements about power-sharing with blacks in central government are likely to have limited practical impact while most black leaders remain profoundly suspicious of the government's intentions.

There has been some cautious speculation in political circles this week that Mr Botha might announce a partial or even total lifting of the state of emergency.

But whatever he does announce today, the session is likely to be a difficult one for the government. Rarely has the Official Opposition had so much ammunition with which to attack the government.

Pressure

The National Party's junior partners in government — the Labour Party and the National People's Party — are also likely to be under intense pressure from their constituencies to "produce the goods" this session.

The Progressive Federal Party, in order to ensure its future growth as a political force, will have to strengthen and broaden the links it has been forging outside the white community.

This in turn will have to be reflected in the way the PFP conducts itself in Parliament, which could alienate some of its white supporters, as well as some of the more conservative PFP MPs.

GUINEAS BETTING

THE only filly in tomorrow's Richelieu Guineas, Ecurie, has drifted in the betting and is now on offer at 4-1 with her stable companion, Potomac. This is largely because her jockey, the current South African champion, Felix Coetzee, is suffering from flu and was stood down by the Medical Officer during Wednesday's race meeting.

Firm favourite at 22-10 is the Natal challenger, Model Man, who is unbeaten in five starts.

BETTING at Cape Tattersall's yesterday:

RICHELIEU GUINEAS (Milnerton, 1 600 m tomorrow)

22—10 Model Man
4— 1 Ecurie, Potomac
12— 1 Sea Warrior, Royal Yacht
14— 1 Harrington
20— 1 Classic Boy
40— 1 Playing For Time, Sabre Point, The Captain, Penny Chocolate, On The Side, Cape Cloud, Compton
50— 1 Audley Way

Wiehahn urges whites to confront change

THE "dynamics" of the South African situation were leading the country to a catastrophe, says Professor Nic Wiehahn, director of the School for Business Management at Unisa.

Addressing a Pretoria Junior Afrikaanse Sakekamer function in Pretoria this week, he said:

"We are living in a dream world and change is necessary."

The white people of South Africa, Wiehahn said, were afraid of the social, economic and political future that was awaiting them.

He said changes needed to be



WIEHAHN: 'We are living in a dream world and change is necessary.'

introduced on the labour front to give workers more rights. These included:

- ☐ The right to work;
- ☐ Freedom of association — to be able to belong voluntarily to any trade union;
- ☐ Negotiation or bargaining rights with regard to grievances;
- ☐ The right to withhold labour;
- ☐ The right to protection;
- ☐ The right to development.

Wiehahn said that whites should emphasise the importance of education and self-development.

Vocational guidance was of prime importance, he said, to ensure that the right man was placed in the right job.

"We in South Africa are reactive — we react only when something happens.

"The time has come for us to be pro-active," Wiehahn said. — Sapa.

Out-of-patience Leutwiler will say 'Take it or leave it'

STAR 31/1/86 (309 1A)

The Star's Foreign News Service

GENEVA — Dr Fritz Leutwiler may abandon his mediation efforts on South Africa's foreign debts because he is fast losing patience with Pretoria.

Dr Leutwiler's spokesman, Mr Erich Heini, says that, if South Africa and its creditor banks do not accept Dr Leutwiler's latest proposals, believed to be radically different from those made by South Africa last year, the former president of the Swiss National Bank may quit.

Mr Heini told *The Star* that Dr Leutwiler's next proposals would be made "on a take-it-or-leave-it basis".

The proposals will go out by mail and telex to the banks and the South African Government within the next two weeks, well ahead of the next creditors' meeting in London on February 20.

"The banks will find the proposals hard to reject," Mr Heini said yesterday. "They are very, very different from the proposals made by South Africa in December."

He noted that the banks, and particularly the Americans, had bluntly rejected Pretoria's proposal for a freeze on debt repayments until 1990.

Asked if Dr Leutwiler's proposals would be acceptable to Pretoria, Mr Heini said: "I cannot comment on that. But I can say the proposals will be made on a take-it-or-leave-it basis."

Did that mean that Dr Leutwiler would abandon the mediation effort if the February 20 meeting did not produce an agreement?

"I am not saying outright that he would drop the whole matter. But he is not going to keep on holding and arranging meetings like the one of February 20.

"And I can say, as well, that the-take-it-or-leave it basis for the new proposals applies both to the banks and to the South Africans."



The Afrikaner ... (AWB) has called on all its branches to form vigilante-type groups — known as Brandwagte in AWB language.

And on the West Rand, the current scene of unrest, up to 6 000 AWB members are expected to attend a meeting on March 8 to discuss the situation.

Leader of the AWB Mr Eugene

STAR 31/1/86

Race law changes put before Parliament

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Bills were published yesterday which, if passed by Parliament, will change many aspects of South African life

One of the bills proposes the scrapping of residential restrictions on Indians in the Free State and Northern Natal

Another will allow holders of liquor licences to decide whether to serve liquor to people of different race groups.

Aims of other bills published yesterday included

- Changes to postal and special vote regulations
- The protection of railway passengers against criminals who spike their drinks, then rob them
- An extension of the powers of investigation of monopolies.
- Allowing building societies to become public companies.
- Abolition of special courts for blacks

If passed by Parliament, the Liquor Amendment Bill will delete all racially discriminatory provisions in the Liquor Act so that liquor may be supplied "to any person upon any premises in the discretion of the licensee or authority holder"

The Matters Concerning Admission To and Residence In the Republic Bill proposes the repeal of Chapter 33 of the "Wetboek van den Oranjevrijstaat", the law dating back to the time of the former Orange Free State Republic which forbids Indians from being in the territory for longer than two months without the State President's consent

ELECTORAL

Also to be repealed is the Asiatics in the Northern Districts of Natal Act of 1927, under which any "Asiatic" over 16 is required to register with the Minister of Home Affairs if he wishes to live in the areas of Vryheid, Utrecht, Babanango, Paulpietersburg and Nguche (Louwsburg)

The Electoral Act Amendment Bill includes among its aims

- To allow the three houses in the tricameral parliament to administer their own elections.
- To delete references in the Act to provincial councils, which are to be disbanded by June 30 this year
- To provide that lists of voters for whom special votes have been issued will not be open for public inspection, but for inspection only by candidates or their authorised representatives This is intended to prevent intimidation and to protect the voter more effectively
- To provide that applications for postal votes will not be available for inspection before the day prior to the issuing of ballot papers
- To allow a special voter, who has accidentally voted for the wrong candidate, another ballot paper
- To scrap the section which prohibits the providing of liquor in certain circumstances
- To provide for minimum penalties against anyone convicted of maliciously damaging election bills, posters or placards

The Building Societies Bill aims at allowing building societies to become public companies and contains a number of controls to ensure that societies are managed in a financially sound way

HAWKERS

A bill designed in part to thwart railway criminals who spike passengers' drinks with drugs so they can rob them when they fall asleep, was published yesterday

One of the clauses of the South African Transport Services Amendment Bill provides for harsher penalties against any unauthorised person who sells any "newspapers or other literature or foodstuffs or merchandise of any description" on any station, platform or train.

A memorandum attached to the bill explains that hawking on trains "has become a serious problem to the degree that thousands of rands in revenue are lost and the safety of passengers and the official sales staff is threatened"

"Furthermore the SA Railways Police have found that these hawkers contaminate liquor with drugs with a motive to rob passengers once they have fallen asleep."

The bill suggests the maximum fine for illegal hawking on trains be raised from R50 to R500

The Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Amendment Bill proposes giving the Competition Board power to investigate existing concentrations of economic power, and not purely new concentrations

The Marriages, Births and Deaths Amendment Bill will make it possible for an illegitimate child whose birth was registered under his or her mother's surname, to have the surname altered to that of the father if the father acknowledges paternity in writing

A bill to amend the Broadcasting Act will provide for a staggered licensing year

A memorandum attached to the bill said this would result in the alleviation of the pressure placed by a single renewal date on the collecting of licence fees

The Special Courts for Blacks Abolition Bill aims at the abolition of special courts for blacks, and at the transfer of legal functions of the Department of Co-operation and Development to the Department of Justice. — Sapa.

PERSIAN & ORIENTAL

Meeting on subsidies

Le Grange and Brig Swart must go after ban blunder — PFP

THE Progressive Federal Party last night demanded the sacking of both Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange and Divisional Commissioner of Police Brigadier Christoffel Swart, in the wake of the slogan ban blunder.

The call came amid widespread outrage at the sweeping police ban — introduced on Wednesday and lifted yesterday — on the public display of any political viewpoint in the greater Cape Town area for two weeks.

Earlier yesterday, PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert lodged an urgent interdict with the Supreme Court to have the slogan ban overturned.

In an affidavit to the court, Slabbert submitted that Swart had exceeded the

Own Correspondent

ambit of his authority in signing the banning order.

He also argued that the order was "grossly unreasonable, capricious and influenced by irrelevant considerations".

The ban, which a number of PFP MPs planned to openly defy at today's opening of Parliament, was lifted after a three-hour meeting between Le Grange and Swart yesterday.

It is understood the first thing Le Grange knew about the ban was when he read the newspaper yesterday morning.

Although the minister insisted that the ban be lifted immediately, he issued a statement warning that other action could be taken against demonstrators in the state of emergency area in the next two weeks.

After his meeting with Le Grange, the brigadier told reporters that he had

● To Page 3

PFP demands sackings

"nothing to say at this stage" and refused to give his reasons for imposing the controversial ban.

Helen Suzman, PFP spokesman for law and order, said last night Brigadier Swart "appears to be a law unto himself and it is time that this man be removed from his position of authority".

"It has been under his command that the situation in the Eastern Cape and later in Cape Town became immeasurably worse. It was under his regime that the ugly incidents and dirty tricks like the infamous 'Trojan horse' incident

● From page 1

took place.

"However, it is the minister who must ultimately be responsible for this sort of ineptitude which does so much harm to South Africa.

In his statement yesterday, Le Grange said he wanted to make it clear that the intention of the ban was to prevent people congregating in a manner that could impede or threaten the maintenance of public order.

Botha 'unlikely to announce major reforms'

Pessimism prevails on eve of speech

Business Day Reporters

POLITICIANS and economists see little hope that State President P W Botha will announce major reforms when he opens Parliament today, but hope he will at least clarify his intentions.

All eyes are on Botha as he prepares for his second Rubicon crossing. And there is little doubt among most South Africans that this should be a time for action.

"Botha has said enough, now it is time to do something," elder business statesman Albert Wessels said last night.

He was but one among numerous businessmen who made last-minute calls for action:

☐ Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman told an Australian prime time TV audience he expected a major statement, which could have far-reaching beneficial effects on the balance of payments.

"There is no question that there is going to be a dramatic statement . . . and a clear statement," he said.

"But I don't expect apartheid to be dismantled, although I would wish this would occur.

"I don't expect an anouncement on the Group Areas Act, which regulates where people live and so on, which is another very serious aspect of apartheid.

"The question of influx cotrol and pass laws, which are very, very serious aspects of apartheid, will be carefully analysed . . . there may be a major statement there."

☐ Assocom chief executive Raymond Parsons said market perceptions of Botha's speech would be important for the subsequent performance of the rand and the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

"Organised commerce hopes the address will reflect an imaginative, yet concrete, programme of further political and economic reform in South Africa," Parsons said.

☐ KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi re-iterated his demand for a clear statement of intent on power-sharing before he would negotiate with Botha.

"When we have agreed that we are sharing our country, then we can get around the negotiating table to decide on what sort of systems there should be," he said.



● BUTHELEZI



● PARSONS



● BALL



● ACKERMAN

HESITANCY ahead of President P W Botha's address at the opening of Parliament today prevented share prices from scaling new peaks on Diagonal Street yesterday.

The JSE actuaries overall index closed — at 1 406,7 points — a shade below its all-time high of 1 407 set on Monday. The all-gold index came within a whisker of a record 1 307,9.

It closed at 1 304.

☐ Barclays National Bank MD Chris Ball predicted no "dramatic announcements".

"It is unlikely that foreign creditor banks will react positively, but the government appreciates better the need for caution, and one is not dealing with a formal debt rescheduling agreement but rather an informal arrangement," he said.

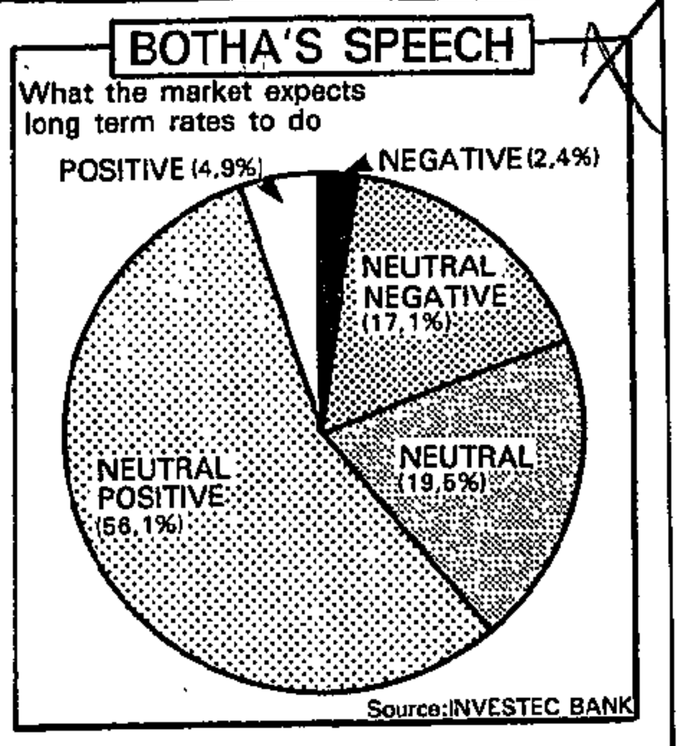
☐ Ockie Stuart of Stellenbosch Univeriy's Bureau for Economic Research said if the speech failed to match up to reasonable expectations of commerce and industry, business confidence would suffer.

PETER HONEY reports that less than a third of urban whites expect government to introduce reforms which will bring about peace, phase out segregation, restore confidence in the economy and improve the quality of life for blacks.

This is the finding of a recent Gallup Poll conducted by the Markinor Research Group among 1 000 white urban adults in metropolitan areas countrywide.

A much higher proportion of respondents (43%) in metropolitan areas outside the PWV area, Durban and Cape Town expected effective reform and a negotiated settlement

There was also a wide gap between expectations of young and old, with respondents over the age of 35 being more optimistic about significant reform (36%) than those in the 16-34 age group (25%).



56% lukewarm as speech nears

Economics Staff

AN INVESTEC Bank survey of leading financial institutions shows a majority (56,1%) has "neutral-positive" expectations about the effect of President P W Botha's speech on long-term interest rates.

Investec polled five merchant banks, five commercial banks, four discount houses, five brokers and 22 insurers and pension funds.

The majority have neither decidedly negative nor positive expectations.

While 2,4% have negative expectations, 4,9% are positive, 19,5% neutral and 17,1% have neutral-negative expectations.

The sentiment in the foreign exchange market appears to be that, whatever is said today, the rand will not collapse as it did after August's Rubicon speech.

Yesterday, the rand strengthened marginally in very quiet trading. Everyone was waiting for today's speech.

The currency opened at $0,4365 and rose to $0,4390 at one stage in response to the weaker dollar. By the close, it had slipped back slightly to $0,4377.

Gold also provided some support for the rand. It was fixed in London in the afternoon at $358.

'Sack them' PFP demands

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE PFP last night demanded the sacking of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Christoffel Swart, following the slogan ban blunder.

The call came amid widespread outrage at the police ban — subsequently lifted — on the public display of any political viewpoint in the greater Cape Town area for two weeks.

The ban, which several PFP MPs planned to defy at today's opening of Parliament, was lifted yesterday after a three-hour meeting between Mr Le Grange and Brigadier Swart.

Warning

It is understood that the first Mr Le Grange knew of the ban was when he read his morning newspaper.

Although he insisted that the ban — in force for only a few hours — be lifted immediately, he issued a statement warning that other action could be taken against demonstrators in the state of emergency area in the next two weeks.

He also said the intention of the ban was to prevent people "congregating" in a manner that could impede or threaten the maintenance of public order.

After his meeting with Mr Le Grange, the brigadier told reporters he had "nothing to say at this stage".

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokesperson for law and order, last night said Brigadier Swart "appears to be a law unto himself and it is time that this man be removed from his position of authority".

Under his command the situation in the Eastern Cape and Cape Town had become "immeasurably worse". Ultimately the minister was reponsible for "this sort of ineptitude".

Interdict

News of the lifting of the ban came as PFP members met to decide on protest action to coincide with today's opening of Parliament.

Earlier yesterday, PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert lodged an urgent appeal with the Supreme Court for an interdict to have the "grossly unreasonable" ban overturned.

The chairman of the End Conscription Campaign in the Western Cape, Mr Nic Boraine, said his organization was "astounded at the incompetent bungling" of the authorities.

PW brings blacks into new council

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent
Parliament

An interim national statutory council in which the representatives of all black communities will sit with members of the Government to consider and advise on legislation and other matters of common concern was announced by President Botha today.

The new body, which is to be negotiated, will be pending the creation of constitutional structures to be agreed upon jointly for a multi-cultural society, President Botha told a joint sitting at the opening of the third session of the current Parliament.

In a speech that contained a strong rededication to his reform programme and to regional trust and security, the President became the first Nationalist leader to publicly condemn apartheid as an "outdated concept".

He proposed that the new statutory council should consist of representatives of the South African Government, the governments of the self-governing national states, "as well as leaders of other black communities and interest groups".

"Pending the creation of constitutional structures jointly to be agreed upon for our multi-cultural society, this council should consider and advise on matters of common concern, including proposed legislation on such matters.

"This council can meet under the chairmanship of the State President as and when as needed.

Other announcements made during the President's speech:

● The Government was drafting legislation to remove existing influx control measures. The present system was too costly and obsolete, he said.

However, the Government was in favour of measures which would facilitate orderly urbanisation.

Influx control was closely linked to urbanisation, and in this regard it had noted the contents of the report of the President's Council on an urbanisation strategy for South Africa.

A white paper was being prepared setting out the Government's reaction and formulating guidelines for a clear and workable urbanisation strategy.

● Mr Botha proposed that the Southern African region give urgent and serious consideration to the establishment of a permanent joint mechanism for deal ing with matters of security.

It would make no difference in which capital the secretariat of such a body was located.

Should the offer be ignored or rejected, "we would have no choice but to take effective measures in self-defence to protect our country and population against threats".

● He repeated the Government's commitment to equal provision of education for all population groups. The process of reform, aimed at achieving this, was in full progress in the education field.

During the coming year measures will be taken to extend the participation of all concerned in education.

Further announcements on the continued reform of the educational system could be expected shortly.

● Legislation authorising the lifting, suspending or amending of unnecessary restrictions on entrepreneurship, particularly with regard to the informal sector, is to be introduced.

The legislation will empower the State President to suspend unnecessary restrictive measures so as to facilitate the participation of the small businessman in the economy

'Government committed to equal opportunity'

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT — The Government's 1986 legislative programme and other planned actions confirm its commitment to the creation of a framework for equal opportunities, President Botha said when he opened Parliament today.

Among the most important matters that will be translated into legislation during the session are the following:

● Restoring South African citizenship to black persons who permanently reside in the Republic, but who forfeited their citizenship as a result of conditions of independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

● Extension of the powers of the self-governing states.

● Freehold property rights for members of black communities.

● The involvement of black communities in decision-making.

● A uniform identity document for all population groups.

Proposed legislation which will affect all communities, extend democratic processes and promote free enterprise include the following:

● The amendment of the immigration selection policy by repealing discriminatory preference provisions.

● The restructuring of the system of provincial government to involve all communities.

● Legislation authorising the lifting, suspending or amending of unnecessary restrictions on entrepreneurship, particularly with regard to the informal sector

Other measures which will follow shortly include the drafting of legislation to remove existing influx control measures, although an orderly urbanisation strategy will take its place; the highest possible priority has been given to the formulation of a socio-economic development plan for the underdeveloped areas and communities, the first regional services councils will be established in the near future



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SPEAK OUT!

What do you think of President Botha's speech opening Parliament today? Telephone Speak Out this evening between 5.30 and 7.00 to give us your views. The number to phone is 633-2702. Comments should be pithy and to the point. Please note this is the ONLY number for Speak Out calls

SPEAK OUT!

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S. AFRICAN GOVT. AND POLITICS

1986

FEBRUARY MONTH

3141

President 'failed to provide real solution'

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

THE State President's speech at the opening at Parliament yesterday was welcomed by his tricameral allies but strongly criticized by left- and right-wing opposition.

The government's most outspoken critic, the United Democratic Front (UDF), described President P W Botha's speech as "doublespeak" and said he had failed to provide a real solution to the crises his government had created.

'No legitimacy'

The UDF national executive committee said Mr Botha failed to address the issues considered essential for peace and negotiation in South Africa.

The front slated the proposed national statutory council for blacks and the regional service councils (RSCs) and described both as "undemocratically conceived" and "bodies with no legitimacy".

The relaxation of influx control restrictions fell far short of their demands, the UDF said.

"He (Mr Botha) also speaks of negotiation with unnamed black leaders while the ANC remains banned and key political figures remain incarcerated and others are regularly detained and harassed."

The UDF attacked the government's policy of destabilizing neighbouring states and its economic policies which it said had failed to curb growing unemployment and rapid inflation.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Assembly, said Mr Botha gave no "effective protection for group rights and no guarantee against domination".

Mr Botha's proposals were an abrogation of white self-determination and a threat to continued white existence, Dr Treurnicht said.

"It spells the delivery of whites to a non-white majority."

'Intent'

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the ruling Labour Party (LP) in the House of Representatives and Cabinet Minister without Portfolio, said Mr Botha's speech should be viewed as a "declaration of intent".

He said: "I welcome the moving away from apartheid and its dismantling by the announcement on common citizenship, common identity document and participation of all South Africans in political structure to be decided upon collectively."

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the ruling National People's Party (NPP) in the House of Delegates and a cabinet minister, said the overall tone of the speech was good

The State President of Venda, Chief Patrick Mphephu, commented that the changes embodied in Mr Botha's address represented fundamental shifts in government policy, "and only the cynically naive or politically dishonest would dismiss them as cosmetic".

"I also note with appreciation that the State President wishes to negotiate the establishment of a national statutory council where black aspirations and needs will be articulated. This is a step in the right direction," Chief Mphephu said.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Johannesburg, reacting to the speech said: "Big deal! There is very little we have not heard before."

Bishop Tutu said Mr Botha was "less belligerent" in his approach this time compared to other instances.

'Statesmanship'

"It seems to me we are back at the old game of politcal point-scoring at a time when we need a dramatic example of statesmanship," Bishop Tutu said.

Dr J N Reddy, leader of the Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates, said "we want the government to give effect of all its good intentions".

"The government must say: 'We are going to translate our intentions into action'," he said.

Mr Arthur Booysen, leader of the Freedom Party in the House of Representatives, said the most positive outcome of the speech was the commitment to a one-education system.

Not enough to interest blacks, says PFP

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President Botha's speech was greeted in parliamentary circles by some as not being enough to interest the black population and by others as a sell-out of whites.

The Opposition Leader in the House of Assembly, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, thought it would not capture the imagination of blacks enough for them to participate in the reform process, but Right-wing leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the speech was a repudiation of everything the National Party used to stand for, surrendering the white population to the black majority.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, saw the speech as a declaration of intent and determination to find a solution to the political situation.

Dr Slabbert said: "We will have to wait and see what substance this is given in terms of the Government's legislative programme and changes in policy."

Bishop Desmond Tutu appeared scornful of the President's proposals.

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that in response to the speech, he said: "Big deal."

Reds linked to Mandela's release

304A 1/2/86 Mercury

Political Reporter

POLITICAL opponents of the Government yesterday poured scorn on President Botha's linking of the possible release of Nelson Mandela and that of Capt Wynand du Toit by Angola and Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky by the Soviet Union.

The United Democratic Front's Natal spokesman, Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, said the link was 'nonsensical', while Natal Indian Congress executive member Dr Farouk Meer said it was 'scandalous and disgraceful' to use Mandela as 'a pawn in the West's battle against the Soviets'.

According to our political reporter the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naudé, said the use of Mandela in a bargaining exercise would only add to the anger of the black community.

The director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, questioned whether President Botha's offer was a serious political offer or a gimmick'.

Captured

Prof John Barratt, director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, said he doubted very much that anything would come of it unless South Africa had already discussed it with other countries.

Capt du Toit, of the South African Defence Force, was captured by Angolan forces last year in Cabinda province.

The President said he was aware Mandela had been in prison for a long time and that he was now in his sixties. He had given the matter much thought.

'But I think also of Capt Wynand Pretorius Johannes du Toit at present being held in an Angolan jail.'

Mr Botha said he also thought of people like Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky, Soviet dissidents.

A significant difference between Mandela and Sakharov, for example, was that unlike the acts of violence and sabotage of which Mandela had been convicted, the acts which Sakharov committed were non-violent expressions of opinion.

'Mr Sakharov has, moreover, indicated that he would agree, if allowed to leave the USSR, not to criticise the Soviet Union on any sustained or major basis,' Mr Botha said.

Mr Shcharansky had been the subject of continuous harassment, surveillance and interrogation by the Soviet authorities.

'If I were to release Mr Nelson Mandela on humanitarian grounds, could Capt Wynand du Toit, Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky not also be released on humanitarian grounds?' Mr Both said. — (Sapa)

AWB calls for 'Brandwagte'

w/t ARGUS 11/2/86 3641

Vigilantes!

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has called on all its branches to prepare to form vigilante groups — in AWB terms known as Brandwagte.

And on the West Rand — a scene of unrest — up to 6 000 AWB members are expected to attend a meeting on March 8 to discuss the situation there.

The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, said that because of the "Government's ineffectual handling of the current crisis", the time was ripe for the Brandwagte.

Their main role, he said, would be to protect lives and property when the army or police were not available through, say, "the joint onslaught of leftist Marxist forces".

One of the duties they might perform would be escorting people through troubled black areas.

Members of the Brandwagte would be dressed in khaki (or "characteristic clothing" as Mr Terre'Blanche insisted) and would be armed.

Mr Terre'Blanche said they would operate within the law.

"Any Christians"

The Brandwagte would draw members from the AWB and were open to "any white Christians regardless of their political affilations".

Mr Terre'Blanche said the first branch had been established in Nelspruit, where about 30 people were on duty daily and available if needed. He added that they were functioning there after negotiations with the "relevant authorities".

"They are not intended to usurp the role of the police or army. They are doing a good job," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

A police spokesman said the SAP had sufficient forces at its disposal to maintain law and order and were keeping a keen eye on the new group.

"We do not appreciate people trying to take the law into their own hands. But at the same time people do have the right to protect their lives and property — as long as they obey the law," he said.

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Western leaders, bankers optimistic

CAPE TIMES 1/2/86 (30 KM)



Dr Fritz Leutwiler

LONDON — President P W Botha's "Rubicon II" speech was received with cautious optimism by sympathetic Western leaders and international bankers and creditors yesterday.

But both politicians and bankers put more emphasis on the omissions than the positive elements of Mr Botha's speech to the opening of Parliament.

The Britsh Government welcomed "a number of significant proposals" in Mr Botha's "important speech".

"But there are omissions and the key will be how it is followed up," a Foreign Office spokesman said.

The spokesman indicated that the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was likely to react to the speech in more detail when he speaks at a Common Market-Frontline State summit in Lusaka next week.

France's influential left-of-centre daily, Le Monde, described the speech as "significant" in a front-page report.

Le Monde reported that Mr Botha's "gesture" proved that he realized political concessions to black South Africans were essential and the repression in which his government was engaged led nowhere.

In Geneva, Swiss banking sources said they were impressed with Mr Botha's remark that South Africa had "outgrown the outdated concept of apartheid".

The Swiss banking sources also welcomed Mr Botha's observation that not all pressure from abroad was malicious.

Bankers and creditors interpreted this as referring to their political preconditions for the rescheduling of foreign debt, the sources said.

They regarded it as acknowledgement that they had played a major role in changing South Africa's domestic policies, the sources said.

The Swiss mediator, Dr Fritz Leutwiler, is to meet representatives of the 30 leading creditor banks in London on February 20 to discuss a new mediation proposal.

British commercial television's one o'clock news bulletin described his speech as "a very meagre curate's egg — good in a few parts".

But commentators agreed that the tone and style of the speech were a vast improvement on the disastrous Rubicon I speech in August last year.

Immediately after its report on Mr Botha's speech, ITN showed scenes of non-Xhosa blacks moving out of their shacks in Ciskei.

The African National Congress rejected the reform proposals made by President Botha.

An ANC statement issued in Lusaka said the ANC remained committed to its programme of action "for the escalation of the mass political and military offensive".

The statement criticized Mr Botha's invitation to black-ruled neighbouring states to enter into security pacts with South Africa and said "instead of desisting from attacking the neighbouring states, he promises them a Pax Pretoriana".

It said the announcement on pass laws was a veiled way of introducing another type of identity card to continue restricting movements of black people within urban areas.

Mr Botha's concept of democracy was what he termed "coexistence and power-sharing between racially and ethnically distinct communities, which is an ill-disguised affirmation of the policy of white minority rule", the statement added.

On Mr Botha's promised educational reforms, it said "he completely ignored a whole set of demands that the majority of the people have made". — Own Correspondent-Sapa-Reuter

Better reaction to new promises of change, as . . .

PW launches campaig to market his reforms

1/2/86 STAR 3/1/86. 304A



Man-mountain Giant Haystacks, 290 kg wrestling machine, warms up for his fight against South Africa's Schalk Liebenberg tonight with a rib-tickling joust with featherweight *Star* reporter Zenaide Vendeiro, who weighs in at just 42 kg. But things could be worse for Liebenberg — the Briton says he has slimmed. Last year he tipped the scales at 313 kg. Tonight's clash at the Portuguese Hall also features bouts between South African superheavyweight champion Jan Wilkens and German Hans Roocks; and British titleholder Ray Steele and India's Gama Singh. ● Photograph: Etienne Rothbart.

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Most reaction to President Botha's half-hour opening speech to Parliament yesterday has been happier than responses to last year's Rubicon speech — but major political figures were last night still cautious about promised reforms.

Initial local reaction from business leaders to his speech welcomed its direction, with both bankers and industrialists backing his initiatives.

And in a dramatic tactical shift the Government has embarked on an aggressive campaign to hard-sell the new reform initiatives at home and abroad

President Botha launched the campaign last night with prime-time talks on black television and radio channels appealing personally to the man-in-the-street to join him in negotiating the structures "everyone desires".

The next phase starts tomorrow when a national advertising campaign is launched in all the country's major newspapers.

The marketing blitz inside the country, similar to the National Party's slick advertising campaign during the 1983 referendum, is being directed by Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel

"It is very important that we do this," he said last night. "We plan to market the President's speech in a big way, and we will adjust our campaign to the reaction to his announcements."

Reaction to the speech from abroad has been cautious, with Britain giving a guarded welcome to President Botha's new manifesto

The Foreign Office, describing it as an important speech containing "a number of significant proposals", nonetheless noted a number of "omissions".

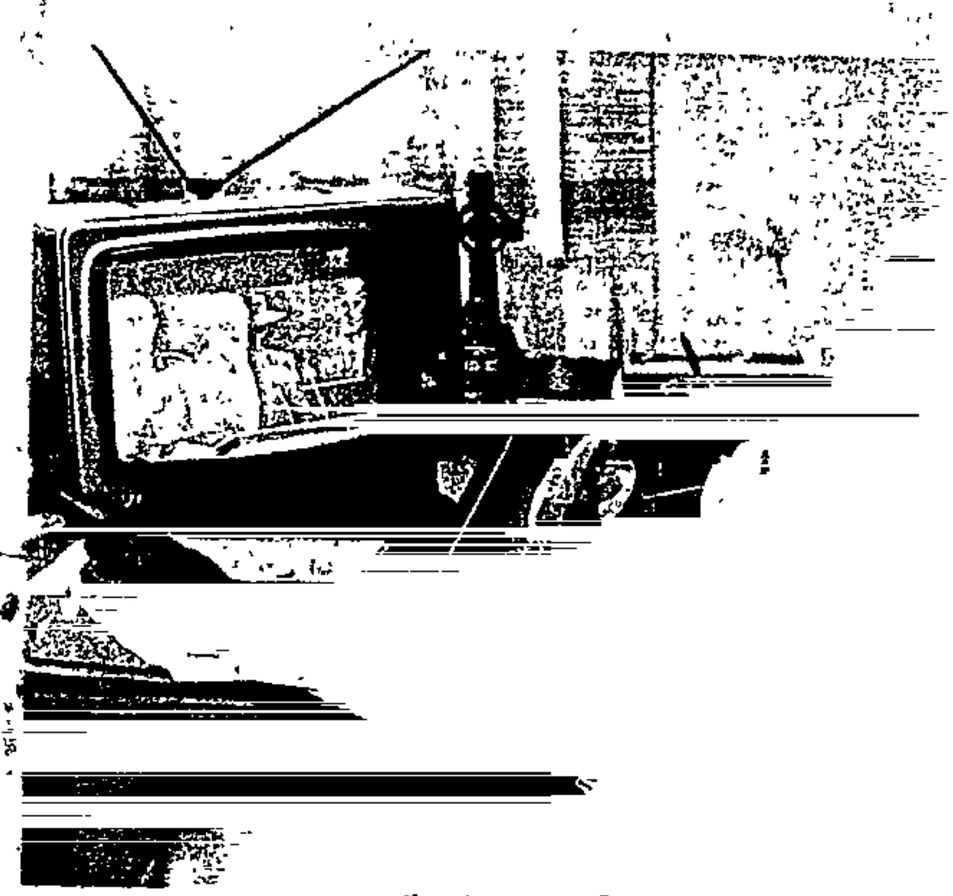
A spokesman said. "It's clearly an important speech, and we are studying it with the greatest care. At first sight the speech contains a number of significant proposals, but there are omissions and the key will be how the speech is followed up."

He would give no indication what Britain considered the omissions to be.

Reaction in the United States was positive, reports Neil Lurssen from Washington. The Reagan Administration described it as an important speech that required careful study

But State Department spokesmen Bernard Kalb added a cau-

● To Page 2, Col 2



Bishop Desmond Tutu took time off from his busy schedule to watch the State President's speech on television yesterday. At times he took notes, at some points he laughed, once he muttered "Oh boy!" — but he listened closely throughout. ● Photograph: Karen Sandison.

Tutu criticises PW for more 'delaying tactics'

STAR 1/2/86 3/1/86 B04A

By Shirley Woodgate

President Botha's speech opening Parliament added little flesh to the bones revealed in his Rubicon I speech in August — but was delivered less belligerently, said Bishop Tutu yesterday.

He labelled the interim national statutory council "another delaying tactic, suffering from the same weakness as the President's Council — a deliberative body with no clout."

If he was really serious President Botha would have been bold, lifting the ban on black political organisations. "Who will sit on the statutory committee? Who will elect the members? What if we propose someone in jail?" he asked.

The statement on the release of Mandela was "extraordinary", coming from a man who forgot he had belonged to the Ossewabrandwag, which was guilty of being aligned to the immoral policies of the Nazi's.

He labelled the linking of the release of Mandela with that of Sakharov as a red herring "Has Mr Botha a new-found concern for Sakharov? If he wanted to use humanitarian grounds he had his chance when Mandela was in hospital."

The Bishop asked what was meant by a common citizenship, saying "there is no common citizenship without the vote."

He regretted there was nothing new for black education on the 10th anniversary of the 1976 uprising.

Bishop Tutu said he had praised President Botha as being courageous, but he was not courageous enough, moving only enough "to annoy the white right wingers and not far enough to satisfy the blacks".

SPEAK OUT!

Speak Out! on yesterday's opening of Parliament speech by President Botha revealed some fascinating extremes of thought among our readers.

Some called him courageous, others a fine politician, and others a sellout. The majority of readers, however, felt he had acquitted himself well . . . far better than in his Rubicon I speech.

Also on Page 2 is the TV Sport for this afternoon, which will include the feature race at Milnerton in Cape Town, with the major slice of the afternoon's viewing going to the Wild Coast golf and the fifth of the series of one-day cricket tests between Clive Rice's Springboks and the Kim Hughes's Australians.

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New light on govt th

Cape Times 1/2/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

30KA

PRESIDENT P W Botha's long-awaited Rubicon II speech to Parliament was rich in rhetoric but failed to produce any dramatic new initiatives likely to resolve the crisis facing the country, government critics charged last night.

However, the business community and the government's junior partners in Parliament — the Labour Party and the National People's Party — placed a more charitable interpretation on Mr Botha's speech and generally welcomed it as a genuine commitment to reform.

That Mr Botha devoted much of his address to merely restating points made in earlier speeches was viewed as a "wasted opportunity" by sceptics and a disappointment by many expectant observers.

Indeed, even the two apparently "fresh" announcements — the formation of a national statutory council to include blacks and a proposal to establish a permanent body to deal with subcontinental security matters — are not entirely original.

However, the State President's address did help to throw some additional light on the government's thinking on issues like influx control, citizenship, black education and deregulation of enterprise.

During his speech, Mr Botha also mooted a scheme under which ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela might be released from prison on "humanitarian grounds" but failed to address the question of negotiations with the banned organization.

Mr Botha also used the opportunity to call the concept of apartheid "outdated" and went on to refer to South Africa as "a true democracy" and "a symbol of the expansion of freedom".

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, remarked afterwards that he had found Mr Botha's rhetoric on constitutional and democratic systems "pleasing to the ear" but warned that the government's policies and legislative programme had yet to give them substance.

The speech contained "virtually nothing new that is likely to grab the imagination" but Dr Slabbert conceded that it did not evoke the same negative reaction as the disastrous Rubicon speech in Durban last year.

"But it is unlikely to provide black people with the incentive needed to get involved in negotiations with the government," he said.

Reaction to the speech from extra-parliamentary groups suggested that the major problem facing Mr Botha is that government statements about "reform" are either regarded as inadequate or simply disbelieved.

Assertion

This credibility problem was reflected in a UDF statement which said that while the speech was "replete with intentions, the National Party does not lend itself to trust".

The statement went on to attack as "doublespeak" Mr Botha's assertion that apartheid is outdated.

Mr Botha's summary and modest elaboration of previous statements was interpreted by the government's extra-parliamentary foes as a failure to address head-on the crisis its policies have created.

Mr Botha's failure to address voting rights for the disenfranchised majority, the unbanning of the ANC, the release of political prisoners and detainees, and the lifting of the state of emergency were criticized by extra-parliamentary groups.

- Full text of speech, page 19
- Stand over Mandela 'disappoints', page 7
- Pictures, pages 3, 7 and 10
- Leading article, page 6
- Good news and bad, page 6
- More reaction, page 2



Mr Botha makes his speech opening P...

Cape Times 1/2/86 30KA

Botha invites black views

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

IN a special message, President P W Botha last night made a direct appeal to black people to support his government's reform programmes.

In an address on the black television channels, TV2 and TV3, President Botha said the time had come for South Africans "to join together to negotiate the structures that we want".

He also told black viewers that the government wanted to hear their views and to speak with them and their leaders.

It is the first time President Botha has spoken directly to black people in this manner.

His address was more reformist in emphasis than his speech yesterday when he opened Parliament, and it stressed the need for co-operation, and negotiation, between black and white people.

President Botha said that "very important decisions which are of profound importance to us all" had been taken and that the government was "now busy realizing them in practice".

"Far-reaching steps will be taken in the next few months to carry out the government's reform programme.

"I am glad that these major changes are being made because I know that our black citizens desire that they be implemented urgently.

"Now the time has come for us South Africans to join together to negotiate the structures that we want.

"My government wants to hear your views. It wants to speak with you and your leaders in a spirit of co-operation and dedication to the future of our country.

"We must all work together and talk to each other if we want a peaceful South Africa in which we and our children can live in peace and prosperity," President Botha said.

South Africa was a country of great potential "which we need to develop by working together".

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	$349,75
Rand	$0,4375/85
FT Index (close)	1161,00
BD 100	1173,80

Full text of President Botha's speech to Parliament

'We've outgrown outdated apartheid'



The State President, Mr P W Botha, and Mrs Elize Botha, at the opening of Parliament yesterday.

THE founding of the Republic of SA a quarter of a century ago severed the last remaining ties with our colonial past.

Through this important step to further the ideal of South African nationhood, we set the stage for the remarkable progress which has been made in major areas over the past 25 years.

In a world where freedom is becoming increasingly rare, our country today is a symbol of the expansion of freedom, of the upholding of freedom of religion and free enterprise, sustained by equal rights before an independent judiciary.

The Republic of SA is therefore a powerful bastion against communist domination and enslavement. The Republic is also an important supplier of expertise, development aid, technology and necessities of life to Africa, and strategic minerals to the world.

Nevertheless, we reaffirm our continued commitment to peaceful internal co-existence through co-operation and negotiation. This applies to all nations, but particularly to Southern Africa.

Terror

In this regard, I wish to emphasize that there can be no peace and stability in our region as long as countries knowingly harbour terrorists who plan and execute acts of terror against a neighbouring state.

As far as SWA is concerned, the Republic of SA remains prepared to implement Resolution 435, provided agreement can be reached on Cuban withdrawal from Angola. Only then will the Republic of SA reduce its troops in terms of the agreed arrangements. In this area, lasting peace, progress and freedom can only prevail if terrorism gives way to negotiation and constitutional development such as desired by the internal parties.

I once again extend a hand of friendship to our neighbours. Let us come to an agreement on the specific rules of the game regulating the conduct of neighbours towards one another, rules that are honoured by all civilized nations.

These include the withdrawal of foreign forces from the region, the peaceful settlement of disputes, regional co-operation on common problems, an unequivocal ban on support for violence across national boundaries, and tolerance in the region.

to its own national interests. We also reserve that right for ourselves.

But I wish to make it clear that we do not need pressure to walk the road of reform and justice.

We do it out of conviction. We have the capacity, the will and the faith to meet our challenges.

As we develop the tremendous potential and goodwill in our various communities, and the talents of our people, we will help create a powerful future for Southern Africa.

It is so that we have had to deal with unrest within the country which has unnecessarily claimed lives, and has inflicted too much damage on this country.

Sympathy

ment training for principals and heads of departments, a bridging period to bring children to school-readiness, a system to promote career education and a comprehensive effort to improve the academic and professional qualifications of teachers.

Programmes aimed at active progress towards the goal of parity in the provision of education will be announced in the foreseeable future. This will exert substantial pressure on the Treasury in future.

During the coming year measures will be taken in order to extend the participation of all concerned in education. Further announcements on the continued reform of our educational system can be expected shortly.

The government, in consultation with leaders in the field of education, is furthermore determined to create structures during this year which would soon realise equal standards of examination and certification of qualifications for all communities.

rates. In this way a new basis has been provided for economic growth.

The latest indications are that the business cycle reached its lowest point in the second half of 1985 and that a new growth phase is now beginning.

The government is concerned about the high rate of inflation, and the combating thereof continually receives attention at the highest level.

The government is aware of socio-economic difficulties still facing some communities. Nevertheless, good progress has been made in alleviating these circumstances during the past year.

This is evident, among others, from the reform implemented in the labour field, and the emphasis placed on the provision of housing, the upgrading of black residential areas and the advancement of entrepreneurship.

The proposed legislative programme and other planned actions for the coming session confirm the government's commitment to the creation of a framework for equal opportunities.

derly urbanisation. Influx control is closely linked to urbanization, and in this regard the government has noted the contents of the report of the President's Council on an urbanisation strategy for the Republic of SA.

White paper

● A white paper is being prepared in which the government's reaction to the recommendations of the President's Council will be set out, and guidelines will be formulated for a clear and workable strategy in relation to urbanisation.

● I have given instructions that the highest possible priority must be given to the formulation of a socio-economic development plan for the less developed areas and communities. Such a plan, to be submitted to me, is being drawn up in consultation with the communities and the government departments concerned.

● In order to promote our economic development, our export trade, and the creation of employment opportunities for our people, white papers concerning the refining of South Africa's minerals, and our energy policy, will be tabled during this session.

● The first regional services council will be established in the near future, through which joint decision-making between all communities will be expanded, and the development of the less developed areas will be stimulated.

In addition to these concrete reform steps, the government has through the process of negotiation also become conscious of more black aspirations and needs.

The peoples of the Republic of SA form one nation. But our nation is a nation of minorities. Given the multi-cultural nature of South African society, this of necessity implies participation by all communities, the sharing of power between these communities, but also the devolution of power as far as possible and the protection of minority rights, without one group dominating another.

Committed as we are to these norms and values, we will have to defend the South African society against the forces of anarchy which seek to seize a monopoly of power and ultimately rule this nation, through the use of force, by an exclusive political clique. That will make a mockery of liberty.

It is common cause that we have not yet fully achieved all these goals to which I have referred. Yet we have undeniably made significant progress, as evidenced by major ongoing constitutional and socio-economic reform

Those who oppose this approach of evolutionary reform know that the alternative is revolutionary chaos. Fortunately, between them and such chaos, stand moderate and reasonable South Africans.

Let there be no doubt, however, regarding our sincerity and dedication to fulfil our commitments in accordance with the dictates of these norms and values.

We shall do so in spite of the criticism of those who underestimate or refuse to acknowledge the complexity of our realities

There are no easy and simple solutions to our challenges, and no ready examples and models for us to reproduce. In addition, the South African Government has to prove that true democracy is capable of application in our multi-cultural society.

We are determined to address our challenges. We sincerely believe in co-operative co-existence for all South Africans. Let us unite to make this possible.

Mandela

Honourable Members will be aware that I made an offer last year which could have set Mr Nelson Mandela free. The principle involved in this offer was not designed as a particular condition for a particular person. It applies equally to all of us and it is assumed that the principle is subscribed to in all civilised countries of the world. The principle simply proscribes the use of violence to achieve political objectives. Mr Mandela is therefore, in effect, being jailed by the South African Communist Party and its affiliate, the African National Congress. For obvious reasons, it suits them that he remains in prison.

Allow me once again to express my sympathy with the suffering of all those affected. No government can permit such violence, which has often resulted in the brutal murder of innocent men, women and children. We were therefore obliged to declare a state of emergency in about 13 percent of our magisterial districts.

I am greatly encouraged by the greater calm that is beginning to return. Naturally there will be further efforts to create unrest in 1986. The leftist revolutionary elements which are controlled from abroad, will develop and attempt to implement new strategies and tactics.

We will continue to maintain order within the framework of civilized norms. Our security forces have strict orders in this regard. Thus we will promote a climate in which new hope for all our communities can grow and the need for emergency measures will decrease.

The institutions of government that came into being in terms of the 1983 Constitution proved within a year that our various communities can take part effectively and peacefully in joint decision-making at the central level.

Alleviation

Through their contributions, the representatives of the coloured and Indian communities were able to assist in ensuring that problems in their respective communities received the necessary attention. They were personally involved in the active alleviation of such problems.

Our multilateral cooperation agreements in various fields with neighbouring states are also proving success.

I welcome this positive attitude.

I should like today to repeat the government's commitment to equal provision of education for all population groups. The process of reform, aimed at achieving this, is in full progress in the education field.

One of the most important steps was the establishment of a single education department for general policy for all communities. Through the mediation of this department, after comprehensive consultation, the overall guidelines for the provision of education, are being laid down. These include the equitable allocation of resources to the various communities.

Real progress has also been made in the quality of education for black communities.

Investigations and projects which have been launched, cover, among other things, the improved provision of education for pupils in rural areas, manage-

Joint security

The governments of this region should give tangible expression to such a common desire for peace and stability.

I want to propose, therefore, that we give urgent and serious consideration to the establishment of a permanent joint mechanism for dealing with matters of security, particularly threats to the peace and prosperity of our subcontinent.

It makes no difference in which capital the secretariat of such a body will be located. What matters is that the countries in the region should find a way to promote our joint security, to everyone's advantage.

Should this offer by the Republic of SA be ignored or rejected, we would have no choice but to take effective measures in self-defence to protect our country and population against threats.

Southern Africa — and the Republic of SA in particular — can play a key role in these last 15 years of the 20th Century in unlocking the resources of Africa.

The untapped reserves of our country and our region have the potential to give new life to the whole of Southern Africa. We have the natural resources and a strong economy. With the additional potential of our population, we also have the ability to promote peace and progress in the region.

Pressure

We accept unequivocally that the Republic of SA is part of the international community. We have no wish to isolate ourselves from the world, particularly not from Africa of which we form an integral part.

Regarding pressure from abroad against the Republic of SA, we accept that not all the pressure is necessarily malicious. Indeed, every country in the world has the right to give priority

No easy year

In the economic field 1985 was, in many respects, not an easy year for the Republic of SA. The instability of the agricultural sector was exacerbated by the drought of the past few years.

In addition, the restrictive economic and financial factors resulted in smaller profits and a higher debt and interest burden for some sectors for agriculture.

We have been heartened by the abundant rain in most regions which have now brought improved prospects.

Although the current conditions are more favourable, it is essential that the agricultural sector be built up again to ensure an adequate food supply for a growing population.

The adaptation of the traditional land-use practices in the self-governing states should also make a substantial contribution to this.

There were positive developments on the economic front that should make us all more optimistic.

Upswing

An outstanding highlight in this field was the excellent export performance achieved during 1985. The latest trading statistics reflect the sharp upswing in our exports. The estimated increase in the volume of exports for 1985 (gold excluded) is about 24 percent, compared to the corresponding period during 1984. In contrast, the volume of imports for the same period declined by about 15 percent. The current account of the balance of payments recovered from a deficit of R1,4 billion in 1984 to a surplus of about R7 billion in 1985.

The Republic of SA still places a high premium on the role of exports in its economic growth and development process. The government continues to promote our status as an important and reliable trading partner. This entails not only maintaining and strengthening existing multilateral trading agreements, but also the promotion of bilateral and counter-trading transactions.

The success thus-far achieved with monetary and fiscal policy is reflected in, among other things, the considerable improvement on the current account of the balance of payments and the decline in interest

Citizenship

Among the most important matters that will be translated into legislation during this session, are the following:

- Restoring South African citizenship to black persons who permanently reside in the Republic of SA, but who forfeited their citizenship as a result of the conditions of independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.
- Extension of the powers of the self-governing states.
- Involvement of black communities in decision-making.
- Freehold property rights for members of black communities.
- A uniform identity document for all population groups.

Proposed legislation which will affect all communities, extend democratic processes and promote free enterprise, include the following:

- Amendment of the immigration selection policy by repealing discriminatory preference provisions.
- The restructuring of the system of provincial government to involve all communities.
- Legislation authorising the lifting, suspending or amending of unnecessary restrictions on entrepreneurship, particularly with regard to the informal sector.

Small man

In this regard I requested that a bill be presented to Parliament this year which will empower the State President to facilitate the participation of the small entrepreneur in the economy through the suspension of unnecessary restrictive measures.

Any action in this regard will be restricted in scope and subject to parliamentary approval. It is intended only to be applied in the interest of economic progress, competition and the creation of job opportunities.

Other measures that will follow shorly include the following:

- The drafting of legislation to remove existing influx control measures which apply to South African citizens in the Republic of SA. The present system is too costly and has become obsolete.
- The government is in favour of measures which will facilitate or-

Undivided

This has placed the government in a position where it is possible to outline the framework for further constitutional development to broaden the democracy. This entails the following basic guidelines:

- We accept an undivided Republic of SA where all regions and communities within its boundaries form part of the South African State, with the right to participate in institutions to be negotiated collectively.
- We accept one citizenship for all South Africans, implying equal treatment and opportunities.
- We believe in the sovereignty of the law as the basis for the protection of the fundamental rights of individuals as well as groups. We believe in the sanctity and indivisibility of law and the just application thereof.
- There can be no peace, freedom and democracy without law. Any future system must conform with the requirements of a civilised legal order, and must ensure access to the courts and equality before the law.
- We believe the human dignity, life, liberty and property of all must be protected, regardless of colour, race, creed or religion.

Democratic

- We believe that a democratic system of government, which must accommodate all legitimate political aspirations of all the South African communities, must be negotiated.
- All South Africans must be placed in a position where they can participate in government through their elected representatives.

We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid.

Upliftment

Liberty is a cornerstone of true democracy and manifests itself on three different levels in our society.

Firstly, on the personal and individual level, respect for and the protection of the human dignity, life, liberty and property of all.

In no comparable country of the world has so much been done for the socio-economic upliftment of underprivileged communities as has been the case in this country in the short space of a few decades.

Secondly, liberty on the group and community level, which implies respect for and the promotion and protection of the self-determination of population groups and peoples, whether on a regional or national basis or whether under rural or urban conditions.

In an Africa plagued by civil war and genocide, the Republic of SA stands as a symbol of hope for all minority communities.

Thirdly, liberty on the State and national level, to safeguard the integrity and freedom of our country, and to secure the protection of our citizens through the application of civilized standards of justice, order and security.

Black leaders

True democracy for the Republic of SA and all its peoples, individually and collectively, must recognize each of these components of freedom. The absence of such recognition will diminish, and not increase, the freedom of our peoples.

I have already stated that I am willing to consider the restructuring and the functions of the President's Council to make provision for the participation by leaders of black communities, should the need exist among them to participate in that council.

I now wish to announce that I intend to negotiate the establishment of a national statutory council, which will meet under my chairmanship.

I propose that this council should consist of representatives of the South African Government, representatives of the governments of the self-governing national states, as well as leaders of other black communities and interest groups.

Pending the creation of constitutional structures jointly to be agreed upon for our multi-cultural society, this council should consider and advise on matters of common concern, including proposed legislation on such matters.

This council can meet under the chairmanship of the State President as often as needed.

They have much to gain while he remains where he is. In the meantime, the continuation of violence in SA affects all South Africans. The government cannot abdicate its responsibility for maintaining order and ending violence and the government does not intend doing so whether Mr Mandela is released or not.

I am conscious of the fact that Mr Mandela has been in prison for a long time and that he is now in his sixties. I have given this matter much thought. I stated last year that, in principle, I would be prepared to consider his release on humanitarian grounds.

Sakharov

But I think also of Captain Wynand Pretorius Johannes du Toit at present held in an Angolan prison.

I think also of persons like Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky. A significant difference between Mr Mandela and Andrei Sakharov, for example, is that unlike the acts of violence and sabotage of which Mr Mandela was found guilty, the acts which Mr Sakharov committed were non-violent expressions of opinion. Mr Sakharov has, moreover, indicated that he would agree, if allowed to leave the USSR, not to criticise the Soviet Union on any sustained or major basis.

For many years, Anatoly Shcharansky was the subject of continuous harassment, surveillance and interrogation by the Soviet authorities. In March 1977, he was arrested by the Soviet secret police and detained in Moscow's Lefortovo Prison until his trial in July 1978. Convicted on charges of "treason" and "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", he was sentenced to 13 years in prison and labour camps. His present state of health gives rise for serious concern.

I should now like to pose the following very important question.

If I were to release Mr Nelson Mandela on humanitarian grounds, could Captain Wynand du Toit, Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky not also be released on humanitarian grounds?

A positive response to this question could certainly form the basis of negotiations between interested governments.

No reaction on local markets to Rubicon II

1/2/86 STAR 304A

By Duncan Collings

The various local financial markets showed absolutely no reaction to President Botha's opening of parliament speech yesterday with the speech being described as completely neutral — being neither discouraging nor particularly inspiring.

Likewise world financial markets showed very little initial reaction but many local dealers believe there could be some slight movement as a direct result of the speech once overseas political reaction has been assessed locally next week.

The rand closed steady at 43,75/85 US cents yesterday, having drifted in a narrow band around that level most of the day in dull trading.

President Botha's speech contained little fresh economic or political factors to influence the rand either way, but some limited response may be seen next week after deeper analysis.

On Thursday the rand closed at 43,77/87c.

Money market rates continued static at Friday's close with the president's speech having no impact at all.

The 90 day banker acceptance rate finished at 12,55 percent for the sixth successive day despite the market shortage rising to R1,96 billion on Thursday.

The average weekly Treasury bill tender was also barely changed at 12,02 percent from the previous week's 12,04 percent.

The stock market closed narrowly mixed with prices little changed from their opening levels.

Gold share prices were mostly lower on the lacklustre performance of the bullion price, with Southvaal down 200c at R121 and Venters 50c easier at R21,25.

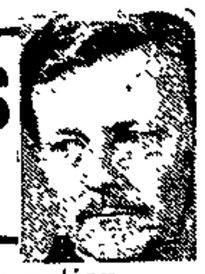
Mining financials and diamonds followed golds with Anglos and De Beers slipping 35c each at R42,75 and R17,50 respectively, but Rustenburg platinum firmed 15c at R28,50.

Industrials lacked direction.

The Krugerrand declined R5 at R835, while the financial rand was traded at 33,50c, up slightly from a close of 33c on Thursday.

Now, let's give PW a chance

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS
BY HARVEY TYSON



Excellent, despite the warts.

Statesmanlike, if on occasion eccentric.

The speech of a true, if unpractised, reformist.

Give him a chance.

If Rubicon II had been delivered by John Vorster, or by Prime Minister PW (as opposed to State President PW), or even by the President before August 15 last year, then I believe you would have seen the qualified accolades at the top of this column echoing in headlines around the world.

On paper, the words are such that Bishop Tutu and Chief Buthelezi, American bankers and local trade unionists, voters and non-voters, could hardly quarrel with the sentiments expressed. Only those seeking violence and revolution would object. And even they would be forced to agree with the purity of the seven principles enunciated yesterday by Reformist Botha.

In addition, he has publicly rejected apartheid. Who could ask anything more of a leader who has supported and pressed for apartheid unquestioningly for nearly 40 years?

Never again need a patriotic South African hesitate to sign declarations of opposition to apartheid.

The pity of it is, however, that in the real world of politics, the paper which President Botha's speech is written on is no longer worth a great deal.

His "first paper", delivered to an expectant world from Durban City Hall in August, is partly to blame. He failed with that all-important first test, and created a stereotype which will take years to break down. This, too, is pitiful, because he had been given the opportunity, once only, to create any image he wished.

The actions of his administration, and especially his police force, are even more to blame for devaluation of his declarations.

The manner in which words have been manipulated by successive Nationalist governments also detract from every worthy thing he says today.

Finally, the frustration, impatience — and now unreasoning bitterness — of his enemies will account for at least half the scepticism that the opening speech of 1986 will meet.

I write in the future tense, because I am making my own snap assessments of this first real salvo in the Reform Movement as reports of the speech are being rushed over the wires, moments before SP-PW actually utters the words. My instant reaction comes as if from a hermit in a dark cave, foretelling reactions which will already have developed when you receive the forecast.

However, in our polarised society, reactions are fairly predictable. The important reaction — in realpolitik terms, and in the eyes of the Western world — is the reaction of the "have-nots" in South Africa.

Their scepticism still has to be broken. It can be done only through quick, decisive action.

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Scepticism, and the divide between South Africa's communities, can also be partly overcome by one or two grand gestures.

Grand gestures do not include philosophical debates on the relative values of Soviet and South African prisoners. Yet, despite his point-scoring, the State President provided overwhelming reasons yesterday for the release of Nelson Mandela (see the analysis in *The Sunday Star* tomorrow). He also spoke so movingly of the sanctity of civilised law and of the successful elimination of disorder that one wonders why the State of Emergency is allowed to continue for another hour.

Two grand gestures could be made overnight on these two issues.

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None the less, it must be accepted that, whatever PW says or does, he will be criticised.

It is almost an eternal truth that reformists, effective or ineffectual, are all hated. Hated by those who are afraid of change, and by those who want more — or want revolution. In turn, reformers hate other reformers who would go further than they themselves advocate.

It's a no-win game. For good reason.

More than a century ago, on another continent, a politician explained the situation that happens to pertain in South Africa today. He said: "A reform is a correction of abuses. A revolution is a transfer of power."

Correcting abuses is not enough any more. There has to be a redistribution of power. Possibly only a new government, established in orderly fashion, can avoid prolonged violence.

While Mr Botha's government is quite unlike its predecessors, the fact is that, after nearly four decades in power, the NP appears to the world outside and to black South Africans to be the same sort of people wearing new clothes.

For political change to be publicly perceived, government has to change. This is a cardinal element of democracy.

There lies the dilemma for PW — and South Africa.

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After an economic period that can only be described as a crash, the motor industry is hoping that 1986 will be a bumper year.

Revving up for 1987, that could bring the year of the engine. By the end of the decade we may be buying whole cars again.

★ ★ ★

On the other hand, with the news being so bad, and other TV programmes not being so good either) there's guaranteed economic success for anyone who markets a video recorde that tapes all the programmes you hate, and then plays them back while you're away on holiday. (The SABC, which is everyone's Aunt Sally these days, can take comfort that this is an old Auntie Beeb joke).

Nats use media, adverts to push idea of a 'new South Africa'

W/E ARGUS 1/2/86

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P W's hard sell

Political Staff

IN a dramatic shift in tactics the Government has embarked on an aggressive campaign to sell its reform initiatives at home and abroad.

Government supporters believe that President P W Botha has changed the political course of the country in a way that will enable him to create a "new South Africa".

This is how they interpret his statement to Parliament yesterday that South Africa has outgrown apartheid.

But although there has been a wide positive response so far, important anti-apartheid spokesmen have dismissed the new initiative.

President Botha launched the campaign by taking prime time on the country's black television and radio channels last night to appeal to the public to join in the negotiations on constitutional structures.

He said: "We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid."

"Join together"

The Government had learnt more about black aspirations and needs and could now outline constitutional development to broaden democracy. Far-reaching steps would be taken in the next few months.

He said: "Now the time has come for us South Africans to join together to negotiate the structures we want."

The next phase in the campaign starts with the launching of a national advertising campaign in major newspapers.

The marketing blitz inside the country, similar to the National Party's slick advertising campaign during the 1983 referendum, is being directed by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel.

Foreign promotion of the speech and the Government's reform programme remains in the hands of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

In his speech at the opening of Parliament yesterday the President outlined the basis for negotiations in a seven-point credo.

This committed the Government to fundamental political rights and freedoms for everyone, while upholding the sovereignty of the law.

Mr Botha has set his sights on a new constitution which will mean powersharing up to the highest levels and the scrapping of all cornerstones of apartheid, John MacLennan reports.

He writes that this is how Government sources interpret the speech. They say it means the Government is prepared to negotiate the demise of all apartheid measures in a system which will:

- Provide all with a square deal;
- Ensure protection of individual and group interests;
- Establish a new society which enshrines the right to human dignity, life, liberty and property in law.

"Historic"

He has, say Government sources, embarked on an historic change of course which will involve him in talks on an open-ended agenda with all who want to create a new South Africa through evolution.

In the eyes of Professor Marinus Wiechers, constitutional law expert at Unisa, it appears that the Government has implicitly accepted that freedom of association, and not race, is the only legitimate basis for working out a peaceful future — a vital shift in emphasis.

Mr Louis Nel, Deputy Minister of Information, said: "This is a commitment to powersharing. We are talking about a new South Africa."

Mr Botha is not laying down pre-conditions. Sources say it is a breakthrough that he is prepared to negotiate the establishment of a statutory national council representing all instead of presenting the created body, its structure and parameters as a fait accompli.



Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, and his wife, Leticia.



Miss Rosanne Botha (left), daughter of the State President Mr P W Botha, with her sister, Mrs Elanza Maritz (right), and her husband, Dr Jan Maritz, attending the opening of Parliament yesterday.



Mr Kassipershad Ramduth, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, and his wife, Sheila.



A "gentle touch" as soldiers, providing security for yesterday's parade, dig into their pockets as a glib-tongued urchin spins a convincing yarn of his needs.

Promises 'will not impress'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday said blacks would be unimpressed by promises made by President P W Botha in his opening speech in Parliament.

These included abolishing pass laws and influx control, granting blacks South African citizenship and establishing a statutory council in which blacks would participate.

"What is the point of giving citizenship to voteless people?" Bishop Tutu asked, adding that Mr Botha promised one South Africa but was "preparing to grant independence to another homeland".

"Which blacks are going to be in his statutory council? ... Recognized black leaders are either in jail or in exile."

Citing the replacement of passes with "harsher" reference books, the bishop said: "We expect the identity cards they are planning to give us instead of the reference books to contain harsher laws."

He said Mr Botha was afraid to come out boldly against apartheid for fear of losing votes, but by doing so would win the support of blacks and the international community. — Sapa

Stand over Mandela 'disappoints' parties

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

PARLIAMENTARY and extra-parliamentary groups as well as businessmen were disappointed yesterday at the failure of President P W Botha to free the jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

They were reacting to Mr Botha's linking of Mr Mandela's release to that of Soviet dissidents during the opening of Parliament yesterday

Mr Pat Poovalingam, Solidarity MP for Reservoir Hills, said Mr Botha was entering into a "schoolboy type of debate with the Soviet Union" over the release of Mr Mandela.

'Heroes or traitors'

Mr Poovalingam said there were many people who had perpetrated violence, rape and other crimes who had been released by the government. Mr Botha would have been well advised to release Mr Mandela unconditionally, he said.

"What about those guerillas who fought the Boer Wars against the British — were they heroes or traitors?" he asked.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Johannesburg, said: "What has Nelson's release to do with (Dr Andrei) Sakharov? I can't see why they are linked!

"It looks like a ploy thought up by a clever politician that it would sound good to ears in the West that he (President Botha) is concerned with prisoners of conscience abroad when he has got so many of them at home."

In its response the United Democratic Front (UDF) said Mr Botha's "attempt to equate Mandela's position with Soviet dissidents and a SADF saboteur caught in Angola is nonsensical".

"Mandela is a national figure of incomparable magnitude and our demand including the world's pressure is inseparable from the call for the release of all political prisoners," the UDF said.

'Climate of goodwill'

Dr J N Reddy, Solidarity leader, said the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners would have created a climate of goodwill which was much needed during an era of reform

The leader of the Labour Party and Cabinet Minister without Portfolio, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said he would have preferred to hear that Mr Mandela would be released

Mr Hendrickse said he wished to "appeal to the international community to pressurize the relevant states to meet the State President's offer if they are serious about his (Mandela's) release".

Mr Arthur Booysen, leader of the Freedom Party and MP for Bosmont, also said Mr Botha should have unconditionally released Mr Mandela.

'Mandela used as a pawn

The Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) said "As regards the position of Nelson Mandela, no indication or assurance has been given regarding his release. In fact he is being used as a pawn in a bargaining exercise between West and East and this will just add to the deep anger of the black community"

Dr Andries Treurnicht, Conservative Party leader, said that to "consider Mandela's freedom for humanitarian reasons while he refuses to renounce violence is irresponsible and can create an uncontrollable situation".

New light on govt t

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha's long-awaited Rubicon II speech to Parliament was rich in rhetoric but failed to produce any dramatic new initiatives likely to resolve the crisis facing the country, government critics charged last night.

However, the business community and the government's junior partners in Parliament — the Labour Party and the National People's Party — placed a more charitable interpretation on Mr Botha's speech and generally welcomed it as a genuine commitment to reform.

That Mr Botha devoted much of his address to merely restating points made in earlier speeches was viewed as a "wasted opportunity" by sceptics and a disappointment by many expectant observers.

Indeed, even the two apparently "fresh" announcements — the formation of a national statutory council to include blacks and a proposal to establish a permanent body to deal with subcontinental security matters — are not entirely original.

However the State President's address did help to throw some additional light on the government's thinking on issues like influx control, citizenship, black education and deregulation of enterprise.

During his speech, Mr Botha also mooted a scheme under which ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela might be released from prison on "humanitarian grounds" but failed to address the question of negotiations with the banned organization.

Mr Botha also used the opportunity to call the concept of apartheid "outdated" and went on to refer to South Africa as "a true democracy" and "a symbol of the expansion of freedom".

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, remarked afterwards that he had found Mr Botha's rhetoric on constitutional and democratic systems "pleasing to the ear" but warned that the government's policies and legislative programme had yet to give them substance.

The speech contained "virtually nothing new that is likely to grab the imagination" but Dr Slabbert conceded that it did not evoke the same negative reaction as the disastrous Rubicon speech in Durban last year.

"But it is unlikely to provide black people with the incentive needed to get involved in negotiations with the government," he said.

Reaction to the speech from extra-parliamentary groups suggested that the major problem facing Mr Botha is that government statements about "reform" are either regarded as inadequate or simply disbelieved.

Assertion

This credibility problem was reflected in a UDF statement which said that while the speech was "replete with intentions, the National Party does not lend itself to trust".

The statement went on to attack as "doublespeak" Mr Botha's assertion that apartheid is outdated.

Mr Botha's summary and modest elaboration of previous statements was interpreted by the government's extra-parliamentary foes as a failure to address head-on the crisis its policies have created.

Mr Botha's failure to address voting rights for the disenfranchised majority, the unbanning of the ANC, the release of political prisoners and detainees, and the lifting of the state of emergency were criticized by extra-parliamentary groups.

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- Stand over Mandela 'disappoints', page 7
- Pictures, pages 3, 7 and 10
- Leading article, page 6
- Good news and bad, page 6
- More reaction, page 2



President P W Botha makes his speech opening

Botha invites black views

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

IN a special message, President P W Botha last night made a direct appeal to black people to support his government's reform programmes.

In an address on the black television channels, TV2 and TV3, President Botha said the time had come for South Africans "to join together to negotiate the structures that we want".

He also told black viewers that the government wanted to hear their views and to speak with them and their leaders.

It is the first time President Botha has spoken directly to black people in this manner.

His address was more reformist in emphasis than his speech yesterday when he opened Parliament, and it stressed the need for co-operation, and negotiation, between black and white people.

President Botha said that "very important decisions which are of profound importance to us all" had been taken and that the government was "now busy realizing them in practice".

"Far-reaching steps will be taken in the next few months to carry out the government's reform programme.

"I am glad that these major changes are being made because I know that our black citizens desire that they be implemented urgently.

"Now the time has come for us South Africans to join together to negotiate the structures that we want.

"My government wants to hear your views. It wants to speak with you and your leaders in a spirit of co-operation and dedication to the future of our country.

"We must all work together and talk to each other if we want a peaceful South Africa in which we and our children can live in peace and prosperity," President Botha said.

South Africa was a country of great potential "which we need to develop by working together".

See today's Homefinder for a special feature on executive living

Advice service

THE Cape Times will be offering a telephone advice service to readers with consumer problems (excluding legal and insurance) as from Monday February 3.

The service will be operated by Sam Master and readers with problems can ring him at 23-3808 between 9am and noon, Monday to Friday.

Only telephone inquiries will be considered and no correspondence will be entered into.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	$349,75
Rand	$0,4375/85
FT index (close)	1161,00
BD 100	1173,80
Dow Jones	1670,99

Some support for outsider

THE Argentine-bred colt Potomac from the powerful Terrance Millard stable has firmed to outright 7-2 second favourite for the R200 000 Richelieu Guineas over 1 600m at Milnerton today.

The Natal challenger Model Man remained at the top of the betting boards yesterday at 22-10 with Potomac's stable-companion Ecurie a firm 4-1 third favourite.

There was steady support for one of the outsiders in the race, the front-running Playing For Time from the "Cookie" Amos stable. His price came in from 40-1 to 33-1.

Betting at Cape Tattersalls yesterday:

RICHELIEU GUINEAS
(Milnerton, 1 600m, today)

22—	10	Model Man
7—	2	Potomac
4—	1	Ecurie
12—	1	Sea Warrior, Royal Yacht
14—	1	Harrington
20—	1	Classic Boy
33—	1	Playing For Time
40—	1	Sabre Point, Penny Chocolate
50—	1	Audley Way, The Captain, On The Sea, Cape Cloud and Compton

5 die, 48 hurt in train crash

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — At least five people died and more than 48 were seriously injured when a passenger train packed with end-of-the-month commuters crashed into the back of a second train on the Durban-KwaMashu line late yesterday afternoon.

Mutilated bodies lay tangled between the wreckage and some of the wounded groaned as they lay pinned inside the coaches. A driver's coach was almost flattened by the impact of the crash.

The names of the dead and injured had not been established by late last night.

A spokesman for South African Transport Services said the rear-end collision happened at the top of an embankment. A board of inquiry had been established immediately and had gone to the scene of the accident.

War p... statue battle

RUGBY ... home town of Rupert Brooke ... a battle over ... erect a ... greatest ... of a woman.

Sculptor ... man feels ... form would ... romantic ... beauty of ... verses evoked ... en generation ... World War I.

Councillors ... him £12 000 ... public ... ue learnt ... Thursday with ... "We shall ... ing stock," ... want a statue ... like Rupert ... was ... male figure. ... battle over this.

Brooke, who ... troopship in ... pularly ... his poem "The ... with its line: ... some corner of a ... field that is ... land."

The sculpt... mark the 100th ... sary of his ... year. — Sapa

ight on govt thinking

HNSON
ondent

g-awaited Rubicon II in rhetoric but failed initiatives likely to country, government

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President P W Botha makes his speech opening Parliament yesterday.

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War poet's statue battle

RUGBY, England. — The home town of war poet Rupert Brooke is fighting a battle over plans to erect a statue of its greatest son in the form of a woman.

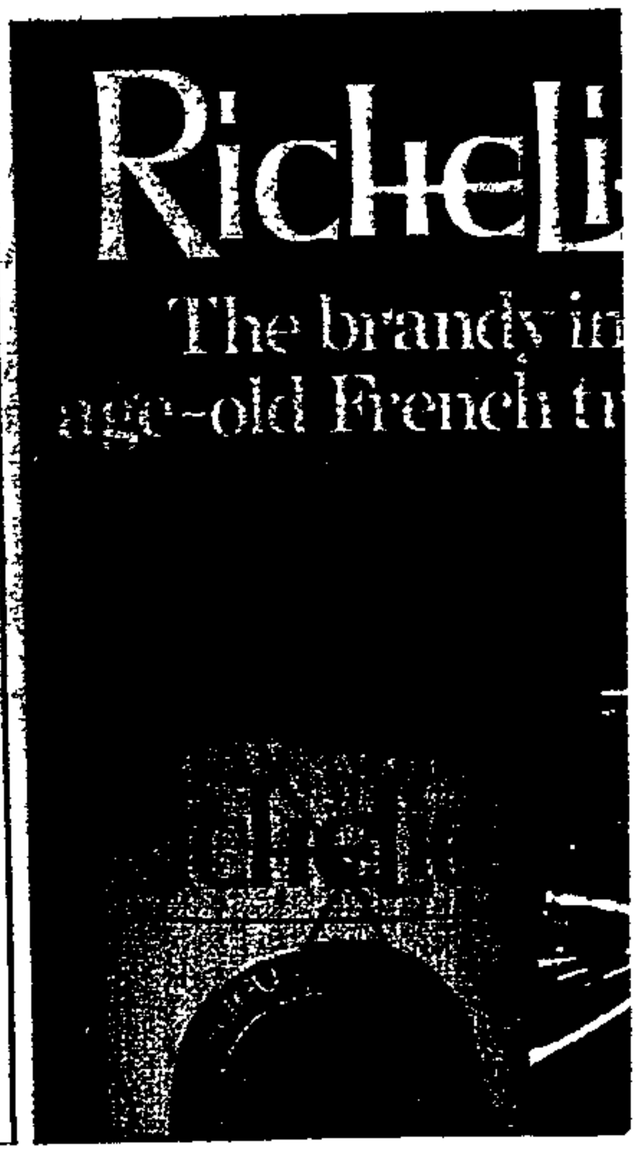
Sculptor John Bridgeman feels the female form would convey the romantic youth and beauty of Brooke, whose verses evoked the golden generation killed in World War I.

Councillors who gave him £12 000 (R38 400) of public funds for the statue learnt of his plan on Thursday with outrage.

"We shall be a laughing stock," said one. "We want a statue that looks like Rupert Brooke. He was phenomenally a male figure We shall battle over this."

Brooke, who died on a troopship in 1915, is popularly remembered for his poem "The Soldier", with its line: "There's some corner of a foreign field that is forever England"

The sculpture is to mark the 100th anniversary of his birth next year — Sapa-Reuter



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CAPE TIMES 1/2/86 (30cm)

Western leaders, bankers optimistic


Dr Fritz Leutwiler

LONDON — President P W Botha's "Rubicon II" speech was received with cautious optimism by sympathetic Western leaders and international bankers and creditors yesterday.

But both politicians and bankers put more emphasis on the omissions than the positive elements of Mr Botha's speech to the opening of Parliament.

The British Government welcomed "a number of significant proposals" in Mr Botha's "important speech".

"But there are omissions and the key will be how it is followed up," a Foreign Office spokesman said.

The spokesman indicated that the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was likely to react to the speech in more detail when he speaks at a Common Market-Frontline State summit in Lusaka next week.

France's influential left-of-centre daily, Le Monde, described the speech as "significant" in a front-page report.

Le Monde reported that Mr Botha's "gesture" proved that he realized political concessions to black South Africans were essential and the repression in which his government was engaged led nowhere.

In Geneva, Swiss banking sources said they were impressed with Mr Botha's remark that South Africa had "outgrown the outdated concept of apartheid".

The Swiss banking sources also welcomed Mr Botha's observation that not all pressure from abroad was malicious.

Bankers and creditors interpreted this as referring to their political preconditions for the rescheduling of foreign debt, the sources said.

They regarded it as acknowledgement that they had played a major role in changing South Africa's domestic policies, the sources said.

The Swiss mediator, Dr Fritz Leutwiler, is to meet representatives of the 30 leading creditor banks in London on February 20 to discuss a new mediation proposal.

British commercial television's one o'clock news bulletin described his speech as "a very meagre curate's egg — good in a few parts".

But commentators agreed that the tone and style of the speech were a vast improvement on the disastrous Rubicon I speech in August last year.

Immediately after its report on Mr Botha's speech, ITN showed scenes of non-Xhosa blacks moving out of their shacks in Ciskei.

The African National Congress rejected the reform proposals made by President Botha.

An ANC statement issued in Lusaka said the ANC remained committed to its programme of action "for the escalation of the mass political and military offensive".

The statement criticized Mr Botha's invitation to black-ruled neighbouring states to enter into security pacts with South Africa and said "instead of desisting from attacking the neighbouring states, he promises them a Pax Pretoriana".

It said the announcement on pass laws was a veiled way of introducing another type of identity card to continue restricting movements of black people within urban areas.

Mr Botha's concept of democracy was what he termed "coexistence and power-sharing between racially and ethnically distinct communities, which is an ill-disguised affirmation of the policy of white minority rule", the statement added.

On Mr Botha's promised educational reforms, it said "he completely ignored a whole set of demands that the majority of the people have made" — Own Correspondent-Sapa-Reuter

Full text of President Botha's speech to Parliament

'We've outgrown outdated apartheid'

THE founding of the Republic of SA a quarter of a century ago severed the last remaining ties with our colonial past.

Through this important step to further the ideal of South African nationhood, we set the stage for the remarkable progress which has been made in major areas over the past 25 years.

In a world where freedom is becoming increasingly rare, our country today is a symbol of the expansion of freedom, of the upholding of freedom of religion and free enterprise, sustained by equal rights before an independent judiciary.

The Republic of SA is therefore a powerful bastion against communist domination and enslavement. The Republic is also an important supplier of expertise, development aid, technology and necessities of life to Africa, and strategic minerals to the world.

Nevertheless, we reaffirm our continued commitment to peaceful internal co-existence through co-operation and negotiation. This applies to all nations, but particularly to Southern Africa.



The State President, Mr P W Botha, and Mrs Elize Botha, at the opening of Parliament yesterday.

Terror

In this regard, I wish to emphasize that there can be no peace and stability in our region as long as countries knowingly harbour terrorists who plan and execute acts of terror against a neighbouring state.

As far as SWA is concerned, the Republic of SA remains prepared to implement Resolution 435, provided agreement can be reached on Cuban withdrawal from Angola. Only then will the Republic of SA reduce its troops in terms of the agreed arrangements. In this area, lasting peace, progress and freedom can only prevail if terrorism gives way to negotiation and constitutional development such as desired by the internal parties.

I once again extend a hand of friendship to our neighbours. Let us come to an agreement on the specific rules of the game regulating the conduct of neighbours towards one another, rules that are honoured by all civilized nations.

These include the withdrawal of foreign forces from the region, the peaceful settlement of disputes, regional co-operation on common problems, an unequivocal ban on support for violence across national boundaries, and tolerance in the region.

Joint security

The governments of this region should give tangible expression to such a common desire for peace and stability.

I want to propose, therefore, that we give urgent and serious consideration to the establishment of a permanent joint mechanism for dealing with matters of security, particularly threats to the peace and prosperity of our subcontinent.

It makes no difference in which capital the secretariat of such a body will be located. What matters is that the countries in the region should find a way to promote our joint security, to everyone's advantage.

Should this offer by the Republic of SA be ignored or rejected, we would have no choice but to take effective measures in self-defence to protect our country and population against threats.

Southern Africa — and the Republic of SA in particular — can play a key role in these last 15 years of the 20th Century in unlocking the resources of Africa.

The untapped reserves of our country and our region have the potential to give new life to the whole of Southern Africa. We have the natural resources and a strong economy. With the additional potential of our population, we also have the ability to promote peace and progress in the region.

Pressure

We accept unequivocally that the Republic of SA is part of the international community. We have no wish to isolate ourselves from the world, particularly not from Africa of which we form an integral part.

Regarding pressure from abroad against the Republic of SA, we accept that not all the pressure is necessarily malicious. Indeed, every country in the world has to its own national interests. We also reserve that right for ourselves.

But I wish to make it clear that we do not need pressure to walk the road of reform and justice.

We do it out of conviction. We have the capacity, the will and the faith to meet our challenges.

As we develop the tremendous potential and goodwill in our various communities, and the talents of our people, we will help create a powerful future for Southern Africa.

It is so that we have had to deal with unrest within the country which has unnecessarily claimed lives, and has inflicted too much damage on this country.

Sympathy

Allow me once again to express my sympathy with the suffering of all those affected. No government can permit such violence, which has often resulted in the brutal murder of innocent men, women and children. We were therefore obliged to declare a state of emergency in about 13 percent of our magisterial districts.

I am greatly encouraged by the greater calm that is beginning to return. Naturally there will be further efforts to create unrest in 1986. The leftist revolutionary elements which are controlled from abroad, will develop and attempt to implement new strategies and tactics.

We will continue to maintain order within the framework of civilized norms. Our security forces have strict orders in this regard. Thus we will promote a climate in which new hope for all our communities can grow and the need for emergency measures will decrease.

The institutions of government that came into being in terms of the 1983 Constitution proved within a year that our various communities can take part effectively and peacefully in joint decision-making at the central level.

Alleviation

Through their contributions, the representatives of the coloured and Indian communities were able to assist in ensuring that problems in their respective communities received the necessary attention. They were personally involved in the active alleviation of such problems.

Our multilateral co-operation agreements in various fields with neighbouring states are also proving success.

I welcome this positive attitude.

I should like today to repeat the government's commitment to equal provision of education for all population groups. The process of reform, aimed at achieving this, is in full progress in the education field.

One of the most important steps was the establishment of a single education department for general policy for all communities. Through the mediation of this department, after comprehensive consultation, the overall guidelines for the provision of education, are being laid down. These include the equitable allocation of resources to the various communities.

Real progress has also been made in the quality of education for black communities.

Investigations and projects which have been launched, cover, among other things, the improved provision of education for pupils in ment training for principals and heads of departments, a bridging period to bring children to school-readiness, a system to promote career education and a comprehensive effort to improve the academic and professional qualifications of teachers.

Programmes aimed at active progress towards the goal of parity in the provision of education will be announced in the foreseeable future. This will exert substantial pressure on the Treasury in future.

During the coming year measures will be taken in order to extend the participation of all concerned in education. Further announcements on the continued reform of our educational system can be expected shortly.

The government, in consultation with leaders in the field of education, is furthermore determined to create structures during this year which would soon realise equal standards of examination and certification of qualifications for all communities.

No easy year

In the economic field 1985 was, in many respects, not an easy year for the Republic of SA. The instability of the agricultural sector was exacerbated by the drought of the past few years.

In addition, the restrictive economic and financial factors resulted in smaller profits and a higher debt and interest burden for some sectors for agriculture.

We have been heartened by the abundant rain in most regions which have now brought improved prospects.

Although the current conditions are more favourable, it is essential that the agricultural sector be built up again to ensure an adequate food supply for a growing population.

The adaptation of the traditional land-use practices in the self-governing states should also make a substantial contribution to this.

There were positive developments on the economic front that should make us all more optimistic.

Upswing

An outstanding highlight in this field was the excellent export performance achieved during 1985. The latest trading statistics reflect the sharp upswing in our exports. The estimated increase in the volume of exports for 1985 (gold excluded) is about 24 percent, compared to the corresponding period during 1984. In contrast, the volume of imports for the same period declined by about 15 percent. The current account of the balance of payments recovered from a deficit of R1,4 billion in 1984 to a surplus of about R7 billion in 1985.

The Republic of SA still places a high premium on the role of exports in its economic growth and development process. The government continues to promote our status as an important and reliable trading partner. This entails not only maintaining and strengthening existing multilateral trading agreements, but also the promotion of bilateral and counter-trading transactions.

The success thus-far achieved with monetary and fiscal policy is reflected in, among other things, the considerable improvement on the current account of the balance of payments and rates. In this way a new basis has been provided for economic growth.

The latest indications are that the business cycle reached its lowest point in the second half of 1985 and that a new growth phase is now beginning.

The government is concerned about the high rate of inflation, and the combating thereof continually receives attention at the highest level.

The government is aware of socio-economic difficulties still facing some communities. Nevertheless, good progress has been made in alleviating these circumstances during the past year.

This is evident, among others, from the reform implemented in the labour field, and the emphasis placed on the provision of housing, the upgrading of black residential areas and the advancement of entrepreneurship.

The proposed legislative programme and other planned actions for the coming session confirm the government's commitment to the creation of a framework for equal opportunities.

Citizenship

Among the most important matters that will be translated into legislation during this session, are the following:

● Restoring South African citizenship to black persons who permanently reside in the Republic of SA, but who forfeited their citizenship as a result of the conditions of independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei

● Extension of the powers of the self-governing states.

● Involvement of black communities in decision-making.

● Freehold property rights for members of black communities.

● A uniform identity document for all population groups.

Proposed legislation which will affect all communities, extend democratic processes and promote free enterprise, include the following:

● Amendment of the immigration selection policy by repealing discriminatory preference provisions.

● The restructuring of the system of provincial government to involve all communities.

● Legislation authorising the lifting, suspending or amending of unnecessary restrictions on entrepreneurship, particularly with regard to the informal sector.

Small man

In this regard I requested that a bill be presented to Parliament this year which will empower the State President to facilitate the participation of the small entrepreneur in the economy through the suspension of unnecessary restrictive measures.

Any action in this regard will be restricted in scope and subject to parliamentary approval. It is intended only to be applied in the interest of economic progress, competition and the creation of job opportunities.

Other measures that will follow shorly include the following:

● The drafting of legislation to remove existing influx control measures which apply to South African citizens in the Republic of SA. The present system is too costly and has become obsolete.

● The government is in favour of measures derly urbanisation. Influx control is closely linked to urbanization, and in this regard the government has noted the contents of the report of the President's Council on an urbanisation strategy for the Republic of SA.

White paper

● A white paper is being prepared in which the government's reaction to the recommendations of the President's Council will be set out, and guidelines will be formulated for a clear and workable strategy in relation to urbanisation.

● I have given instructions that the highest possible priority must be given to the formulation of a socio-economic development plan for the less developed areas and communities. Such a plan, to be submitted to me, is being drawn up in consultation with the communities and the government departments concerned.

● In order to promote our economic development, our export trade, and the creation of employment opportunities for our people, white papers concerning the refining of South Africa's minerals, and our energy policy, will be tabled during this session.

● The first regional services council will be established in the near future, through which joint decision-making between all communities will be expanded, and the development of the less developed areas will be stimulated.

In addition to these concrete reform steps, the government has through the process of negotiation also become conscious of more black aspirations and needs.

Undivided

This has placed the government in a position where it is possible to outline the framework for further constitutional development to broaden the democracy. This entails the following basic guidelines:

● We accept an undivided Republic of SA where all regions and communities within its boundaries form part of the South African State, with the right to participate in institutions to be negotiated collectively.

● We accept one citizenship for all South Africans, implying equal treatment and opportunities.

● We believe in the sovereignty of the law as the basis for the protection of the fundamental rights of individuals as well as groups. We believe in the sanctity and indivisibility of law and the just application thereof.

● There can be no peace, freedom and democracy without law. Any future system must conform with the requirements of a civilised legal order, and must ensure access to the courts and equality before the law.

● We believe the human dignity, life, liberty and property of all must be protected, regardless of colour, race, creed or religion.

Democratic

● We believe that a democratic system of government, which must accommodate all legitimate political aspirations of all the South African communities, must be negotiated.

● All South Africans must be placed in a position where they can participate in government through their elected representatives.

We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated con-

The peoples of the Republic of SA form one nation. But our nation is a nation of minorities. Given the multi-cultural nature of South African society, this of necessity implies participation by all communities, the sharing of power between these communities, but also the devolution of power as far as possible and the protection of minority rights, without one group dominating another.

Committed as we are to these norms and values, we will have to defend the South African society against the forces of anarchy which seek to seize a monopoly of power and ultimately rule this nation, through the use of force, by an exclusive political clique. That will make a mockery of liberty.

Upliftment

Liberty is a cornerstone of true democracy and manifests itself on three different levels in our society.

Firstly, on the personal and individual level, respect for and the protection of the human dignity, life, liberty and property of all.

In no comparable country of the world has so much been done for the socio-economic upliftment of underprivileged communities as has been the case in this country in the short space of a few decades.

Secondly, liberty on the group and community level, which implies respect for and the promotion and protection of the self-determination of population groups and peoples, whether on a regional or national basis or whether under rural or urban conditions.

In an Africa plagued by civil war and genocide, the Republic of SA stands as a symbol of hope for all minority communities.

Thirdly, liberty on the State and national level, to safeguard the integrity and freedom of our country, and to secure the protection of our citizens through the application of civilized standards of justice, order and security.

Black leaders

True democracy for the Republic of SA and all its peoples, individually and collectively, must recognize each of these components of freedom. The absence of such recognition will diminish, and not increase, the freedom of our peoples.

I have already stated that I am willing to consider the restructuring and the functions of the President's Council to make provision for the participation by leaders of black communities, should the need exist among them to participate in that council.

I now wish to announce that I intend to negotiate the establishment of a national statutory council, which will meet under my chairmanship.

I propose that this council should consist of representatives of the South African Government, representatives of the governments of the self-governing national states, as well as leaders of other black communities and interest groups.

Pending the creation of constitutional structures jointly to be agreed upon for our multi-cultural society, this council should consider and advise on matters of common concern, including proposed legislation on such matters.

This council can meet under the chairmanship of the State President as

It is common cause that we have not yet fully achieved all these goals to which I have referred. Yet we have undeniably made significant progress, as evidenced by major ongoing constitutional and socio-economic reform.

Those who oppose this approach of evolutionary reform know that the alternative is revolutionary chaos. Fortunately, between them and such chaos, stand moderate and reasonable South Africans.

Let there be no doubt, however, regarding our sincerity and dedication to fulfil our commitments in accordance with the dictates of these norms and values.

We shall do so in spite of the criticism of those who underestimate or refuse to acknowledge the complexity of our realities.

There are no easy and simple solutions to our challenges, and no ready examples and models for us to reproduce. In addition, the South African Government has to prove that true democracy is capable of application in our multi-cultural society.

We are determined to address our challenges. We sincerely believe in co-operative co-existence for all South Africans. Let us unite to make this possible.

Mandela

Honourable Members will be aware that I made an offer last year which could have set Mr Nelson Mandela free. The principle involved in this offer was not designed as a particular condition for a particular person. It applies equally to all of us and it is assumed that the principle is subscribed to in all civilised countries of the world. The principle simply proscribes the use of violence to achieve political objectives. Mr Mandela is therefore, in effect, being jailed by the South African Communist Party and its affiliate, the African National Congress. For obvious reasons, it suits them that he remains in prison.

They have much to gain while he remains where he is. In the meantime, the continuation of violence in SA affects all South Africans. The government cannot abdicate its responsibility for maintaining order and ending violence and the government does not intend doing so whether Mr Mandela is released or not.

I am conscious of the fact that Mr Mandela has been in prison for a long time and that he is now in his sixties. I have given this matter much thought. I stated last year that, in principle, I would be prepared to consider his release on humanitarian grounds.

Sakharov

But I think also of Captain Wynand Pretorius Johannes du Toit at present held in an Angolan prison.

I think also of persons like Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky. A significant difference between Mr Mandela and Andrei Sakharov, for example, is that unlike the acts of violence and sabotage of which Mr Mandela was found guilty, the acts which Mr Sakharov committed were non-violent expressions of opinion. Mr Sakharov has, moreover, indicated that he would agree, if allowed to leave the USSR, not to criticise the Soviet Union on any sustained or major basis.

For many years, Anatoly Shcharansky was the subject of continuous harassment, surveillance and interrogation by the Soviet authorities. In March 1977, he was arrested by the Soviet secret police and detained in Moscow's Lefortovo Prison until his trial in July 1978. Convicted on charges of "treason" and "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", he was sentenced to 13 years prison and labour camps. His present state of health gives rise for serious concern.

I should now like to pose the following very important question.

If I were to release Mr Nelson Mandela on humanitarian grounds, could Captain Wynand du Toit, Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky not also be released on humanitarian grounds?

A positive response to this question could certainly form the basis of negotiations between the governments

'Basic demands not addressed

CAPE TIMES 1/2/86

Staff Reporter

THE State President had failed to address the very basic demands of people in South Africa in his speech to Parliament yesterday, said Dr Allan Boesak last night.

Dr Boesak was addressing about 2 000 people at an ecumenical service in the AME Church in Hazendal, Athlone. The service was also addressed by Dean Farisani, of the Lutheran Church.

Dr Boesak said of Mr Botha's speech: "How can you have freedom of religion when the police disrupt a church service by firing teargas? When you have detention without trial? He doesn't know what he is talking about.

"Our demands are clear: The lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all detainees, the release of political prisoners, the scrapping of the homelands policy."

'Incapable of making changes'

"When one listens to the State President, when one sees the action of Brigadier Swart, right up to Louis le Grange and we see how incompetent they are, then we must conclude that the South African Government is incapable of making changes in this country. We have to say this government cannot do what history demands of it," he said.

He said Bishop Tutu had been vilified in the "famous manner" of the South African press. He had said things in America and the "whole of white South Africa had risen in indignation".

"What Tutu had said was no different to what the vast majority of South Africans had been saying all along. They are accusing him of instigating the very things he had warned against," he said.

Aft Trn FS
1/2/86

Black rights 'top of agenda'

ULUNDI. — The government has given the issue of black political rights "the highest of national priorities", says Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha.

Commenting on the address of the State President, Mr P W Botha, at the opening of Parliament yesterday, Chief Buthelezi paid tribute to Mr Botha's courage at moving into "the hottest chair of all in political and constitutional development".

"The fact that the State President has elected to chair the national statutory advisory council he has now proposed encourages me to believe that the government has given the question of black political rights the highest of national priorities.

"The State President has created for himself the circumstances in which he must now either be seen to be a statesman or seen to be an Afrikaner politician incapable of rising to meet the demands of history."

If there was any prospect of Mr Botha bringing about meaningful change, the chief would "certainly not be the one who undermines what he is doing".

But the chief withheld his backing for the proposed advisory council until he had "assessed the prospects of this council succeeding".

"If the council's deliberations are going to be behind closed doors and if it is the intention to persuade blacks to indulge in political horse-trading behind the scenes, out of sight of the black masses, then I would predict a sterile end to the council as I quite rightly predicted would be the case with the special cabinet committee and with the non-statutory negotiating forum."

The chief urged the scrapping of the new Constitution introduced in 1983 as "the most intricate system of white domination yet devised in this country".

In this hour of crisis whites could not prescribe to blacks about how South Africa should be governed.

Spiralling violence and the economic crisis could lead to a holocaust, he warned.

"South Africa stands at the crossroads of having to decide now to take the kind of steps which will lead to a stable and prosperous future, or to tolerate the ineptitude of a government which talks of reform but which forces continued white social, political and economic oppression on blacks."

The chief said he was encouraged by the State President's commitment to improve the quality of life for blacks and welcomed his "courageous" rejection of apartheid as outdated.

But he said Mr Botha would have to give content to his commitment to joint decision-making to "harness black goodwill".

"If the State President's national statutory advisory council is to be used as a vehicle to normalize our country as a modern, democratic, industrialized state, then I believe black leaders would find it possible to participate fully in it."

He said he was "deeply disappointed" that Mr Botha did not announce the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, jailed ANC leader.

"He could quite easily have done so on humanitarian grounds.

"It is my opinion that the work of the proposed national statutory advisory council, if it ever really gets off the ground, will be marred by criticisms of whatever it does on the grounds that Mr Nelson Mandela was not given the opportunity of making his point."

President 'failed to provide real solution'

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

THE State President's speech at the opening at Parliament yesterday was welcomed by his tricameral allies but strongly criticized by left- and right-wing opposition.

The government's most outspoken critic, the United Democratic Front (UDF), described President P W Botha's speech as "doublespeak" and said he had failed to provide a real solution to the crises his government had created.

'No legitimacy'

The UDF national executive committee said Mr Botha failed to address the issues considered essential for peace and negotiation in South Africa.

The front slated the proposed national statutory council for blacks and the regional service councils (RSCs) and described both as "undemocratically conceived" and "bodies with no legitimacy".

The relaxation of influx control restrictions fell far short of their demands, the UDF said.

"He (Mr Botha) also speaks of negotiation with unnamed black leaders while the ANC remains banned and key political figures remain incarcerated and others are regularly detained and harassed."

The UDF attacked the government's policy of destabilizing neighbouring states and its economic policies which it said had failed to curb growing unemployment and rapid inflation.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Assembly, said Mr Botha gave no "effective protection for group rights and no guarantee against domination".

Mr Botha's proposals were an abrogation of white self-determination and a threat to continued white existence, Dr Treurnicht said.

"It spells the delivery of whites to a non-white majority."

'Intent'

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the ruling Labour Party (LP) in the House of Representatives and Cabinet Minister without Portfolio, said Mr Botha's speech should be viewed as a "declaration of intent".

He said: "I welcome the moving away from apartheid and its dismantling by the announcement on common citizenship, common identity document and participation of all South Africans in political structure to be decided upon collectively."

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the ruling National People's Party (NPP) in the House of Delegates and a cabinet minister, said the overall tone of the speech was good.

The State President of Venda, Chief Patrick Mphephu, commented that the changes embodied in Mr Botha's address represented fundamental shifts in government policy, "and only the cynically naive or politically dishonest would dismiss them as cosmetic".

"I also note with appreciation that the State President wishes to negotiate the establishment of a national statutory council where black aspirations and needs will be articulated. This is a step in the right direction," Chief Mphephu said.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Johannesburg, reacting to the speech said: "Big deal! There is very little we have not heard before."

Bishop Tutu said Mr Botha was "less belligerent" in his approach this time compared to other instances.

'Statesmanship'

"It seems to me we are back at the old game of politcal point-scoring at a time when we need a dramatic example of statesmanship," Bishop Tutu said.

Dr J N Reddy, leader of the Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates, said "we want the government to give effect of all its good intentions".

"The government must say: 'We are going to translate our intentions into action'," he said.

Mr Arthur Booysen, leader of the Freedom Party in the House of Representatives, said the most positive outcome of the speech was the commitment to a one-education system.

(304A) S.T. 2/4/86

From the enthusiastic to the confused

Sunday Times Reporters

FOREIGN media and government response to President Botha's Friday speech has run the gamut of enthusiasm, scepticism and confusion.

London's Daily Express bannered their story "A New Wind of Change" and said the President had made a brave and constructive speech. It provided to the rest of the world the first tangible signs that the Government was committed to far-reaching change.

The leftwing Guardian said it was the first time Mr Botha had provided concrete reform measures with a delivery date, but contained essentially the same mixture of suppression of dissent and selective reform without consultation with the African majority.

Elsewhere the reaction from foreign governments was cautious but positive, and a general view in Washington and London was that the statement would contribute towards a slight cooling of foreign temperatures.

In South Africa, meanwhile, a range of black establishment politicians have welcomed the proposals but are chary of committing themselves to participation in the National Council.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — he would be chief prize for Pretoria's constitutional planners — has claimed he will have to first consult his constituency.

Yesterday, Mr Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of KaNgwane and one of those who has declared himself in favour of joining an anti-apartheid alliance with the African National Congress, welcomed the President's statement on a major socio-economic upliftment policy, but slammed the Mandela swop offer.

The African National Congress, United Democratic Front, Azapo and churchmen like Dr Allan Boesak have branded the statement a further attempt to delay meaningful political change.

The South African Institute of Race Relations hailed the National Council as the first chink in the tricameral armour, but questioned how many authentic black leaders would join.

The Urban Foundation's managing director, Dr Robin Lee, said Mr Botha's statement committed the Government to far-reaching transformation of its structures and institutions.

304A

It wasn't what he said, but the way that he said it

304A S 1 5/2/86

PRESIDENT P W Botha's opening speech on Friday can perhaps best be judged by the reaction it drew from the assembled Members of Parliament.

The coloured and Indian MPs cheered and the Conservative Party members jeered when the President announced apartheid to be outdated.

The PFP members muttered about his "doublespeak" and that he evaded many crucial issues, and the NP members were very proud of their leader.

Everybody, except the far-right, was relieved that it was not a repeat of August 15.

Another more faithful barometer tells the story of the speech: the rand is not expected to drop — or climb.

Mr Botha's opening address did not differ vastly in *content* from the Rubicon speech and his subsequent speeches at NP congresses last year. But it was oceans different in *tone* and *style*.

MAX DU PREEZ comments on the 'Rubicon II' speech

The lessons were simple: Rubicon need not have happened; the way in which things are said is at least as important as what is said. President Ronald Reagan, the Great Communicator, understands this.

And on Friday Mr Botha himself became a Great Communicator: self-confident, strong but not aggressive, reconciliatory but not grovelling. No finger-wagging, no threatening, but never looking weak.

So convincing was he that only the cynical realised by the end of the speech that he had failed to come to grips with some of the most pressing problems facing South Africa this year.

He did not clearly map the road out of the national crisis. He did not pre-empt the big smash planned for later this year by the forces of revolution. The bold, imaginative initiative that could have dragged South Africa from the slippery slope was missing.

Even the fact that he failed to meet what many saw as the bottom line for his opening address — the lifting of the state of emergency — escaped many people.

But something that perhaps eluded the cynics was that Mr Botha *did* spell out his long-awaited Declaration of Intent, though he did not call it that.

He called it his "basic guidelines" for "further constitutional development to broaden the democracy". It has seven points:

● We accept an undivided Republic of South Africa where all religions and communities within its boundaries form part of the South African state, with the right to participate in institutions to be negotiated collectively.

● We accept one citizenship for all South Africans, implying equal treatment and opportunities.

● We believe in the sovereignty of the law as the basis for the protection of the fundamental rights of individuals as well as groups. We believe in the sanctity and indivisibility of law and the just application thereof.

Order

● There can be no peace, freedom and democracy without law. Any future system must conform with the requirements of a civilised legal order and must ensure access to the courts and equality before the law.

● We believe that human dignity, life, liberty and property of all must be protected, regardless of colour, creed or religion.

● We believe that a democratic system of government, which must accommodate all legitimate political aspirations of all the South African communities, must be negotiated.

● All South Africans must be placed in a position where they can participate in government through their elected representatives.

Few critics of the Government, including those who believe in the Freedom Charter and the United Nations Charter, can fault this, even if it is slightly vague on some points.

It seems to be more or less what KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others wanted before they were prepared to start negotiating with the Government.

Only five-and-a-half months ago Mr Botha told the Durban NP Congress: "I am pressed by some who mean it well, and those who wish to destroy orderly government in this country, to make a Statement of Intent. I am not prepared to make it — not now and not tomorrow."

Some of the President's statements, though, sounded just too nice to be true of the polarised, violent and repressive South Africa of today. Such as his third sentence: "In a world where freedom is becoming increasingly rare, our country today is the symbol of the expansion of freedom, of the upholding of freedom of religion and free enterprise, sustained by equal rights before an independent judiciary."

As one member of the House of Representatives remarked: "Perhaps that's pushing it a bit."

But that his tone and the words he chose were not merely a nicer-looking wrapping around the same old story, they were also clearer. It created an atmosphere and a spirit that could gain its own momentum.

That the President and his Government are in fact in a more aggressive reformist mood is also demonstrated by his unprecedented special address to black South Africans on TV2 and TV3 on Friday night.

It was more reformist in spirit than his parliamentary speech and he asked black people "to join together to negotiate the structures that we want".

But the black reaction is unlikely to be as favourable as that of whites, of businessmen and of the Western countries.

Different

In many ways the President on Friday did say old things in such a different way that it seemed to mean something different. Where he said several times in the past that he was against apartheid, he always added the rider: "If it means discrimination and domination" and "as the West understands it".

This time he plainly stated: "We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism, as well as the outdated concept of apartheid." No ifs and buts.

He also declared, albeit with the normal "but" on "minorities": "The peoples of the Republic of South Africa form one nation" — bizarrely reminiscent of the revolutionary slogan "One Azania, One Nation".

Other statements conveyed the same old message, but said in such a way that it even made good TV in America.

Western pressures, previously cause for angry retorts by the President, were met this time by a cool assurance that the Government walks the road of reform because it wants to and not because it is being forced.

Great things are promised for 1986. The ANC and opposition groups have pledged a major civil disobedience campaign for March and April. On Friday Mr Botha committed himself to a new future.

Only the year will prove who is capable of delivering on their promises.

'We won't punish Tutu'

CITY P. 2/2/86, 3014A

THE Government is not considering any action against Bishop Desmond Tutu after the Anglican leader's recent statements in America, says Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha.

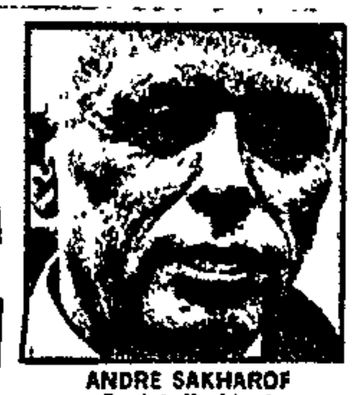
Botha, who has the authority to deny or withdraw a passport if he feels the passport holder may not be travelling abroad in the country's interests, said he had not seen the particulars of everything Tutu had said in the US.

But he had no intention of withdrawing the bishop's passport.

"In any event, I think Bishop Tutu's remarks were of such a nature that all reasonable South Africans will find them totally unacceptable. He has dented his reputation as a man of the cloth," said Botha. – Sapa.

West and Russians study P W's swop offer

MANDELA: THE GREAT INTRIGUE



ANDRE SAKHAROF
Soviet dissident

304A S.T. 25/9/88.

Cupid kids lead Info's Louis to the altar



By BENNIE VAN DELFT

MR LOUIS NEL, Deputy Minister of Information, has a new love in his life — and it was his children who played cupid and got him to pop the question.

She is attractive Mrs Elaine Prinsloo, a Pretoria mother of four daughters, who is a successful estate agent. Two of Mrs Prinsloo's daughters are married.

The couple plan to wed on February 22 in Pretoria, but say that the finer details of the wedding still have to be worked out.

Mr Nel's first wife, Lina — to whom he was married for 24 years — was killed on August 18 in a road accident in Pretoria.

Mr Nel — father of two daughters and three sons — said this week that he first met Mrs Prinsloo several years ago when she sold him a house in

By MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

TOP secret discussions with foreign governments may have preceded President Botha's dramatic offer to release Nelson Mandela in exchange for two Soviet dissidents and a South African prisoner of war.

Secrecy over Mr Botha's proposal was so tight that even Cabinet Ministers and senior officials heard about it only hours before his speech on Friday.

Opening Parliament, Mr Botha said the Government was prepared to release Mandela, who is over 60, on humanitarian grounds — on condition that the Soviet Union released Jewish dissidents Andre Sakharof and Anatoly Sharanski, and that Angola freed SADF captive Wynand du Toit.

In some overseas quarters Mr Botha's proposal was met with scepticism yesterday, but senior sources in London and Washington noted it was made only days after it became known the United States and the Soviet Union had resumed private talks about the release to the West of Sakharof and Sharanski.

It has been known for some time that the Soviets are interested in periodic exchanges between East and West, and the two dissidents have been mentioned as possible bargaining counters.

So has Dieter Gerhardt, the former South African naval officer convicted of spying for Moscow.

In Cape Town yesterday, senior Government sources said Mr Botha's exchange offer was "not a gimmick — we are quite ready if they want to call our bluff".

Irrevocable

While the linking of Man

principal lieutenants and co-conspirators of the Rivonia

Louwna is scared to hope again

PRETTY Louwna du Toit, wife of captured SA army officer Wynand du Toit, said yesterday: "If he's released by Angola it would be wonderful. But I've been disappointed so often in the past that I'll believe Wynand is free only when I see him.

"If there is any chance of securing Wynand's release, we should take it."

Mrs du Toit, 26, who lives in Langebaan, said she believed the Government was doing its best to get her husband freed.





Worlds apart . . smiles hide the longing of Louwna and her three-year-old son, Klippie, for father Wynand, left, held in Angola

Yallop wallops his critics

By RAY WILLIAMS

AUSTRALIA'S controversial batsman, Graham Yallop, silenced his critics yesterday by making top score for his team in the fifth one-day Yellow Pages cricket match at the Wanderers.

Coming in with the tally at 85 for 3, the 31-year-old Victorian, smarting under a rebuke from skipper Kim Hughes for allegedly not fully committing himself to his side's cause, was eventually seventh man out for 42.

Hughes's Guy Fawkes-ploy of planting a bomb under Yallop had obviously paid off. But with Springbok new cap Anton Ferreira ripping through the backbone of the Aussie batting in a spell of 10-1-31-3 there was no stopping the rampant Boks.

Bundling the Aussies out for 185, Clive Rice's men scored 189 for a five-wicket win to move into a 3-2 lead in the six-match series.

Ironically, Ferreira was helped back to full fitness by the Aussies' chiropractor, Dr Frank Polese.

'Warrior' wins

VETERAN jockey Muis Roberts rode 14 to 1 shot Sea Warrior to a magnificent win yesterday in the R200 000 Richelieu Guineas at Milnerton. Second was Ecurie and third Classic Boy.

agent. Two of Mr Prinsloo's daughters are married.

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Mr Nel's first wife, Lina — to whom he was married for 24 years — was killed on August 18 in a road accident in Pretoria.

Mr Nel — father of two daughters and three sons — said this week that he first met Mrs Prinsloo several years ago when she sold him a house in Pretoria.

"She was only an acquaintance over the years, but I got to know her better during the last three months," said Mr Nel.

Mr Nel said it was his daughters who had encouraged him to ask for the hand of his future wife.

"They thought it was a good idea for us to get married. When I eventually plucked up enough courage, I wanted to phone Elaine.

Fright

"At that stage I was in Cape Town and my children were against me proposing over the phone. I had no other choice but to travel up to Pretoria to ask Elaine in person."

And what was Mrs Prinsloo's reaction when Mr Nel asked her?

Quipped Mr Nel: "When she heard what my salary was, she got a fright".

But his salary didn't scare off Mrs Prinsloo.

Now she says she is looking forward to sharing her life with Mr Nel and the children.

Said a friendly Mrs Prinsloo: "At my age, one thinks calmly about a big decision such as marriage.

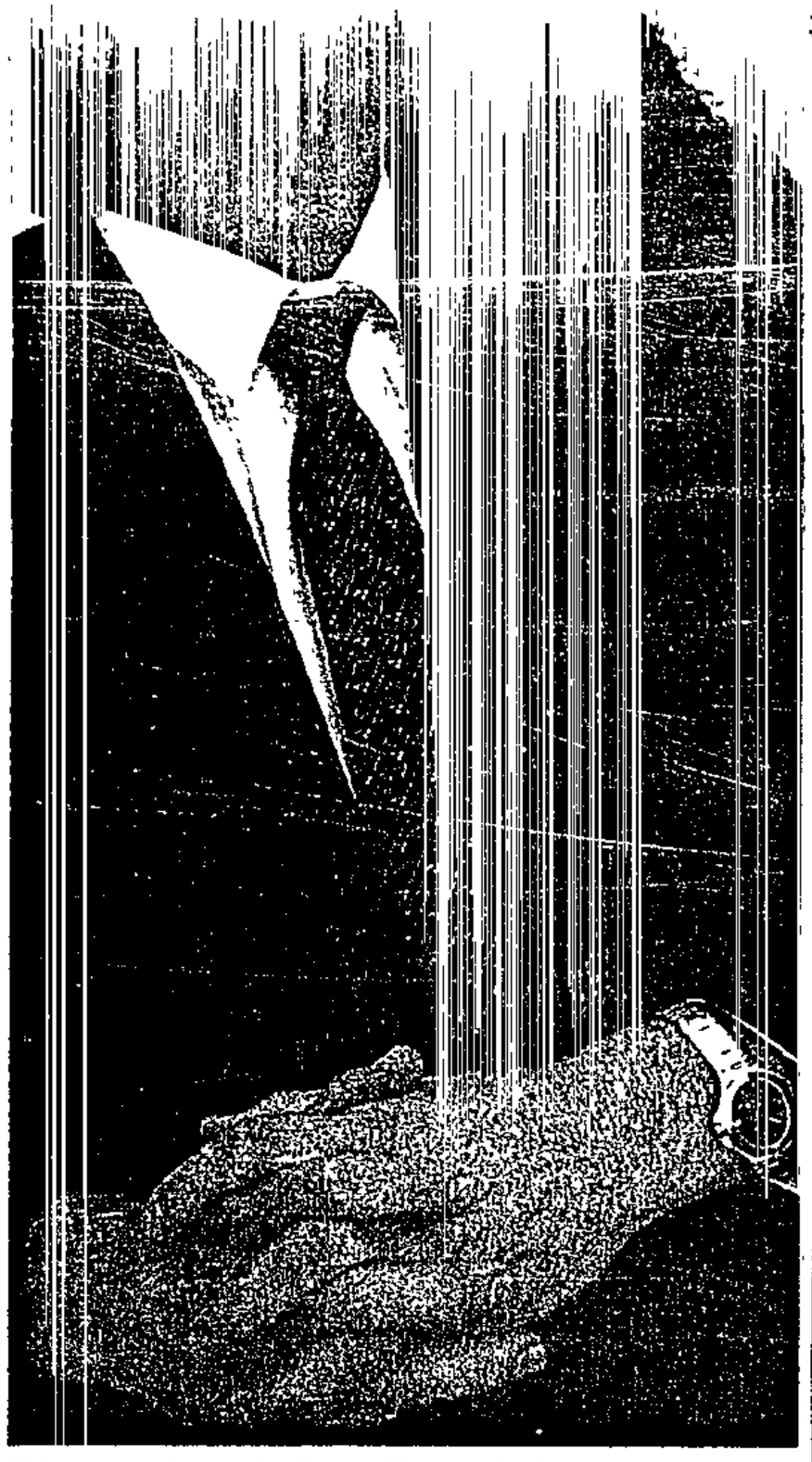
"And when I gave my answer I never even thought of Louis as a Minister. That only dawned on me later."

Mrs Prinsloo says she was a fan of the State President, Mr P W Botha, long before she became a fan of Mr Nel.

Mr Nel is realistic about his coming marriage:

"The first time you marry, there's usually just the two of you. The second time it is often a package deal — with children as part of the perks."

While the Sunday Times was shooting pictures of the happy couple in Mr Nel's office in Cape Town, the Deputy Minister told his wife-to-be: "Politics is show-business — this is your first lesson."



Things are looking up for Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel and his wife-to-be, Mrs Elaine Prinsloo Picture: TERRY SHEAN

Sunday Times

THE price of the Sunday Times increases to R1 (including GST) today.

The increase has been made necessary by rising costs, especially for newsprint, which increases to more than R1 000 a ton this year.

The selling of a President

TODAY sees the start of an advertising campaign unique in South Africa: The Selling of the President.

President Botha's reform package is being promoted across the country in a dynamic marketing project which gives his sagging public relations image a forceful lift.

Government pledges on change — including a commitment to power sharing — are boldly spelled out in a double-page spread signed personally by Mr P W Botha (see pages 10 and 11).

The campaign has been designed by the Johannesburg-based Grey Holdings Group in conjunction with the KMP Compton agency.

Among its more orthodox clients, Grey numbers such blue chips as Nedbank ("It makes you think doesn't it?"), Liberty Life, BMW and IBM.

By DAVID JACKSON

The campaign was commissioned by the Government's new Bureau of Information, headed by Mr Louis Nel, and Mr Pik Botha's Department of Foreign Affairs.

It is part of an imaginative bid to close the Government's notorious communication gap.

The personal statement by Mr Botha will appear in English and Afrikaans newspapers, but it won't be seen on TV screens because political advertising is not permitted on the SABC.

The President approved the final draft early on Friday morning — after a four-man advertising team worked throughout the night.

Mr Darryl Phillips, chairman of Grey Holdings, and one of the team, said yesterday: "Mr Botha was very pleased with the finished product.

"In the past the Government has been accused of not communicating clearly. People haven't taken them seriously. So we had to build up its credibility.

"This is a clear-cut message without any frills. Now people can see that PW is for real when he talks of reform."

If there is favourable public reaction the campaign may be launched in Europe and America.

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In Cape Town yesterday, senior Government sources said Mr Botha's exchange offer was "not a gimmick — we are quite ready if they want to call our bluff".

Irrevocable

While the linking of Mandela's release to that of Soviet dissidents appears to be essentially a South African initiative, there are strong indications it may have been discussed beforehand with the governments of the US and Israel.

With Mr Botha's proposal, contained in a last-minute addendum to his strongly reformist speech, the Government has irrevocably changed its stance on Mandela's release — from a precondition that he denounces violence to unconditional release on humanitarian grounds.

A Government source said that, with this new stance, "we have moved out of the situation where we have to depend on Mandela's decision. It is now out of his hands".

Diplomatic sources believe the other prisoner mentioned by the President, Captain Wynand du Toit, would in any case be released soon by Angola.

Captured

They point out that the Angolans have no more use for the commando leader who was captured during a controversial raid in the northern Angolan province of Cabinda.

There were also indications that, once negotiations about the Mandela exchange get under way, the Government may be prepared also to consider the release of other ANC leaders.

The names of Mandela's principal lieutenants and co-conspirators of the Rivonia days, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Govan Mbeki, as well as those of Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwawi, Harry Gwala, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni, have been mentioned.

Observers noted that the release of these leaders inside South Africa would be tantamount to unbanning the ANC.

One possibility is that the Government could put the ANC in the same position as Swapo in Namibia: ban the military wing, but not the political party as such.

Slogans

Yesterday, one source pointed out that the ban on the ANC was already largely ineffective.

ANC flags and slogans are openly displayed at funerals and meetings in the townships.

An ANC spokesman said: "It is quite clear they badly want to release Mandela, but they have to sell it to their conservative white voters."

A Government source said it was important to note that Mr Botha had said in his statement that he would welcome negotiations on this whole issue "between interested governments" — and that he did not stipulate which governments.

A spokesman for the Soviet mission to the United Nations had said in New York that Moscow was not interested in an exchange of Nelson Mandela for Jewish dissidents.

He said: "Our point of principle is that the matter of Sharanski and Sakharof is of internal concern and we do not concern ourselves with the release of Nelson Mandela."

US State Department spokesman Mr Bernard Kalb said:

"We welcome the South African Government's suggestion that it might release Nelson Mandela on humanitarian grounds, a step that could help break the stalemate in South Africa and lead to negotiations that so many have been hoping for."

Yesterday London's liberal Guardian newspaper said it would have to be seen if the "tantalising" exchange offer was the Afrikaner sense of humour at work — or something more serious.





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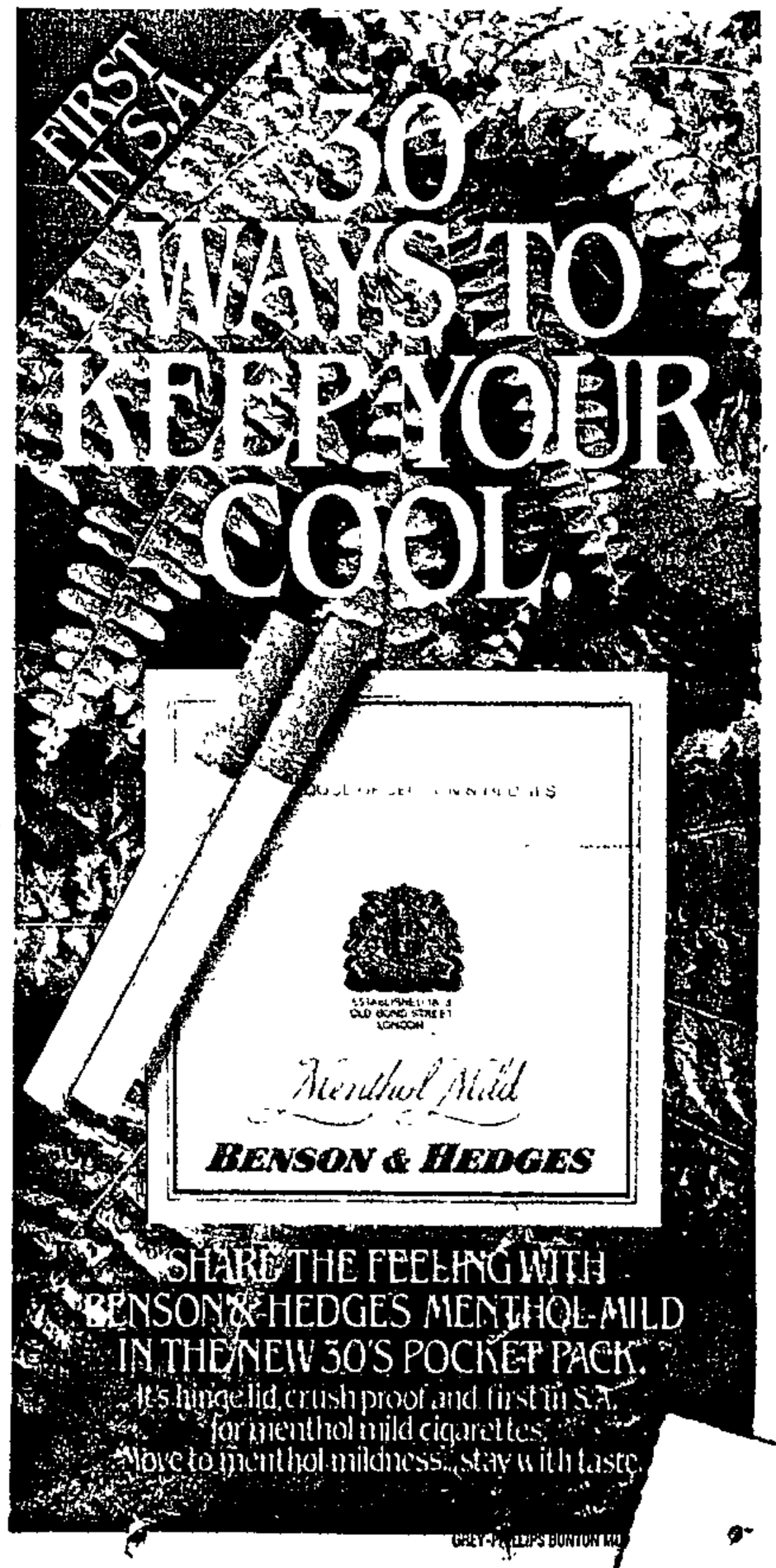

Rubicon 2 'will only spark more pressure'

PETER HONEY

EUROPE'S anti-apartheid pressure will intensify rather than abate in the face of State President P W Botha's latest reform package — in spite of a massive State-funded publicity drive to sell the new deal.

This is the view of influential British Conservative Party member of the European Parliament Peter Price, who left SA at the weekend after a 10-day visit to the region.

Price told *Business Day* that Botha's "Rubicon 2" address to the opening of Parliament on Friday was little more than a recapitulation of his promises of reform last year.

"It seems quite clear (Botha's speech) will have no significant helpful impact on European public opinion," said Price, who has played an influential role in the European Parliament's Southern Africa policy in the past four years.

The European community, he said, wanted two things of the SA government:

☐ A series of rapid concrete steps to dismantle apartheid;

☐ Major political change which was only likely through negotiations with "the whole spectrum of black political leaders";

Europe would not be convinced by "the mere changing of names of documents that black South Africans have to carry, nor by initial steps being announced without any commitment to all the other major steps which have to follow", Price said.

Botha's announcement of a statutory council including blacks amounted to an "offer of participation in giving advice about legislation".

"This doesn't seem to even put on the political agenda the prospect of negotiations for a new, totally different constitutional structure," he added.

Price disclosed that positive expectations about "Rubicon 2" had prompted moderation from the 132-member joint assembly meeting of African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) nations and the European Economic Community (EEC) in Swaziland last week.

The influential ACP-EEC joint assembly, with the backing of all 66 African member states — including Angola and the Frontline States — had toned down the wording of a punitive resolution against Pretoria which was issued the day before Botha addressed the opening of Parliament.

Believing Botha was on the brink of major political change, the assembly omitted reference to economic sanctions and had simply reaffirmed its commitment to agitate for "a peaceful solution through negotiations involving authentic representatives of the black majority population".

It also urged the foreign ministers of the 12-nation EEC to give careful consideration to any concrete political change in SA before embarking on further punitive measures.

Price said after listening to the reforms in Botha's speech: "I fear they were totally insufficient concrete steps."

Bus. Day 3/2/86 (304A)

(304A) Bus Day 3/2/86

Did PW say what we think we heard?

State President P W Botha's "Rubicon 2" speech has raised cautious hopes — cautious because, as has become almost axiomatic, nobody is quite sure exactly what the President meant. Managing Editor NEIL JACOBSOHN, writing from the House of Assembly in Cape Town, analyses the speech and the follow-up advertising campaign.

AFTER President P W Botha had finished speaking in Parliament on Friday, there was an almost audible hush around the country. Nobody was ready with immediate comment. Everyone, it seemed, was trying to work out what Botha had *really* said.

There lies the rub. Nobody knows anymore whether Natspeak means exactly what it says. Even when the words are understandable, government's credibility is so low that many people don't believe what their own ears tell them.

The bottom line, simply, is whether P W Botha actually means to *do* what he appears to have *said* he will do.

Since Friday's speech, there is of course more clarity. The President has put his money where his mouth is, with the direct commitment in a series of Sunday newspaper advertisments that "the pass system will be scrapped by July 1 this year".

That's the kind of action SA needs. The suggestion has been around for some time that we need a single dramatic gesture to nudge the wheel around — a gesture like announcing the date of the death of influx control.

Nobody is suggesting for a moment that this will amount to the wave of a magic wand. But business and public confidence must respond positively to this latest announcement, and ours is a country hungry for some good news.

So in the light of the weekend developments, let's push aside for a while that cynical little voice whispering: "But why didn't he just say all this in the first place, before the Rubicon rand's plummet cost SA billions?"

Instead, let's examine in detail the latest pronouncements.

Much has already been said about the difference in delivery. Hands firmly glued to the rostrum, no finger-wagging, no bellowing rhetoric. In places a positive mellowness. The importance of marketing has dawned on the National Party.

The two key points — apart from the theatrical pronouncement that "apartheid is outdated" — are the scrapping of the pass system and the announcement of the national statutory council.

Nobody in his right senses can fail to welcome the demise of the *dompas*. Of course, the remarks that measures "to facilitate orderly urbanisation" will replace influx control leave a slight uneasiness in the air. But information supremo Louis Nel says that influx control will "not be replaced by any other form of control" and that there will be no laws controlling the free movement of any South Africans in the country.

Wonderful. Now let's move on towards letting people live wherever they can afford to live.

As for the establishment of the national statutory council, consisting of SA and homeland government representatives and "leaders of other black communities and interest groups", so much will depend on what role that body is to play. The stillborn ghosts of the earlier informal non-statutory committee and the special cabinet committee moan in the background.

If the new body functions (under whatever name) as a kind of national convention to lay the groundwork for workmanlike negotiation towards power-sharing, then there is hope.

But if it is intended merely as some kind of advisory committee, high-powered or not, then little progress has been made. That's not power-sharing.

The other major issue is just who will be invited to join the council — and who will be prepared to serve? This is surely a moment for black leaders to step forward boldly to grasp the opportunity. We certainly hope they will do so.

Other parts of Friday's speech were not as well-received. Describing SA as a symbol of "the expansion of freedom, of the upholding of freedom of religion and free enterprise, sustained by equal rights before an independent judiciary" is perhaps a little far-fetched, in the light of the state of emergency, Draconian security legislation and detention without trial. But yes, we do have freedom of religion and an independent judiciary.

The tone of the speech might have been markedly restrained, but there was little subtlety in the warning Botha delivered to neighbouring states.

Post-Lesotho, he was doing more than rattling sabres in calling for the establishment of a super-Nkomati accord in southern Africa, a "permanent joint mechanism for dealing with matters of security". The threat that followed was thinly-veiled. "Should this offer be ignored or rejected ... we would have no choice but to take effective measures in self-defence to protect our country and population against threats."



BOTHA . . . a direct commitment to scrap the pass laws by July 1

Of course, nobody can dispute that a country has the right to defend itself against armed insurgents bent on terrorism. So Botha's warning was not out-of-step.

But then the tone softened. "We have no wish to isolate ourselves from the world," said the President, and "we accept not all pressure is necessarily malicious".

Is this the same man who thrust his forefinger into the face of the world in Durban in August last year?

But many would not agree with Botha's assertion that SA does not need pressure to walk the road to reform. Can there be doubt that the pressure put on our international sporting links over the years speeded up the desegregation of sport? Can we doubt that that the financial squeeze of the past few months has had the effect of focusing government's mind?

On unrest, there is serious disappointment that P W did not move to lift the state of emergency, even if only partially. There is little reason why he could not have done so.

Signs of real movement came when he turned to education, and strongly underlined a commitment to the "equal provision of education for all population groups." But note the hint that separatism (now that apartheid is outdated) will be maintained. It's a hint repeated throughout the speech.

While the various top priority investigations into improving the educational system are under way, we have a suggestion for the President. There's a shortage of black teachers. There's a surplus of white teachers. Why don't we stand back and let the market show us what *it* can do?

Nevertheless, everything Botha said on education must be supported, even his warning that parity in the provision of education will exert substantial pressure on the Treasury. How much better that increased spending should go to increasing the economically-active section of the population than to maintaining heavy police and troop presences in the townships. South Africa is with you there, Mr President.

But alas, when it comes to his dismissive handling of the economy, we must take issue. The understatement of the year is his comment that: "In the economic field 1985 was, in many respects, not an easy year for the Republic of South Africa." True, Mr Botha. In fact, probably the most cataclysmic in the nation's economic history.

It quickly becomes clear that the National Party has not forgotten the farmers. Much of Botha's discussion of the economy was dedicated to pointing out that agricultural prospects are looking more favourable. We, too, are heartened by this, but it is hardly the whole picture.

Businessmen across the country must have been staggered to hear the President sing glowingly of the country's good export performance in 1985, without *once* mentioning the primary reason, namely the collapse of the currency. The same applies to the decrease in imports, both of which Botha claimed as government victories. But then, one could argue that it was government's behaviour that led to the rand's plunge.

And not a single mention of the suspension of foreign credit lines and the debt standstill — which surely constitute one of the single greatest crises facing the nation. Not one word.

The business cycle reached its lowest point in the second half of 1985 and a new growth phase was now beginning, said the President. We hope he also realises that how long any growth phase can be sustained lies in his hands.

The legislative programme he announced is a cocktail of good and bad news:

☐ Citizenship to be restored to all blacks who permanently reside within South Africa, including homeland "citizens". That's a positive move;

☐ Extension of the powers of the self-governing states. Alas, government is still wed to the farce of "independent" homelands . . . non-countries that, inevitably, end up being funded by the South African taxpayer. Recent figures showed that the independent and non-independent areas were receiving about R2 250m in direct and indirect aid — nearly 9% of the 1984-85 South African budget;

☐ The involvement of black communities in decision-making. At last . . . but how, and on what level?;

☐ Freehold rights for members of black communities. Wonderful — except that they are limited to freehold within prescribed areas. Nothing in Botha's speech indicates any softening of the Group Areas Act. Apartheid is outdated?;

☐ A uniform identity document for all races;

☐ The scrapping of discriminatory provisions in immigration-selection policy (basically to allow Indian brides into South Africa);

☐ Restructuring of provincial government to involve all communities — which must be welcomed;

☐ Cutting red tape on entrepreneurship, particularly in the informal sector. Wonderful news, as long as it happens quickly, and does not linger like the still-unfulfilled CBD promises. Hopefully, action will follow, in the light of the powers the President is takin o himself to [illegible]

Also important, and so far unremarked, was Botha's announcement that white papers on the refining of South African minerals, and on our energy policy, would be tabled this session. Greater beneficiation of our natural resources will be one of the major pillars of future economic stability, leading to a real increase in exports and a lessening dependency on imports.

On the central issue of black participation in government, Botha laid down guidelines (reproduced on this page) which are nothing short of stirring. But again doubt arises. Has government the will and commitment to translate them into reality.

As for the release of Nelson Mandela, it is still uncertain whether this is subterfuge or real initiative. Delivered in a late addendum to the speech, the remarks initially drew sarcastic comment suggesting P W was unintentionally equating South Africa with the USSR and Angola as jailers of political dissidents.

But there are strong suggestions that foreign governments may well have been involved in secret discussions along the lines of releasing Mandela in exchange for the release of the two Soviet dissidents and the South African prisoner-of-war.

Rumours are also doing the rounds of grave divisions in the Cabinet over plans to release Mandela.

So after Friday, the nation puzzled over the speech, seeking a sign. Now it seems that sign has indeed come, in the commitment to scrap influx control by mid-year. That's a promise not even the Nationalists will be able to back away from.

If government continues this pace, and makes a reality of the President's words, there is real room for new hope. Then, perhaps, South Africa can still become that "symbol of the expansion of freedom".

"In the economic field 1985 was, in many respects, not an easy year for the Republic of South Africa."

"We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid."

Botha's credo for SA's future

☐ We accept an undivided Republic of South Africa, where all regions and communities within its boundaries, form part of of the South African state, with the right to participate in institutions to be negotiated collectively.

☐☐☐

☐ We accept one citizenship for all South Africans, implying equal treatment and opportunities.

☐☐☐

☐ We believe in the sovereignty of the law as the basis for the protection of the fundamental rights of individuals as well as groups. We believe in the sanctity and indivisibility of law and the just application thereof.

☐☐☐

☐ There can be no peace, freedom and democracy without the law. Any future system must conform with the requirements of a civilised legal order, and must ensure access to the courts and equality before the law.

☐☐☐

☐ We believe that human dignity, life, liberty, and property of all must be protected, regardless of colour, race, creed or religion.

☐☐☐

☐ We belive that a democratic system of government, which must accommodate all legitimate political aspirations of all South African communities, must be negotiated.

☐☐☐

☐ All South Africans must be placed in a position where they can participate in government through their elected representatives.

Police 'waiting for Govt instructions'

PFP calls for pass arrest moratorium

304A

STAR 3/2/86

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The Progressive Federal Party today called for an immediate moratorium on pass law arrests to demonstrate that the Government is sincere about scrapping the system of influx control.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the party's spokesman on law and order, said there should also be urgent clarification as to what was envisaged by the substitution of the present pass system by new urbanisation measures, and specifically whether this would restrict the mobility of blacks. If movement was still affected, a major cause of friction would remain.

If the new urbanisation strategy contained a hidden Catch 22, the disappointment that would ensue would give rise to unprecedented black rage, she warned.

The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports that the head of the SAP's Directorate of Public Relations, Colonel Jaap Venter, said today that police were now arresting fewer people for pass law offences than before.

Government newspaper advertisements

He said the police were trying to apply the Influx Control Act "as humanely as possible" and many people were being referred to legal aid centres.

Police were awaiting Government instructions on how to deal with pass offenders until July 1, but he believed arrests would be gradually phased out.

Mrs Suzman's statement today was in reaction to Government newspaper advertisements at the weekend in which President Botha said he realised the pass system had been seen as a major stumbling block.

"I can tell you the pass system will be scrapped by July 1. In the near future existing influx control measures will be abolished in favour of urbanisation that applies to all South Africans. Our policy is one of encouraging development, not controlling movement," said President Botha.

In the Afrikaans version of the advertisement, this was phrased differently to read: "Influx control will be scrapped soon in favour of a policy of orderly urbanisation which promotes, not controls, development."

Mrs Suzman queried whether a bankrupt white farmer from the Northern Transvaal would be prevented from looking for a job in Pretoria under the new system.

"It should be remembered that under the present system, the only people that are restricted from moving about the country freely are blacks.

"This has been a highly discriminatory law."

The Department of Justice says the number of prosecutions for pass law offences has dropped substantially in recent months.

For example, in July 1985, Johannesburg courts prosecuted a total of 577 people. By December the figure was down to 37.

However, the number of people prosecuted under Section 12 of the Act controlling illegal immigration rose from 66 in July to 101 in November, and then to 90 in December.

Solidarity MPs in no-confidence move on Rajbansi

STAR 3/2/86

CAPE TOWN — Four dissident Solidarity MPs in the House of Delegates are to call for a vote of no-confidence in the House's Chief Minister, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and his Minister's Council in the no-confidence debate which starts today.



Mr Pat Poovalingham
. . . two motions

The four — Mr Pat Poovalingam, Mr Mahmoud Rajab, Mr Ramcharitar Mohangi and Mr John Iyman — planned to propose two no-confidence motions, one in the Cabinet and the other in the Minister's Council headed by Mr Rajbansi.



Dr J N Reddy
. . . tight spot.

Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy, who has struck a coalition pact with Mr Rajbansi's ruling National People's Party, has given notice of his no-confidence motion, which makes no reference to the Minister's Council or Mr Rajbansi.

Solidarity's Chief Whip, Mr Yunus Moolla, said last night that the party caucus, which meets tomorrow, was not likely to condone the planned action of the dissidents.

Solidarity and the NPP signed a declaration of unity a fortnight ago pledging mutual support and co-operation, but the four MPs refused to accept the arrangement, saying it was unconstitutional.

In a Supreme Court action, the four dissidents and other party members succeeded in preventing Dr Reddy from implementing the unity pact.

Unlike last year's motion, Dr Reddy's motion today will be confined to attacking apartheid measures, according to the text of the motion which has been released.

Party members said yesterday that the four MPs' motion of no confidence in the Cabinet would put Dr Reddy in a tight spot, as the dissidents had simply taken over Dr Reddy's own no-confidence motion of last year.

If Dr Reddy and his Solidarity supporters voted with the dissidents, it would be a vote of no confidence in the Cabinet, of which Mr Rajbansi — their partner in the unity pact — was a member.

In a further development, a proposed meeting of Solidarity's national executive was yesterday blocked by other dissident Solidarity members through a Supreme Court interdict.

One of the applicants, Mr Virisami Naidoo, said Dr Reddy had only told him of the meeting on Monday, and he was surprised at the "very short notice" given.

He said the agenda for the meeting related to the coalition talks between Dr Reddy and Mr Rajbansi, but this issue had been held in abeyance following the court order restraining Solidarity from forming the coalition. — Sapa.

Slabbert 'delighted' if pass laws scrapped

CAPE TOWN — The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has said he would "be absolutely delighted" if the pass laws were scrapped as promised by the State President, Mr Botha.

The PFP leader said he would "wait and see" whether the laws would really be scrapped.

Extra-parliamentary leaders have reacted with caution or outright cynicism to Mr Botha's announcement in which he said:

"Well, I can tell you the pass system will be scrapped by July 1 this year."

The laws are the most hated symbol of oppression for the disenfranchised black majority. There were nearly 150 000 convictions under the laws during 1983 and between 1981 and 1984 there were nearly 800 000 arrests and prosecutions in terms of influx control.

Mr Botha emphasised the scrapping of the laws in a double-page advertisement in Sunday newspapers. He said they would be replaced by identity documents applicable to all South Africans.

Reacting to the announcement Mrs Sheena Duncan, national president of the Black Sash, said if people were still stopped and asked to produce identity documents then the new system would be "totally unacceptable".

"I can't see them stopping white people in the street and demanding identity documents.

"If, on the other hand, people are allowed to produce their identity documents within seven days of demand, if there are no longer raids on the streets, and no more fines, then the new legislation must be viewed as a step forward," she said.

The president of the New Unity Movement, Mr R O Dudley, said all Mr Botha was really saying was that the laws would be replaced by the kind of provision set out in the Koornhof Orderly Movement and Resettlement Bill which was suspended last year.

"Changing the name will not alter the purpose and impact of whatever laws Mr Botha may have in mind," he said.

Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said that while the government still wanted influx control in disguise, the scrapping of the pass laws would not achieve what the State President wanted it to achieve.



Van Zyl Slabbert . . . "delighted"

"I am afraid we are not moving in the right direction. The State President is once again creating expectations that he knows under the present circumstances he cannot fulfil," he said. — Sapa.

Botha's urbanisation plan described as updated influx control

CAPE TOWN — The State President's proposals for "orderly urbanisation' just gave a new name to an updated form of influx control, the Surplus Peoples Project (SPP) said yesterday.

The SPP said President P W Botha's proposal to extend the powers of the self-governing states was "terrifying".

It welcomed Mr Botha's announcement on influx control and citizenship but said it was important to point out the implications of his announcements.

"As the State President implied, South Africa no longer needs influx control — it is obsolete, expensive and discriminatory."

The SPP referred to the "indirect" controls mentioned by the President's Council report on orderly urbanisation.

The President's Council had suggested replacement of influx control by the use of the Squatting Act, the Slums Act, and zoning and health regulations.

The SPP said the Group Areas Act, which Mr Botha had not so much as mentioned, "will, of course, prevent people from living outside their allocated areas.

"'Orderly urbanisation' is thus a name for an updated form of influx control."

The organisation said it wanted to know why citizenship would only be restored to "permanent residents" of the urban areas.

The organisation said it wanted to know why citizenship would not be restored to migrant workers or the five million residents of Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.

Commenting on the proposed identity documents which could replace the pass book, the SPP asked what information would be endorsed on the documents.

"Race, fingerprints, address?

"What will happen if Mr Brown is resident in Cape Town but is found in Durban? If Ms Ndiki is registered in Umtata and is found in Cape Town?"

It said unless the Urban Areas Act and a dozen other laws were scrapped, the identity document would still be a pass.

● Sapa reports that the Government's latest plan to have Nelson Mandela released in exchange for two Soviet dissidents and captured South African commando Captain Wynand du Toit, appears to have flopped.

Both Angola and the Soviet Union rejected the proposal at the weekend.

But the Angolan government has indicated that it might



President Botha ... proposals under attack.

agree to swop Captain du Toit for Angolans and a Cuban allegedly held in South Africa.

A reliable source has dismissed as "outlandish mystification" suggestions that the South African and US governments might have struck a deal.

It is understood that the abortive swop proposal originally involved Mr Botha agreeing to a plea by President Ronald Reagan to unconditionally release Mandela in exchange for the US President lifting his executive order imposing limited sanctions, allowing the US Federal Reserve to make money available to South Africa, and induce US banks to roll over South Africa's debts. — Sapa.

Pass laws to be abolished by July 1

Cape Times 3/2/86 30KA

Political Staff

IN A determined bid to seize the initiative, President P W Botha launched an ambitious campaign to sell his reform package by announcing yesterday that the pass law system is to be scrapped by July 1.

Following on his appearance on TV2 and TV3 or Friday night, Mr Botha said in a double-page advertisement in the Sunday press that "in the near future, existing influx control measures will be abolished in favour of a system of urbanization that applies to all South Africans".

He said he realized that the pass system was seen as a major stumbling block.

"What's more, a common identity document will be issued to everybody as is the case in other countries," the State President added.

Prosecutions

More than two million blacks have been prosecuted in the past 10 years in terms of "pass" and "influx control" legislation.

"I don't intend to stop here. Progress is on-going ... The wheel of reform is turning," he said.

Abandoning his take-it-or-leave-it political style for a hard-sell media campaign to woo moderate black support for "institutionalized power sharing", Mr Botha said: "My government and I are committed to power sharing.

"We are committed to equal opportunity for all. Equal treatment. And equal justice."

Mr Botha also said that the "proposed National Statutory Council is not just a forum for talkers. It is the first step towards institutionalized power sharing.

"Where black leaders can now have a voice in central government ..."

Reaction to the announcement yesterday was cautious.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, welcomed the proposed abolition of the pass laws, but added that he would wait and see if it actually happened.

He said he would also wait to see if the new documents would classify people according to race or ethnicity. This would be unacceptable, he said.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said he would consider carefully whether to participate in the proposed National Statutory Council and added that he needed more information to decide if the proposal was likely to succeed.

Credibility

It is understood the government regards Chief Buthelezi's participation as essential to give the proposed council credibility.

However, the Private Sector Council on Urbanization — representing a large number of big companies, educational, church and other organizations — intends throwing all its resources behind a campaign for a new urbanization policy.

Council chairman Mr Jan Steyn, who also chairs the Urban Foundation, urged Mr Botha to translate his intentions "into legislation or executive action as soon as possible".

Lifting the state of emergency would also "contribute greatly to the ready acceptance of these announcements", he said.

It is unlikely that the "dompas" would be phased out immediately.

Government officials said yesterday the pass books might have to serve as interim identity documents until the new identity system was introduced for all South Africans — an administrative nightmare which some spokesmen say could take as long as 20 years to implement.

The national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, said that if the new identity document made it necessary for people to be fingerprinted, and if people were to be stopped in the street and made to produce the document on demand, then the new system would be totally unacceptable.

"If on the other hand, people are allowed to produce their identity document within seven days of demand, there are no longer any raids on the streets and no more fines, then the new legislation must be viewed as a step forward," she said.

The president of the

**** To page 2 A

Cape Point fire out of control

Staff Reporter

A HUGE fire raged out of control in the Cape Point Nature Reserve last night, fanned by a strong wind.

The blaze started before 5pm, a spokesman for the fire brigade said.

One of the wardens said late last night that the fire was "very big".

The fire started on the Olifantsbos Road side of the reserve, about a quarter of the way between the main gate and the lighthouse.

Divisional Council firemen were fighting the blaze alongside the reserve wardens, a fire department spokesman said.

● A veld fire threatened several homes and destroyed more than 1 500 hectares of fynbos around Hermanus at the weekend before it was brought under control late last night.

Although the fire was still burning at points high up the mountain, firemen were confident that they could contain the blaze

The fire destroyed the entire Fernkloof Nature Reserve — a big tourist attraction.

It broke out at lunchtime on Saturday and was believed to have been started near the lagoon by a group of people having a braai.

According to Hermanus fireman Mr David Wildschut, the fire raged towards the town and about 10 homes were in danger until firemen fought it back.

Smoke blanketed the village yesterday morning as the fire continued to blaze down the coast.

Several farms in the Hemel-en-Aarde Vallei were threatened.

A spokesman for the Walker Bay State Forest said forest land had not been threatened.

Last night the town clerk of Hermanus, Mr Charles Sim, said the fire was "just about out".

"Firemen on the scene were just there to ensure that there were no flare-ups," he added.

Consumer Service

THE Cape Times will be offering a telephone advice service to readers with consumer problems (excluding legal and insurance) as from Monday February 3.

The service will be operated by Sam Master and readers with problems can ring him at 23 3808 between 9am and noon, Monday to Friday.

Only telephone inquiries will be considered and no correspondence will be entered into.

C.T. 3/2/86 30KA

A From page 1

New Unity Movement Mr R O Dudley, said that all Mr Botha was really saying was that those laws and measures would be replaced by the kind of provision set out in the Koornhof Orderly Movement and Resettlement Bill that was suspended last year.

"Changing the name will not alter the purpose and impact of whatever laws Mr Botha may have in mind."

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said that while the South African Government still wanted influx control in disguise, the scrapping of the pass laws would not achieve what the State President wanted it to achieve.

"I am afraid we are not moving in the right direction. The State President is once again creating expectations that he knows under the present circumstances he cannot fulfil."

The Surplus Peoples Project said in a statement yesterday that the proposals for "orderly urbanization" were an updated form of influx control.

"As the State President implied, South Africa no longer needs influx control — it is obsolete, expensive and discriminatory."

However, the President's Council had suggested the replacement of influx control by existing forms of control through the use of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, the Slums Act, zoning and health regulations.

"Orderly urbanization is thus a name for the updated form of influx control," the SPP said.

ARGUS 3/2/86

Criticism over PW's R300 000 campaign

30KA

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Government was criticised today for using taxpayers' money to pay for President P W Botha's newspaper advertising campaign.

The deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, confirmed that about R300 000 of Government money is to be spent on the campaign.

Mr Nel was emphatic that the advertisements were meant to sell Government policy and not President Botha.

Mr Botha's speech at the opening of the new session on Friday was hammered home in double-page advertisements in Sunday newspapers. This week advertisements will appear in newspapers with a high black readership.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, criticised the use of taxpayers' money for the campaign. He said the National Party should pay.

Two-page advertisements would not solve the country's problems, he added.

"SHOCKING"

Dr Andries Treurnicht, Conservative Party leader, said the use of taxpayers' money to make propaganda against political parties who did not have the same opportunities was very serious.

He said the content of the advertisement was "shocking" because it made power-sharing permanent.

President Botha's reform plans will be scrutinised in the first debate of the new session of Parliament today.

In his speech he made it clear he was not concerned with groups who were unhappy about what he said. He said plainly that the Government was committed to power-sharing.

In the Sunday newspaper advertisements, signed by Mr Botha, he said no South African would be denied full political rights and the pass system would be scrapped by July 1.

He added: "I know there are some who say that I should have gone further. Let them rest assured, I will go further."

Politicians critical of ad blitz

STAR 3/2/86 3 A 14

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Opposition party leaders were critical of the Government's R300 000 marketing campaign today.

However the man in charge of the campaign, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr. Louis Nel, said the Government was determined to publicise its message openly and sincerely.

The advertising blitz was launched in Sunday newspapers yesterday, and given heavy coverage on several SABC television programmes.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said two-page advertisements would not solve the problems of the country. "We will have to find out during the no confidence debate this week what all the fine phrases mean".

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said that the use of taxpayers' money to make propaganda against other political parties who did not have the same opportunities was very serious.

"Mr Botha has addressed black political aspirations directly, but nowhere can I see that he still cares about the retention of white political power," he said.

3/2/88 BUS DAY 30(A

Angola rejects Botha's offer on Mandela's release

LISBON — Angola yesterday flatly rejected a South African offer to free black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela in exchange for a captured SA commando. But the Marxist government said it was prepared to swap the commando for Angolans and a Cuban allegedly held in SA.

Angola also accused the SA-backed rebel movement Unita of slaughtering more than 150 civilians in a southern Angolan village last week and condemned a visit by rebel leader Jonas Savimbi to Washington.

The Angolan news agency Angop said in a report monitored in Lisbon that the Angolan Foreign Ministry categorically rejected Botha's proposal to free Mandela on humanitarian grounds if Angola released Captain Wynand du Toit, who was seized last year during a failed SA commando raid on US-Angolan oil installations in the northern Angolan enclave of Cabinda.

The Angolan Foreign Ministry said it was prepared to release Du Toit, and return the bodies of two SA soldiers killed in the raid, in return for the release of an unspecified number of Angolans and a Cuban soldier it said were captured in Angola by SA troops and Unita rebels, Angop reported.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has made no mention of Botha's offer to swap Nelson Mandela for imprisoned dissident Anatoly Shcharansky and exiled Nobel Peace Prize laureate Dr Andrei Sakharov.

The official Soviet view is that Shcharansky, convicted on charges of anti-state activities in 1978 and given a 13-year sentence, was a criminal who must serve out his prison term.

Sakharov, who was sent to the closed city of Gorky in 1980, has never been formally accused of any crime, nor tried.

The official Soviet news agency Tass published brief reaction from the African National Congress to Botha's speech. Neither report mentioned Botha's offer.

While Botha's suggestion of a swap involving the Russians for Nelson Mandela's release was widely scoffed at at the weekend, it comes after many months of serious rumour.

Reliable sources in London claimed there was also high-level diplomatic contact shortly before Christmas and earlier last year in efforts to involve Mandela and the jailed Simonstown spy Dieter Gerhard in a swap. — Sapa-AP

'Negotiation on PW's terms'

4/2/86 SOWETAN 204A

Rubicon II

THE Government's proposed statutory council would not even begin to meet the needs of the voteless black community, the National Convention Movement said in a statement yesterday.

The NCM said while it congratulated the State President, Mr P W Botha, on admitting, "albeit belatedly", that it was necessary to set in motion a process of negotiation between the various components in the South African society, it regretted the form he had chosen to give expression to this need.

The movement said the statutory council, which would be convened and chaired by the State President, was merely advisory and therefore has no teeth.

The council, a product of "the establishment", had limited membership which was representative of the Government, it said.

"The statutory council does not measure up to the idea of a national convention being canvassed by the National Convention Movement, which advocates negotiation between acknowledged leaders of all sections of the community.

"The NCM believes that this negotiation can only take place after a favourable climate has been created through the evolution of apartheid, the ending of the state of emergency, the withdrawal of troops from the townships, the unbanning of banned organisations and release of political prisoners," the NCM statement said.

The organisation also said Mr Botha was talking of negotiation on his terms when he opened Parliament on Friday last week.

"In the same speech, he says that the Government believed in the sanctity and indivisibility of law and that human dignity, life, liberty and property of all must be protected.

"When these admirable words and sentiments are seen in relation to Government action it ceases to be surprising that the Government has a very real credibility problem," the statement said.

Proposed council seen as vital body

4/2/86 (3)4A

NEIL JACOBSOHN, Managing Editor

GOVERNMENT intends its proposed national statutory council to function as far more than an advisory body.

Sources close to the latest reform proposals say the council is seen by senior Cabinet ministers as the body which will negotiate a new constitution.

Government leaders see it developing into a powerful executive body that will change the face of the country, say the sources.

They add that they are convinced that government's commitment to scrap the pass system is genuine, and that there are no plans afoot to replace influx control with other restrictions in terms of government's definition of "orderly urbanisation."

"We have been assured that there will be no restrictions on the free movement of all South Africans," says one source. "The only control will be on squatting. Obviously no government can allow uncontrolled squatting."

Botha speech analysed: Page 7

Regarding the future of remaining apartheid cornerstones, such as the Group Areas Act, the sources say legislation of this nature will be considered by the statutory council. "These laws will be negotiable."

Any black leader who represents a legitimate constituency will be eligible for the council, say the sources.

They mention the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi says he will consider carefully whether to participate in the proposed statutory council.

In a statement released at the

● To Page 2

Council concept under scrutiny

From page 1 ●

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weekend, Buthelezi says he needs more information to decide whether the proposal is likely to succeed.

It is understood government regards Buthelezi's participation as essential to give the proposed council a modicum of credibility.

CHERILYN IRETON reports that Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert says he is not sure what Botha's new deal will entail.

He says the double-page advertisements the National Party has placed in all the Sunday newspapers to promote its reforms is an excellent example of aggressive political marketing.

It is a fair tactic as long as the NP remembers it is not dealing in household goods, he said.

"However, the advertisements raise important questions which will have to be probed in Parliament."

'Govt will get no credit for dictatorial reforms'

304A STAR 4/2/86

By Andrew Beattie

An organiser of the "Let South Africa Speak Campaign" believes the reason why the Government will not get credit for the reforms it has announced so far is that these measures have been decided on in a dictatorial fashion.

Mr Jimmy Baigrie, co-ordinator of the campaign, was visiting Johannesburg to establish a branch of the organisation.

He said that because of the Government's "dictatorial attitude" the measures would not have the beneficial effect intended.

"If the State President could sit down with leaders like Mandela, Tambo, Boesak, Hendrickse and Tutu and work out what to do next, we would be getting somewhere."

His organisation's manifesto states: "We wish to see our leaders listening to each other in public and on TV — live not edited, giving each other a fair hearing, never telling us to take up arms against each other ..."

FREE EXPRESSION

The organisation's chief aim is the entrenchment of the principle of free political expression in the policy proposals of all who claim or wish to be leaders.

Without this, he said, "no-one can make adult and responsible political choices and we will all be led astray by demagogues or dictators".

The "Let South Africa Speak Campaign" seeks to give the "silent majority" a clear and united voice in bringing about fundamental and enduring change through non-violent means.

The group's manifesto contains five principles:

- The shared and completely equal human dignity of all South Africans.
- The right to hear all political options openly discussed by the leaders who propose them.
- The right to choose our own leaders, policy and constitution for the future, irrespective of race, colour and creed.
- A new South Africa based on democracy, not on violence nor force of arms.
- South Africans who are not willing at this stage in our history to participate publicly in the solution, have become a main part of South Africa's problem.

Mr Baigrie said: "I really don't see why we have to go through Armageddon first before we start talking. We are neither left-wingers nor revolutionaries, we are concerned people who wish to live in peace."



Pensioner's plight eased

4/2/86 STAR

Mr Timothy Dywili's confidence in human nature is restored as he receives R200 from a Good Samaritan to help ease the pain of being refused an old age pension because his wife earns a salary. When *Star* reporter Michael Tissong visited the Dywili's yesterday to tell them of the gift, they said they were happy to know "the world still had people with sympathy and who expressed it with action."

"I am delighted a Good Samaritan has come forward with a R200 gift to ease the pain ... I am very grateful," Mr Dywili (74), said.

Mr Dywili applied for a pension last year but was turned down because, according to the Home Affairs Department means test, the R110 a month earned by his wife Josephine disqualified him.

PARLIAMENT

'No mandate to include blacks'



● TREURNICHT

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Government had no mandate to include blacks in power-sharing, Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht said in the House of Assembly's no confidence debate yesterday.

Referring to President P W Botha's announcement on Friday of a proposed national statutory council on which blacks would be represented, Treurnicht asked: "Where does he (Botha), the National Party, the government or its coalition partners (the coloureds and the Indians) get a mandate to make such an announcement?"

Treurnicht moved an amendment to PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's earlier motion of no confidence in the Cabinet, also asking for a vote of no confidence but giving three reasons why this should be done:

☐ Because the Cabinet was "now without a mandate from the white electorate, announcing and implementing power-sharing in respect of blacks as well, which is fatal to white self-determination and peace among the peoples of Southern Africa";

☐ The Cabinet had failed to maintain law and order and to ensure the safety of SA's inhabitants;

☐ The Cabinet had failed to combat inflation, restore the economy and check the further impoverishment of the country's citizens.

On Botha's proposal for a joint Southern African body to ensure peace and counter threats to security among the region's states, the CP leader said this could mean SA would never be in a position to overcome a military assault on its territory.

Treurnicht also rejected Botha's suggestion that imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela could be released on humanitarian grounds without first having to renounce violence.

The CP leader also referred to the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, asking: "How much more must this turbulent bishop do before his passport is withdrawn? . . . This man has done enough."

On incursions across SA's borders, Treurnicht said retaliation in certain instances was justified and that insurgent bases in neighbouring countries should be eliminated by force. — Sapa.

Slabbert 'has capitulated'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert had capitulated completely to the forces of the left, Environmental Affairs Minister John Wiley said yesterday.

He was the first National Party speaker to react to Slabbert's no-confidence motion and began by expressing condolences with the families of all those who had died in the recent unrest and in acts of terror.

He challenged Slabbert to say whether he would demand that the African National Congress give up violence should the proposed grand alliance against apartheid become a reality and the Progressive Federal Party a member of it.

"It is strange that those who complain about terrorism the world over always exclude the ANC and Swapo," Wiley said. — Sapa.

Fear of public violence 'impeding decision'

Cabinet 'backing' for Mandela release

PETER HONEY

A CABINET majority backed by State President P W Botha favours the release of Nelson Mandela — with or without an international swop agreement — says a prominent National Party source.

Government's primary constraints are fears that his release might trigger a resurgence of political violence and that it could signal weakness in the face of ANC/international pressure, the source, a verligte spokesman in the NP parliamentary caucus, said yesterday.

"Should the level of political violence subside to the extent that the state of emergency can be lifted entirely, I think chances of Mandela's release will increase tremendously," he said.

Parliamentary circles are buzzing with speculation that Mandela could be out of Pollsmoor Prison by Easter, after serving 24 years of a life sentence.

They see Botha's emphasis last week on a release on humanitarian grounds rather than on his earlier requirement of a non-violent commitment from Mandela as the President preparing the public for the move.

Mandela has already rejected a conditional release.

The NP source said any kind of release was unlikely in the current climate of tension, "but I will not commit myself on that beyond four to six weeks — things could change".

Cabinet was divided about the conditions of Mandela's release, but not on the release itself, he said.

"The division is not ideological, but is rather over perceptions of the practical consequences of his release."

He described as sincere Botha's offer last week to negotiate Mandela's release on humanitarian grounds if Angola re-

● To Page 2

MORE DRAMATIC REVELATIONS...

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — State President P W Botha's offer to release Nelson Mandela on humanitarian grounds came a step closer to reality yesterday with a series of dramatic revelations.

☐ Western diplomatic sources and strategic analysts said Botha's offer was made with inside knowledge of the imminent East-West spy swop involving Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky.

☐ Senior US sources confirmed that the swop would take place "in the next week".

☐ Western diplomatic sources said senior officials of the South African National Intelligence Service (NIS) had had contacts with an Eastern bloc country over the past few weeks.

● From page 1

Cabinet 'backs' release

leased South African recce captive Wynand du Toit and the Soviet Union lifted its banishment of Nobel Prize physicist Andrei Sakharov and freed Jewish dissident Anatoly Shcharansky.

While he doubted such an arrangement was likely, he believed the "vast majority, if not all" of the Cabinet wanted Mandela out of jail if this could be done without provoking a major incident of political violence.

Angola has already rejected the Mandela-Du Toit link, but political analysts say they expect Pretoria to take up Luanda's counter-offer to exchange the South African for a Cuban and an undisclosed number of Angolan prisoners-of-war currently held by South Africa.

The NP source discounted rumours of a split in government over Botha's exchange offer on Friday — a rumour fuelled by the fact that the text of the President's speech dealing with Mandela was delivered to journalists separately from the main text, and only after Botha had risen to speak.

This was a measure of the steps taken to prevent the Mandela offer leaking out since advance texts of the main speech had been transmitted to SA missions abroad.

The source said he doubted Botha was aware of any breakthrough in US-Soviet negotiations for the release of Shcharansky and Sakharov when he made the exchange offer on Friday.

Unofficial signs of a breakthrough came at the weekend when the West German newspaper *Bild* reported that Shcharansky and 12 Western spies would soon be exchanged for a number of Eastearn bloc spies held by the US and West Germany. The paper said the Soviet Union had refused to bring Sakharov into the deal.

There have been suggestions US officials might have briefed Botha on the negotiations, prompting him to link Mandela's freedom to that of the Soviet dissidents.

If Botha was unaware of the impending Shcharansky breakthrough, that, coupled with the Angolan counter-offer to exchange Du Toit, could bring the President perilously close to being hounded by international pressure to honour his offer on Mandela.

☐ Winnie Mandela was tight-lipped when she left Cape Town yesterday after a visit to her husband. The man who drove her to D F Malan Airport said she did not wish to comment as the reasons for the visit were not for publication.

CAPE Times 4/2/86

MP Stofberg sets off time-warp

304A

By ORMANDE POLLOK

PARLIAMENT went into something akin to a time-warp yesterday as the clock turned back 16 years.

There was the loquacious MP for Worcester strongly defending the traditional Nationalist apartheid philosophy of strict separation of the races, by implication in virtually everything from birth to death.

Baying at him just like in the bad old days were "die sappe" — the now defunct United Party.

But it wasn't the MP for Worcester of old.

It was a much greyer, more strident and battle-weary Mr Louis Stofberg, former Nationalist MP for Worcester and now the new Herstigte Nasionale Party MP for Sasolburg.

And it wasn't the old United Party baying at him either.

It was "die nuwe sappe" — the National Party of today who have comfortably slipped on the mantle of reform they once disdained with such eloquence.

Mr Stofberg left the National Party in 1969 with Dr Albert Hertzog because of the "liberal" Nats. He has come "second" in a dozen or more by-elections since then until winning Sasolburg last year.

There were the old United Party stalwarts, Mr John Wiley, Mr Myburgh Streicher and Mr Ron Miller stoutly denouncing apartheid just like good old "sappe".

But they are "sappe" no more.

Mr Wiley, who strongly defended his former leader, Sir de Villiers Graaff, is the Nationalist Minister of Environment and Tourism, Mr Ron Miller is "Pik's sidekick" as deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Streicher, former Cape leader of the UP, is one of the NP's most senior frontbenchers.

But Mr Stofberg had the last laugh. He recalled that the most famous "sap" leader of all, General Jannie Smuts, said in 1947 that segregation had fallen on evil times.

"A year later he was voted out of power. Now the bells are ringing for National Party," said Mr Stofberg.

Now — back to 1986.

INSIDE

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dining room row

By BARRY STREEK

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The refusal of service yesterday in a House of Assembly restaurant to Labour Party ministers and MPs was a disgrace, a Progressive Federal Party frontbencher, Mr Horace van Rensburg, said yesterday.

This action was totally contrary to the spirit and content of the State President's speech last week, Mr Van Rensburg said during the no confidence debate in the House of Assembly.

His attack followed an incident yesterday when a number of Labour Party MPs, including two ministers in the House of Representatives, entered a restaurant which is reserved for the use of members of the House of Assembly and were refused service.

Controversy

Among those understood to have been refused service in the restaurant yesterday were the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, Mr David Curry, and the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim.

Yesterday's incident follows a controversy last year over the use of the parliamentary dining rooms by coloured and Indian MPs.

It was decided then that the two main Parliamentary restaurants could be used by all MPs, but that the House of Assembly restaurant in the precincts of the House of Assembly would be reserved for the exclusive use of members of the House of Assembly.

Last night, the Labour Party held a special meeting about the incident and resolved to send a delegation to see Mr Speaker (Mr Johan Greeff). No formal statement was issued after the meeting, but it is understood that the caucus was angry about the incident.

One of the MPs involved, Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP for Addo, said last night that the matter would be raised in the no confidence debate.

Mr Hendrickse also

To Page 4

Slabbert warns of escalating violence

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Conflict, siege and escalating violence would inevitably haunt South Africa unless the government completely scrapped apartheid and then unbanned the ANC, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, warned yesterday.

He was introducing the no-confidence debate that dominated a series of heated clashes between government and opposition spokesman on how to deal with the ANC and on the government's sincerity in moving away from apartheid.

Dr Slabbert said there was no doubt that apartheid as a political system had used and generated violence.

"Therefore, to eliminate apartheid is to eliminate the very important source of violence in our society."

The Progressive Federal Party leader called on the government finally to remove all apartheid legislation which the ANC and others cite as their cause for their commitment to violence.

'New challenge'

After restoring freedom of choice on a non-racial and non-ethnic basis for all South Africans, the government should legalize the ANC and release political prisoners so that they could participate peacefully in domestic politics.

"The ANC will be faced with an entirely new challenge — to move from being a charismatic movement in exile to a political organization with practical programmes and principles in the domestic situation."

Dr Slabbert warned that the government's characterization of the ANC as an external group, funded and controlled by Moscow, engaging in acts of terror was both oversimplified and shortsighted.

Surveys conducted in major urban centres had shown that the majority of blacks supported or sympathised with the banned organization.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

Dr Slabbert stressed that "the use of terror to achieve political objectives fills me with a deep sense of revulsion".

For this reason he condemned both the use of violence by the ANC and "the use of arbitrary violence by the State against its opponents whenever or wherever it occurs".

Referring to his decision to meet ANC leaders in Lusaka last year, Dr Slabbert said that although he abhorred violence he would "not hesitate to talk to those who use violence in order to seek ways to persuade them otherwise".

Replying to Dr Slabbert, government ministers attacked both the ANC and the PFP's stand on the banned organization.

The Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Mr John Wiley, said the government meeting the demands of the ANC or the UDF would amount to "total surrender".

He accused Dr Slabbert of "parlaying with terrorists" and of surrendering to the "forces of the Left" by going to speak with the ANC in Lusaka.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, said that Dr Slabbert had given credibility to the ANC and that it was "clear that the PFP is prepared to capitulate to the forces of violence in South Africa".

The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said that although the government was now prepared to release Mr Nelson Mandela on "humanitarian grounds", the ANC leader would still be fully subject to the laws of the country if he were released.

● Govt must 'spell out its plans', page 4

● Leading article, page 8

BUS DAY 304A 4/2/86

Mandela deal seen as impractical



● BOTHA

MARGARET SMITH

LONDON — President P W Botha's offer to free African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in return for the release of two leading Russian dissidents and an army officer held by Angola was seen as impractical in Western capitals yesterday.

Officials at the Russian Foreign Ministry in Moscow were at a loss when asked by a representative of the Fleet Street newspaper, the *Sunday Telegraph*, for their government's reaction.

They said they had no information available on the issue and that they knew nothing further about Botha's suggestion.

But campaigners for Russian dissidents in London and Jerusalem said they hoped the Russian leadership would seriously consider the move to free Andrei Sakharov from internal exile and Anatoly Shcharansky, who is held in a labour camp.

In Whitehall, a Foreign Office spokesman said Botha's speech — in which he made the offer — contained significant proposals on apartheid, although there were omissions. The full text was being studied with care.

Whitehall officials, however, commented that Botha's offer to release Mandela appeared to be a last-minute addition to his speech and it was unlikely that Russia would take it up.

Similar views were expressed in other Western capitals.

Tory MP Harvey Proctor welcomed Botha's speech as a definite move away from apartheid.

RICHARD WALKER reports from New York that Botha's offer to release Mandela was dismissed as a stunt by the *New York Times*.

"If he has moved at all, Botha has moved an inch. Plainly it is not enough," the newspaper editorialised.

"He surely did not mean it, but he now grants at least some resemblance between his and the Soviet Union's taking of political prisoners.

"This curious affirmation of the moral equivalence of prisoners of conscience is consistent with Botha's other declarations. He admits that significant change is overdue — indeed that apartheid is passé — but more to mollify foreign critics than to move his society away from racism."

While the Reagan administration welcomed the speech as important, the focus of the media stayed on the space shuttle disaster and gave it nowhere near the attention of last August's Durban speech.

Parliament and Politics

Banker: 'Speech justified optimism'

LONDON. — The Swiss banker at the centre of South Africa's foreign debt crisis gave guarded encouragement to President P W Botha yesterday.

But opinion in sympathetic Western capitals hardened with an emerging consensus that there was no substance to Mr Botha's fine-sounding rhetoric.

Swiss mediator Dr Fritz Leutwiler said from Basle, Switzerland yesterday that Mr Botha's speech to the opening of Parliament had justified his earlier optimism when he met Mr Botha three weeks ago.

"It is of paramount importance the way the bankers and the press will react, particularly in the United States," Dr Leutwiler said.

He was speaking in advance of a crucial meeting of South Africa's major foreign creditors to be held in London on February 20 to discuss Pretoria's proposals for rescheduling its frozen short-term debts.

The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, yesterday conditionally welcomed Mr Botha's suggestion that South Africa had outgrown the concept of apartheid.

"It has always seemed to me that the start of dealing with the problem is the acknowledgement that apartheid is over and the question to be dealt is, how are we going to deal with the transition to something else," he said.

He said, however, that he was concerned that the new South African position might be "too little, too late", and that the government may be unable to handle the transition away from apartheid.

The reaction from the usually sympathetic West German capital was less enthusiastic.





A Foreign Ministry official in Bonn gave an ominous "no comment" to inquiries about West German reaction to Mr Botha's speech.

West German Government sources said that there were no "practical measures" in the speech and that the official "no comment" reflected a growing impatience with the perceived lack of movement in Pretoria.

It was reiterated from Bonn that West Germany along with its partners in the European Community called upon the South African Government to "talk to the authentic representatives" of the black population in the country and to "release Nelson Mandela unconditionally".

A spokesman for the Social Democratic Party said the Social Democrats were tired of Mr Botha's announcements and no longer believed the South African Government was sincere in its reform promises.

It was learned that the European Community has decided to evaluate the situation in South Africa after promised changes have been implemented.

And in Lusaka the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, reportedly described the pace of reform in South Africa as "desperately slow".

A Foreign office spokesman said in London, however, that Sir Geoffrey had said that while the measures announced by Mr Botha fell well short of the requirements of the situation they did show "a developing insight into the direction in which South Africa should be moving".

Meanwhile the authoritative Financial Times said that a closer examination of the fine print of Mr Botha's fine-sounding speech "raises many of the old doubts about South African double-talk and coded language".

But the pro-Tory daily, The Times, in a sympathetic editorial headed "A Better Speech" concluded that Mr Botha's promises of power-sharing "are going to need some pretty hard bargaining before they are translated into an acceptable reality.

"But it is time, perhaps, for some temporary suspension, time to put President Botha to the test. Only by taking him at his word can they (the blacks) even begin to call his bluff".

Marshall Wilson reports from Melbourne that Australian newspapers reacted with disbelief.

"Botha's reluctance to face the issues"; "Botha: More of the same", and "Botha fails to inspire" were some of the newspaper headlines across the nation. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-AP

 STAR 4/2/86. 3 of A

Apartheid: let actions follow words — PFP

Political Staff

The official Opposition leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert yesterday welcomed President Botha's statement that apartheid was an outmoded concept and said the Government must now make it an outmoded practice as well.

On the first day of the no-confidence debates in Parliament, opposition parties called on the Government to say clearly what it intends doing about remaining apartheid laws in South Africa.

The official Opposition called for the dismantling of all remaining apartheid laws while the right-wing parties accused the Government of leading the country to racial integration and conflict.

Steps Dr Slabbert called for included:

- A declaration that the Government, having removed the cause of the ANC's commitment to violence, would allow that organisation and others to operate legally and peacefully;
- An announcement that a package of reform plans would be introduced to do away with existing inequalities in housing, education and welfare;
- Allowing for a period of time for political organisations to consolidate their support and stabilise their communities;
- The appointment of a multiracial monitoring board of appeal to which people could bring their grievances and suggestions;
- The appointment of a negotiating forum to which recognised political and community leaders could be invited to discuss how best a new constitution could be brought about.

Dr Slabbert asked:

- Will the Government remove all laws which compel persons on racial and ethnic grounds to live in a certain area, go to a certain school, and serve in a certain constitutional body for group purposes?
- Is the Government prepared to legalise the ANC and release political prisoners so they can participate peacefully in domestic politics?
- Is the Government prepared to negotiate with all leaders elected under conditions of freedom of choice in order to find acceptable constitutional alternatives?

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, moved an amendment expressing no confidence in the Cabinet on the grounds that it had embarked on a policy of power sharing without a mandate. He also accused the Government of not maintaining law and order.

Future lies in alliance of moderates — Raw

PARLIAMENT — South Africa's future lay in the formation of an alliance of moderates across party lines, **Mr Vause Raw (NRP, Durban Point)** said yesterday.

Speaking in the no-confidence debate, he said the ANC should be rejected in favour of bodies representing "responsible black opinion".

A legitimate power base had to be created in black townships, and the establishment of moderate political parties encouraged.



Mr Vause Raw . . . calls for Government to reject ANC.

Mr Raw quoted from an ANC pamphlet which stated that the visit of South African businessmen to meet leaders of the organisation in Lusaka last year had not changed the commitment to armed struggle.

"We should not give importance to the ANC," said Mr Raw. "Rather we should give status to bodies that represent responsible black opinion. The future

SA must bridge gap — Reddy

PARLIAMENT — Any solutions to South Africa's political ills must be able to bridge the gap between existing First and Third World conditions, **Dr Jayaram Reddy, Leader of the Opposition** in in the House of Delegates, said yesterday.

Moving his motion of no confidence in the Cabinet, he said the problem in South Africa was not only of minorities. Vast disparities existed in the economic development of various groups and regions.

"We have a mixture of the formal and informal sectors of the economy, with the white sector and only a small proportion of the black community participating in the formal sector," he said.

The informal sector, which involved a large percentage of blacks, was a dominant characteristic of Third World economy, Dr Reddy said.

Political detentions prejudiced the government's reform process, Dr Reddy added.He said the credibility of those negotiating was questioned and it became extremely difficult and embarrassing for those who wish to identify with reform to become actively involved.

"Let the people be free to choose their leaders either through the parliamentary process or through the organisations they have

moderates ... people who believe in a negotiated, peaceful future."

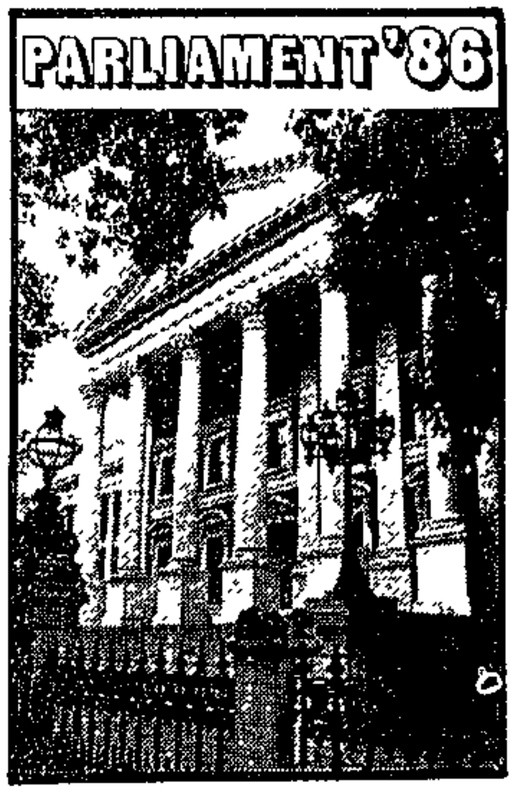
Mr Raw said the Government should ignore calls for the removal of the SADF from the townships. But he believed the solution to violence there lay in the training township "law and order units", under control of the local councils.

The Government had been "playing around" with this idea and about 90 such men had been trained. Mr Raw said he believed a crash course could be conducted to train sufficient numbers within a few months.

Commenting on the President Botha's speech on Friday, Mr Raw said he welcomed his declaration of intent and setting of yardsticks for measuring policy.

But he added that the speech would be "stillborn unless it is accompanied by a philosophic approach from the Government to make it work quickly and effectively".

Referring to the proposal that a national council be created for negotiation between all groups, Mr Raw said this body should be clearly linked to the Government and be a step toward bringing blacks into Parliament. — Sapa.



"No one should be denied the right to participate and all political detainees, including Nelson Mandela, should be released to lead their people", he said.

"When I call for the release of political detainees, the lifting of the state of emergency and for violence to end, I am not doing so because those in Parliament lead the reform process. Those extra-Parliamentary organisations also to have a role to play," Dr Reddy said.

"Negotiation can only take place when frustration and bitterness have subsided", he said. — Sapa.

'PFP ready to capitulate to forces of violence'

PARLIAMENT — The Progressive Federal Party aided and abetted the forces of violence by calling for the withdrawal of security forces from the townships, the **Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller**, said yesterday.

Speaking in the No-Confidence Debate, he said he had warned the leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, before and would warn him again that if one first associated with those who committed violence, then negotiated with them, one would end up by condoning violence and participating in it.

The PFP was "ready to capitulate to the forces of violence", Mr Miller said.

It wanted the security forces withdrawn from the townships, leaving them open to the "criminal elements" such as the UDF, the ANC and Azapo.

Mr Miller said it was time for the moderates in the party to reconsider their allegiances.

The five members of the NRP should also "follow their supporters and come and support us".

Mr Miller said the path of evolutionary change chosen by the National Party was the only one with a hope of long-term peace and prosperity for South Africa.

The Government had never done what was merely expedient in order to gain popularity, but had taken into consideration what was best for all South Africans.

There were few people who would say that the country was worse off today than it had been 10 years ago.

All the statistics that "really count", such as the literacy rate, the average standard of living, the number of black pupils at schools and the number of whites at university, showed the country was better off than before, he said.

Members might ask about unrest in the townships, but this was "precisely" the kind of generalisation that got into the overseas

Treurnicht slams reforms

'PW has no mandate for power sharing'



Dr Andries Treurnicht . . . Govt has failed in three respects.

The Government had no mandate to include blacks in power sharing, the leader of the Conservative Party, **Dr Andries Treurnicht**, said in the House of Assembly's No-Confidence Debate yesterday.

Referring to Friday's announcement by the State President of a National Statutory Council, on which blacks would be represented, he asked:

"Where does he (Mr P W Botha), the National Party, the Government or its coalition partners (the coloureds and the Indians) get a mandate to make such an announcement?"

Dr Treurnicht moved an amendment to Dr van Zyl Slabbert's earlier motion of no confidence in the Cabinet, also asking for a vote of no confidence, but giving three reasons why this should be done.

Firstly, because the Cabinet was "now, without a mandate from the white electorate, announcing and implementing power sharing in respect of blacks as well, which is fatal to white self-determination and peace among the peoples of Southern Africa".

Secondly, the Cabinet had failed to maintain law and order and to ensure the safety of the inhabitants of South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht's last reason for a vote of no confidence was that the Cabinet had failed to combat inflation, restore the economy and check the further impoverishment of the country's citizens.

On President Botha's proposal on Friday for a joint Southern African organisation to ensure peace and to counter threats to security among the region's states, the CP leader said this would create enormous problems.

It could never mean that South Africa would be in a position to overcome a military assault on its territory, the CP leader said.

Dr Treurnicht also rejected the State President's suggestion that imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela could be released on humanitarian grounds.

"The State President talked of violence but he did not repeat that he expected Mandela to renounce violence," he said.

HUMANE TREATMENT

On the issue of "humanitarian" grounds, Dr Treurnicht said there was no doubt Mandela was being treated "humanely" while imprisoned.

"You cannot release a man on humanitarian grounds who has said he will go back to organising violence."

Dr Treurnicht also referred to Bishop Desmond Tutu, asking: "How much more must this turbulent bishop do before his passport is withdrawn?"

Bishop Tutu had done everything he could to support sanctions against South Africa, supported the ANC, and had even gone so far as to say he did not rule out giving personal support to an armed black rebellion.

"This man has done enough," Dr Treurnicht said.

On incursions across South Africa's borders, the CP leader said retaliation in certain instances was justified and that insurgents' bases in neighbouring countries should be eliminated. — Sapa.

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THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER FOR DECISION MAKERS

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4/2/86 BUS DAY .304A

I will not hesitate to talk to ANC again — Slabbert



● SLABBERT

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Leader of the Progressive Federal Party Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday he would not hesitate to hold further talks with the ANC if he believed it would help to reduce violence.

"If I thought it would serve any purpose to reduce violence, I would go to Lusaka tomorrow, whatever the government may say or feel," Slabbert said in moving his motion of no confidence.

"Although I deplore and abhor violence, I will not hesitate to talk to those who use violence to seek ways to persuade them otherwise.

"I have talked for 12 years to this government to get rid of apartheid in order to reduce violence, and there is no reason why I should not talk to others who are caught up in the cycle of violence."

Slabbert said that to remove apartheid would be to eliminate a "very important source of violence in our society".

The modern state had a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence.

"But when it does so without justice, in an arbitrary manner and without those who suffer from it having any recourse to the courts, the state loses that legitimacy and very often forces its opponents to seek violence in return. In this way, violence begets violence."

Slabbert condemned the use of violence by the ANC, the state and other organisations.

"I condemn black-on-black, white-on-black and black-on-white violence.

"The use of terror to achieve political objectives fills me with a deep sense of revulsion.

"The petrol bomb, the indiscriminate use of landmines, the torture chamber, burning of villages and houses and the terrorising of children are instruments of political thuggery which cannot be justified by any cause that I wish to support.

"If South Africa should become completely polarised between two opposites depending on such methods to gain the upper hand over the other, there will be no winners, only losers." — Sapa.

Plan for change in SA set out

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has challenged government to implement a programme of action that would enable the politics of negotiation to get off the ground.

Opening yesterday's no-confidence debate, Slabbert welcomed State President P W Botha's declaration on Friday that apartheid was now an outdated concept.

Now it was up to government to take steps to ensure it became an outdated practice, said Slabbert.

He proposed that government should:

☐ Immediately repeal all laws and statutes keeping apartheid in place;

☐ Declare that under these new circumstances causes cited by the ANC and others for their commitment to violence had been removed, and that they therefore could operate legally and peacefully in SA together with other political groups;

☐ Release all political prisoners so that they could do the same;

☐ Announce then a package of reforms to do away as best as possible with *de facto* inequalities in housing, education and welfare — instead of doing so in a piecemeal fashion now;

☐ Allow a period of time for political ever it wants to do in any case.

● **Other reports from Parliament: Page 2.**

"Because of government's contempt of Parliament it is becoming more remote from the rest of society, and the people know less of what is going on in the country.

"More and more it is a government by stealth and subterfuge," charged Slabbert.

He called for answers to the following questions:

☐ What role Parliament played in governing the country. "At present it is kept in ignorance, ignored or even misinformed on key issues affecting our country.";

☐ To whom the military and executive

● To Page 2 ⇨

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P. T. O.

Slabbert: Inquiries from 3 varsities

30/4 February 1986

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

A TEACHING post at a university is one of the options being considered by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

He announced on Friday his resignation as leader of the Progressive Federal Party and Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly.

Dr Slabbert may also write another book and will be seeing a publisher this week.

He said today that he had received tentative inquiries from three universities, but was not sure what he would do.

"HELPFUL"

He would also consider being a political consultant.

Dr Slabbert said he would not be joining in "protest politics". It had been wrongly implied that he was storming out of politics to do so.

While there is a great deal of bitterness in the PFP about Dr Slabbert's move — some senior members of the party have not spoken to him since his announcement and were absent from the Assembly yesterday — reactions from party ranks have not all been negative.

CHAIRMAN

● A former chairman of the Border branch of the PFP, Mr Donald Card, has resigned from the party in support of Dr Slabbert's move, Sapa reports.

The party's regional chairman, Mr Sandy Stretton, said the party regretted the resignations.

● The Houghton constituency committee of the PFP has recorded its regret at Dr Slabbert's resignation and expressed disappointment at the manner and timing of it.

Sapa reports that a spokesman emphasised the constituency's determination to continue "advancing the aims and the principles of the PFP which transcend any individual considerations".

The committee was convinced the continued presence of the PFP as the official Opposition was essential.

● Eglin front-runner, Page 3.

Stance 'will soften'

ALAN PEAT

PRESIDENT P W Botha's speech on Friday will do much to soften the aggressive stance taken by British businessmen, says Natal Chamber of Industries president Alex Hamilton.

Hamilton, who has just returned from Britain, where he was a member of a five-man delegation representing the Natal business community, says many political leaders and businessmen the team met expect the earlier reforms announced by government to be implemented.

Hamilton supports moves to free conditions for the informal business sector.

"There are enormous costs and restrictions on setting up a small business. In South Africa, the formation of informal and small businesses is necessary for continuing prosperity. The whole process of setting up a small business should be no more complicated than applying for a trading licence."

CAPE TIMES 5/2/86

Parliament and Politics

Buthelezi considers National Council

JOHANNESBURG. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday he would consider taking part in the State President's planned statutory National Council.

Addressing the 9th Annual International Investment Conference here, Chief Buthelezi commended Mr Botha for "grasping the nettle of constitutional change so boldly with his own hands" and said the fact that Mr Botha would personally chair the council put it at the top of the government's priorities.

He emphasized, however, that the council required certain essential ingredients to succeed.

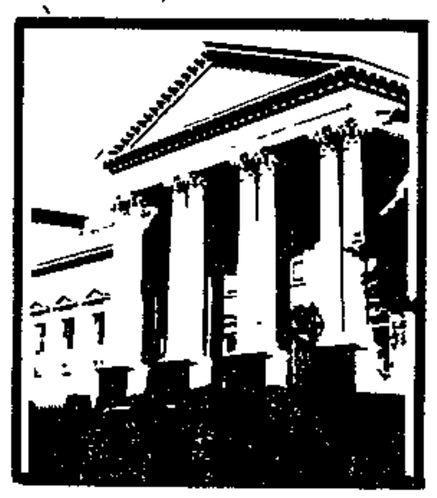
Although Mr Botha had implied that there would be no pre-conditions, it was vital, he said, that there should be a prepared agenda and that its deliberations should take place in public.

Chief Buthelezi told the conference that a one man-one vote ideal remained his first cherished ideal. It was a workable ideal if it incorporated the Rule of Law, a Bill of Rights and an independent judiciary.

White resistance to this workable model was such, however, that it would have to be "rammed down their throats with the butts of guns", and this would destroy all chance of its working.

Given the degree of violence needed to bring about one man-one vote in a unitary state, he had necessarily to think in terms of alternatives.

Chief Buthelezi said, however, that he utterly rejected the scorched-earth policy. "I do not wish to inherit a country in ashes," he told the 500 industrialists, investors, bankers, and brokers,



many of whom had come from the US, Germany, France, the UK and Switzerland.

He launched an astonishing public attack on the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, accusing Mr Myburgh of "pontificating", of being "inept" and of making "fatuous statements".

He said Mr Myburgh had "on no single occasion left the luxury of his Johannesburg existence and ventured from his office to come to Ulundi to see me and hear black views at first hand".

He said: "In 1983 Mr Tertius Myburgh said it all for inept white South Africa. He and his newspaper campaigned vigorously for the acceptance of the tri-cameral Parliament as the first step in the right direction. He proclaimed the new constitution to be a vital step in the salvation of our country.

"Now that the new constitution is so patently in need of being scrapped, I fear that the Tertius Myburgh mentality will be as inept at doing the right thing as it was incapable of doing the wrong thing in 1983."

He said that in the latest Sunday Times, Mr Myburgh pontificated about the State President's speech as though he did not pass "blundering opinions" about the State President a few years ago.

He said that in a national crisis editors such as Mr Myburgh should stop making "fatuous statements" about what blacks should or should not do.

Chief Buthelezi expressed his full support for the free-enterprise system, and pleaded for the international community to give big business in South Africa every possible support as it set about making free enterprise a pertinent factor in the creation of a fair and just country. — Own correspondent and Sapa

● More reports on the conference, page 12

Stofberg: Botha selling out Afrikaner

Staff Reporter

MR LOUIS STOFBERG, the lone Herstigte Nasionale Party MP, told a public meeting last night that the National Party was "fast bending to the will of the blacks and selling out the Afrikaner".

"I have been shocked by the left-wing propaganda I have heard in Parliament," he told a cheering crowd of about 600 in the Parow Civic Centre. "The government is betraying the country and is cheating the Afrikaner of his birthright. Power is slipping from our hands."

To cries of "traitors" and "scandal" from the audience, Mr Stofberg said that Mr P W Botha was being "pushed by radicals into accepting power-sharing".

"The demonstration held by coloured MPs in the parliamentary dining room is a disgraceful example of how Afrikaner power is being eroded. Their next move will be to demonstrate in the House of Assembly and to refuse to move from there for the same reason.

"How far is Mr Botha prepared to go in trying to satisfy left-wing demands?

"After his disastrous speech in Durban last year, he stood just before the Rubicon like a stubborn donkey. But then he gave in to pressure from the progressives, international finance and other left-wing elements," he said.

"When, last Friday, Mr Botha said apartheid had run its course, I knew these groups had finally dragged him across the Rubicon."

Registered at GPO as a Newspaper

DURBAN, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1986

40c (36c + 4c GST)

Minister dents new reform image

CAPE TOWN—National Party circles were concerned last night that one of its most senior ministers, Mr F W de Klerk, may have diluted favourable international reaction to President Botha's new reform message.

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

Mr de Klerk, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly, white Education Minister and Transvaal leader of the NP, was reported by the World Service of the BBC yesterday to have said that as long as the Nationalists were in power there would be racially segregated schools and residential areas.

While this is official Government policy it was feared that his reported remarks could have undone some of the good created by the President's speech at the opening of Parliament.

Coexistence

Mr de Klerk was said to have made the remarks at a meeting of foreign correspondents here.

He dealt with the subject in Parliament yesterday afternoon and said the recognition of different groups in South Africa was not discriminatory per se but was a condition for peaceful coexistence.

There were certain fundamental issues which were irrevocably bound to group identity

'The most important of these is that each group should have a community life of its own,' he said.

'This involves own residential areas, their own schools, their own institutions and structures in which their own character can be maintained.'

Mr de Klerk was later attacked by Mr Harry Schwarz, the Opposition's chief spokesman on finance, who said he had done a disservice to those who were trying to defend South Africa abroad.

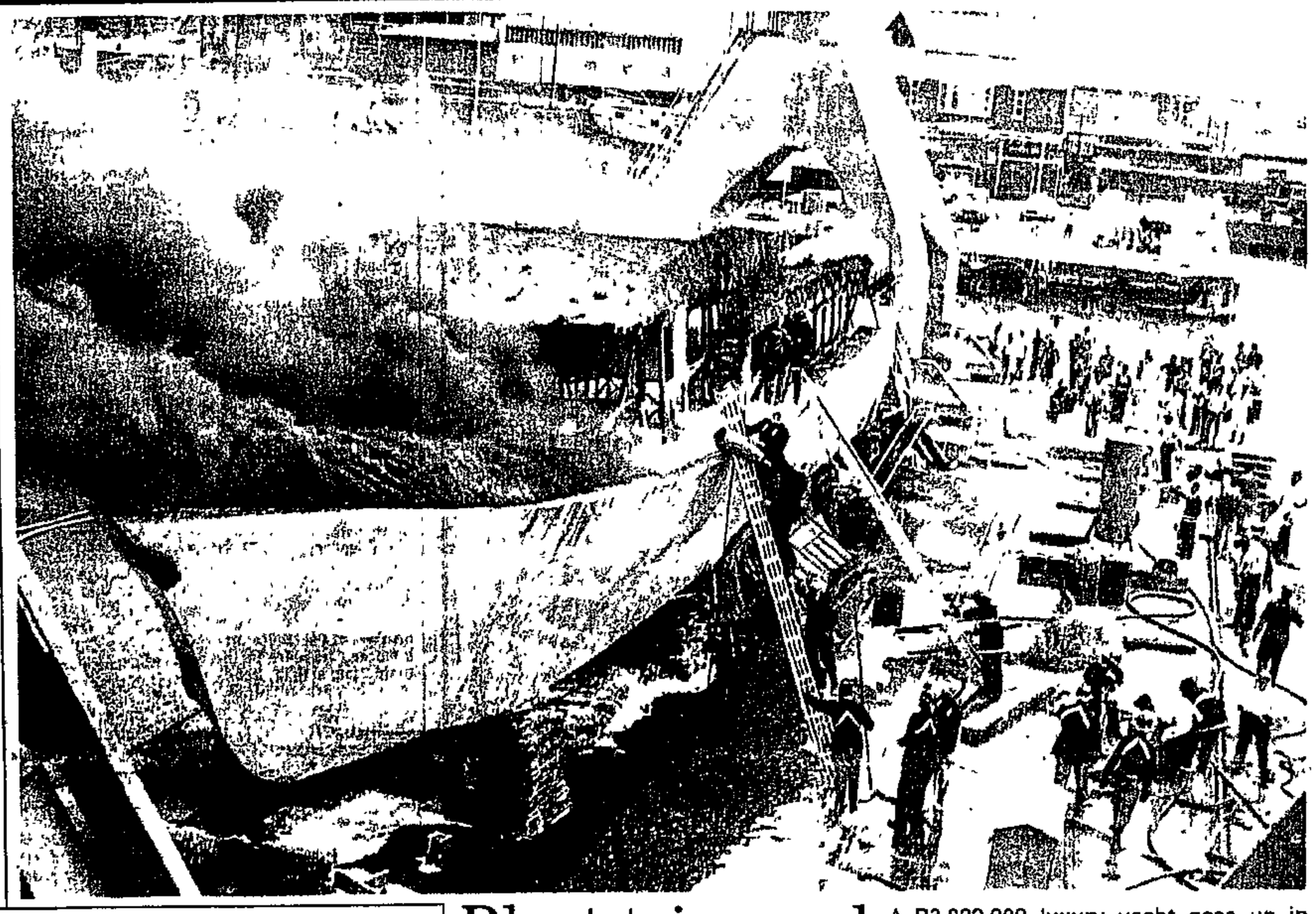
There was concern later about how Mr de Klerk's remarks would be interpreted abroad.

Our parliamentary correspondent reports that in an exchange across the floor with Mr John Malcomess, (PFP, Port Elizabeth Central) during the no-confidence debate, the Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, and Mr de Klerk admitted that the Government's reform policy still embodied separate schools and separate residential areas.

Over the limit

PRETORIA—Water consumption from the Rand Water Board continues to exceed the quota. According to figures released by the board,

Harbour blaze



Blast-triggered

A R3 000 000 luxury yacht goes up in

De Kock lauds Botha's speech



● DE KOCK

JOHN TILSTON

THE President's speech has opened the way for more rapid growth and a substantial improvement in the overall economic situation and prospects, according to Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock.

De Kock told delegates at the annual Frankel Kruger investment conference yesterday that the time for another "prepare to meet thy boom" statement might not be far off.

But he cautioned that inflation could accelerate from its current record levels before starting to decline.

The present stance of monetary policy, however, "in no way implies any weakening of the resolve of the monetary authorities to curb inflation. We have not thrown in the towel in the fight against it. Far from it," he said.

He would make no specific predictions on what might happen to short-term interest rates in the near future, asking which central banker would.

But he said that he did not believe interest rates would move up in the weeks and months ahead.

"At present there are no strong forces influencing them upwards or downwards. A further decline in interest rates cannot be ruled out, particularly if the money growth rate remains around its present low level," De Kock said.

But if, in the wake of the President's speech, the upswing were to gain momentum faster than expected, short-term rates might well tend to edge up again later this year or in 1987.

If they did so, he said, it would be part and parcel of a policy designed to prevent the money supply from rising too rapidly and creating new demand inflationary pressures.

De Kock reported that the current account on the balance of payments had grown to "a staggering" annualised rate of about R11bn (about 9% of gross domestic product) during the fourth quarter of last year, bringing the actual surplus for the whole of 1985 to nearly R7bn.

This was likely to lead to a stronger rand and a rise in the gold and foreign exchange reserves.

He said that as the policies outlined in the President's speech were implemented in the months ahead, overseas perceptions of SA's socio-political and economic prospects should show a marked improvement.

This in turn should greatly ease the pressure on the capital account of the balance of payments and facilitate the current debt negotiations.

P W's political future hinges on new deal — Buthelezi

PETER HONEY

PRESIDENT P W Botha had staked his political future on success of the proposed national statutory council, KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the conference yesterday.

By chairing the council himself Botha was signalling that it was at the top of government's priorities.

The President was "possibly establishing the final arena in which his statesmanship will be tested to the limit", Buthelezi said.

It was a courageous step but Botha could succeed only if blacks made the council work.

Buthelezi — regarded as a key factor in government's constitutional plans for blacks — said the statutory council needed an agenda and a declaration of intent before he could decide on participation.

The council should also deliberate in public, he added.

"I am prepared to negotiate ... but I would lose all utility to my country if I destroyed my credibility in the process of attempting to get the politics of negotiation off the ground."

He said a one-man-one-vote system remained his first cherished ideal. It would work if it incorporated the rule of law, a bill of rights and an independent judiciary.

White resistance to this workable model was such, however, that it would have to be "rammed down their throats with the butts of guns", and this would destroy all chance of it working.

He warned that if a federal or other system were not available to blacks, or if there could not be movement towards a one-man-one-vote system in phases acceptable to whites, there would be nothing left but to destroy the country.

There were certainly no options in which blacks were excluded from meaningful decision-making in the land of their birth. Given the circumstances, blacks and whites had no option but to be involved jointly in politics in which compromises simply had to be made.

He said there was no possibility of compromise politics taking place within the present tricameral parliamentary system.

Muller is aiming for better representation on efficient council

STAR (384A) 5/2/86

The Progressive Federal Party candidate for Randburg's Ward Six is Mr Dick Muller (40), who heads his own executive recruitment consultancy in Randburg.

Mr Muller is married and has three children. This is his first experience of running for public office.

A member of the Randburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Muller says he represents the man in the street who is being overgoverned, overcharged and overtaxed.

He stands for improved representation on the council.

Mr Muller aims to see a PFP-controlled council which will hold more consultations with residents and be more actively involved with ratepayers' associations.

An important aim of his councillorship will be to expand the ratepayers' organisations to ensure effective representation of residents' interests.

He feels the general economic situation has been exacerbated for Randburg residents by the mismanagement of town affairs, causing, for example, a 51 percent increase in electricity tariffs over the past 18 months.

Mr Muller feels the council has not tried to solve the vagrancy and vandalism problems at the Braamfontein Spruit.

He aims to erect a low fence to stop motorcyclists from vandalising the area and plans to have more wardens patrolling the spruit.



Mr Dick Muller

Mr Muller feels the PWV 3 is unjustified and opposes its construction. He endorses the resolution taken by residents at a recent meeting to petition the State President asking him for the deproclamation of the road.

Mr Muller spent most of his youth in Randburg while completing his schooling at the King Edward School.

Sales manager Serfontein is trying to win back old seat

The National Party candidate for Randburg's Ward Six is sales manager Mr Jan Serfontein (49), who has been a party member for more than 27 years.

He is standing to recapture the seat he lost to PFP Councillor Mrs Del Kevan in the 1982 elections. Her resignation earlier this year resulted in this by-election.

Mr Serfontein became involved in Randburg politics in 1972 and was first elected to council for the Ward Six Blairgowrie South seat in 1977.

He served as deputy-mayor and was elected chairman of the Randburg Environmental Control Committee. Under his leadership, Randburg was designated the cleanest town in South Africa.

Mr Serfontein initiated the "Trash for Cash" project in 1980 and was given an honorary award by the Institute of Solid Waste Management for his contributions to the recycling of waste.



Mr Jan Serfontein

Mr Serfontein is married and has one child.

As an experienced councillor, he believes in a policy of management according to long-term objectives.

He feels the council is sufficiently involved with ratepayers' associations, but stresses that it should approach residents about all major decisions.

An important aim of his councillorship will be the upgrading of the Braamfontein Spruit by identifying and solving the cause of the silting and vegetation problems.

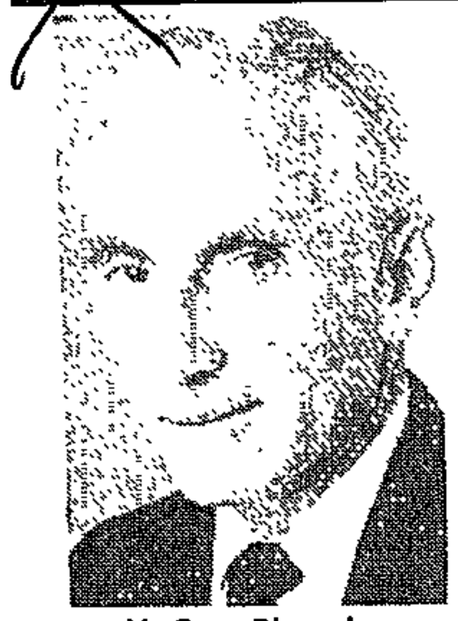
He also plans to institute more council inspections of the area to combat the problems of squatting and dumping.

As a candidate, he is remaining out of the PWV3 debate, but says he will oppose any new roads which threaten the Randburg environment.

He aims to provide good services to the town and apply effective budget controls to minimise rate increases.

5/2/86. STAR (BODA)

Safe suburbs top Bloomberg's priority list



Mr Sam Bloomberg

The National Party candidate in Johannesburg's Ward 30 is well-known businessman and head of Suicides Anonymous, Mr Sam Bloomberg.

He sees the voters comprising mainly working class people. Many are single parents and working mothers, pensioners and university students. Of the 5 678 registered voters, there are about the same number of English and Afrikaans-speaking people. Many voters have left the suburbs.

The most pressing problems are:

● Crime and lack of security, noise, neglected pavements, litter, vagrancy, hooliganism, dangerous traffic, neglect in maintenance of buildings, few recreational facilities and no council creches.

He regards security as his priority and he intends to make the suburbs safe and peaceful again. He says he has already played a substantial part in the establishing of the Yeoville Police Station.

He will work towards the improvement of the bus services, and the pavements which are in a state of neglect.

He is presently engaged in an infrastructure survey to pinpoint problem pavement areas and will liaise with the relevant council committee on the estimate to improve the situation.

The recession has resulted in unemployment, forcing some people to share accommodation or live in communes. Mr Bloomberg sees no short-term hope for a fall in the inflation rate but in the long term he believes the Government's policies will ease the position.

He believes he can be more effective as a member of the ruling party which he sees as the voice of reform.

Three by-elections for Witwatersrand

Local politicians in three Witwatersrand areas are campaigning for by-elections to be held within the next month. *The Star* has interviewed all the candidates to determine their views on important ratepayer issues. In Johannesburg, voters in Ward 30 (Bellevue) go to the polls on February 26 to choose between the Progressive Federal Party candidate Mr Tony Leon (29) and the National Party's Mr Sam Bloomberg (60). Voters in Randburg's Ward Six (Blairgowrie South) must decide on Feburary 19 whether to cast their votes for NP hopeful Mr Jan Serfontein (49) or PFP candidate Mr Dick Muller (40). In Germiston's Ward 10 (Germiston Central), the candidates for the by-election on March 5 are Mr Derek Christophers of the Germiston Ratepayers Association, Mr Leon Louw of the Germiston Tax Savers Association and independents Mr Johan de Villiers and Mr Basil Brand.

Fighting crime is Leon's priority

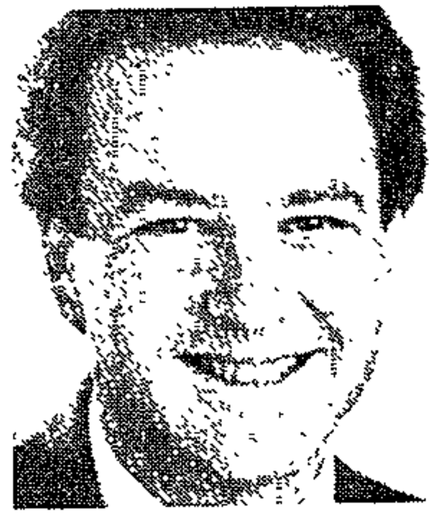
The PFP candidate in Johannesburg's Ward 30 is Mr Tony Leon — a lawyer and lecturer.

He sees his voters as mainly young professionals, students, working people, middle-income families and pensioners, many living in flats and some in their own houses.

The most pressing problems in his ward are:

● Crime and security — most homes have security gates, and most of those who do not have this kind of safety have first-hand experience of muggings and theft. He will support MP Harry Schwartz's attempts to get back the "bobby-on-the-beat" and form a ratepayers' association so any police action can be community orientated.

● The high cost of living — including soaring municipal services like electricity, gas, water and refuse removal tariffs — and bad management of the city's resources by the City Council.



Mr Tony Leon

● Noise created by the major roads such as Bezuidenhout, Cavendish and De la Rey streets and Berea Road. He will fight for more traffic lights to slow down the traffic. The council will be asked to crack down on people who exceed the decible limit.

● A Bellevue bus stop in Eloff Street for homeward-bound commuters.

● The upgrading and beautifying of the ward to create a more stable population living in flats.

Mr Leon believes the PFP's local track record under Sam Moss has shown it is determined to improve conditions and facilities in Johannesburg. On a national basis he sees the PFP under the dynamic leadership of Dr van Zyl Slabbert moving the country forward at all levels to real reform and security.



Mr Derek Christophers



Mr Leon Louw

A better Germiston

The wheels have been set in motion as the four candidates contesting the Ward 10 by-election in Germiston on March 5 start canvassing in earnest.

The seat vacated by the resignation of the PFP member Mr Pierre de Robillard due to business reasons will be hotly contested.

The candidates are: Mr Derek Christophers, who is standing for the Germiston Ratepayers' Association, Mr Leon Louw for the Germiston Tax Savers' Association, Mr Johan de Villiers, an independent and Mr Basil Brand, who is also running independently.

Mr Christophers, a local businessman who has already served as mayor and a management committee member, aims to revive the decaying Central Business District in Germiston and is bent on shaking up major development projects which have remained dormant for years.

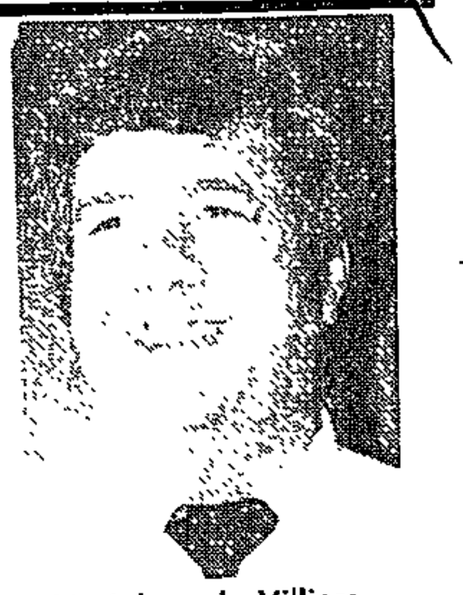
Mr Louw, head of a TED educational centre in Germiston and well known in teaching circles, is all for combatting higher taxation. He is keen to have Germiston Lake, much of which was destroyed after a development project flopped, restored to its natural state.

He also aims to revitalise the CBD which he says is essential for economic progress in the city.

Mr de Villiers, a businessman, focuses on the use of Germiston as a theme for his election campaign.

Mr de Villiers served a year as a councillor in Ward 10 about 10 years ago and was ousted in the following municipal elections.

Mr Brand, also a businessman, said he will strive to improve the city.



Mr Johan de Villiers



Mr Basil Brand

Briefing chance on speech was 'lost'

STAR SP 2/86
304A

By Hannes de Wet

The Government had lost valuable time in "selling" President P W Botha's opening of Parliament speech abroad, says Professor Carl Noffke, former information counsellor in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Commenting on the Government's internal advertising campaign to promote Mr Botha's pledges on political change, Professor Noffke said:

"While foreign perceptions are of the utmost importance, it appears that this campaign has thus far been limited to South Africa alone."

Just think, Professor Noffke said, what the impact would have been:

- If foreign heads of state and other leaders had seen, on Friday morning, the advertisement which appeared in South African newspapers — in the form of a letter signed by the President.
- If South Africa's "lobbyists" abroad were in the field on Friday morning, actively conveying the President's intentions to influential opinion leaders.
- If the President had invited all South African newspaper editors and foreign correspondents to his residence on Thursday night to discuss the speech with them. Such an opportunity could have been used to take the media into his confidence, and to explain his full intentions off the record.

FEEDBACKS

By doing that Mr Botha could have influenced the impact of his speech abroad in two ways.

Professor Noffke, director of the Institute for American Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University, explained:

"Foreign correspondents would have been able to send their first reports without having to guess about what lay behind the speech. In their feedbacks to their editors they would have been able to give a clear message about the implications of the speech.

"Instead, leading foreign editorial writers were searching in the dark in their leader articles on the speech.

"By taking South African editors into his confidence, Mr Botha would have indirectly influenced foreign perceptions. In gauging South African reaction to the speech, foreign correspondents take their cue from editorials in South African papers."

Running follow-up advertisements on the speech was an excellent idea — but it should form part of a broader communication strategy, said Professor Noffke.

De Klerk takes hard line on reform speech

NP stands by policy of separate facilities

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — A senior Cabinet Minister, **Mr F W de Klerk**, has told Parliament the National Party stands by its policy of separate residential areas, separate schools and separate institutions for different race groups.

His interpretation of President P W Botha's opening address to Parliament on the Government's reform initiatives drew immediate condemnation from the official Opposition in the House of Assembly.

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) accused Mr de Klerk of deliberately seeking to destroy the impact of President Botha's speech.

"He and everybody in this House knows you cannot defend apartheid overseas. What the Minister has done today is a disservice to the cause of those who try to defend South Africa abroad," Mr Schwarz said.

The clash occurred in the presence of President Botha and other Cabinet members who listened intently to proceedings on the second day of the no-confidence debate yesterday.

Mr de Klerk, the Transvaal leader of the National Party and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the Assembly, flatly rejected PFP arguments for a system of voluntary association, allowing individuals to associate with the population group of their choice.

Such an approach sounded nice, but would lead to chaos and confusion in South Africa, Mr de Klerk said.

He said there had to be a fixed ruling about group association applicable on a country-wide basis to create order.

Referring to remarks by President Botha about group protection, Mr de Klerk said it meant the National Party believed recognition of the importance of group existence was not in itself discriminatory.

PREREQUISITE

It was, in fact, a prerequisite for peaceful co-existence. Examples of the success of this approach were to be found throughout the world.

Mr de Klerk said the NP also believed there were certain fundamental matters inextricably bound to group security.

The most important of these was that each group had to have its own community life. This included own residential areas, own schools, own institutions and systems within which the group can maintain its own character and handle its own group interests.

Hailing President Botha's plan as the only alternative for South Africa, Mr de Klerk said it provided for power-sharing and separation of power, for co-operation as well as for group diversity, and for the elimination of discrimination as well as for the maintenance of group security.



Transvaal leader of the National Party Mr F W de Klerk.

In response Mr Schwarz said Mr de Klerk had not begun to understand there was a fundamental difference between freedom of association and restrictions imposed by law.

Nowhere else in the world was there a law which prevented people from associating with whom they wished to associate.

The Government had repealed provisions of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act which concerned the most intimate association between people and yet was retaining a law for less intimate associations, he said.

Schwarz calls for review of all country's laws

PARLIAMENT — The PFP MP for Yeoville, **Mr Harry Schwarz**, yesterday called for a review of all the country's laws and practices prior to the systematic removal from them of race discriminatory provisions.

Speaking during the No-Confidence Debate, he said even heavier pressure would be put on South Africa if the Government was slow in dismantling apartheid after the State President's promise to that effect.

"Therefore is it not now time to agree on a complete review of all laws and practices for the systematic removal of race discriminatory provisions from them?

"A select committee of Parliament to do this is the obvious machinery. I make the appeal that this be done."

Mr Schwarz said he feared that electoral considerations and pressure from the right might lead to some new measures initially being seen as "a milder version of the old laws."

"If this is so, the disappointment will be the greater because of the expectation."

The Government had to accept that the removal of apartheid would not be unanimously accepted in the white community and that the NP might lose a few more parliamentary seats.

REWARD

This had to be weighed against the possible long-term reward of acceptable long-term solutions to the country's problems.

Mr Schwarz said the dismantling of apartheid should not be "a long agonising process" applied reluctantly because of outside pressure or internal unrest.

The process should rather be seen as a genuine reassessment of policy and a new approach to plans for co-existence.

"If the process be reluctant, hesitant or slow, even heavier pressure will be put on to accelerate a process to which the Government is committed — pressure which will cause damage and which is undesirable as well as unnecessary."

Referring to the State President's speech at the opening of Parliament last week, Mr Schwarz said the Government's commitment to collective negotiation would not be "an easy road to follow".

There was a need to negotiate "with the real leadership, neither self-elected, media-created or individually projected".

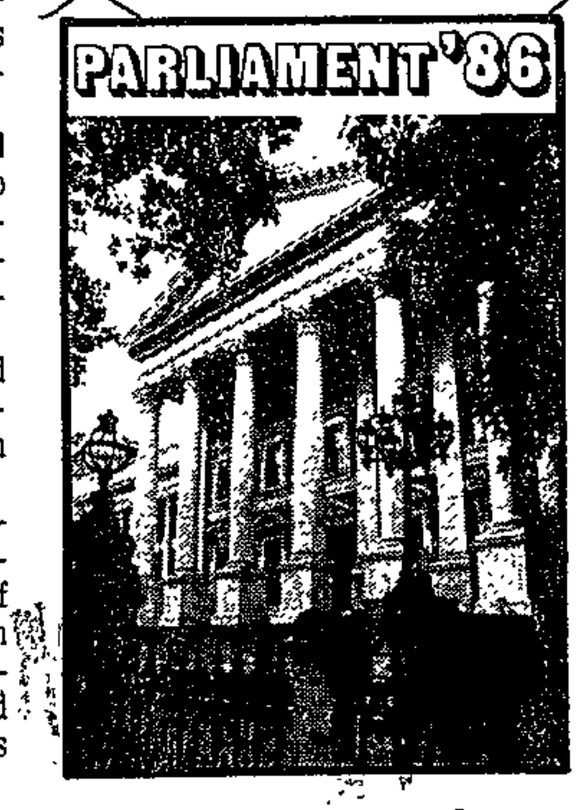
"There is a real risk that unless the representatives of the negotating parties and their motives and objectives and willingness to compromise is established, negotiations will not be meaningful and results negatory".

Mr Schwarz said he construed Mr P W Botha's speech as "the end of the beginning of the first phase of change", namely the removal of apartheid.



Mr Harry Schwarz . . . "need to negotiate with real leaders".

White Ministers 'guilty of discourtesy'



PARLIAMENT — Solidarity MP for Reservoir Hills, **Mr Pat Poovalingam**, yesterday proposed an amendment to the motion of no confidence moved by the party leader, Dr J N Reddy.

Speaking in the No-Confidence Debate yesterday, he said his proposed amendment was not contradictory to the motion of Dr Reddy.

However, he said Dr Reddy's motion did not go far enough. The proposed amendment was supplementary to it and was more like an addendum.

The amendment comprised six paragraphs strongly critical of the Government's performance and "declared policy of apartheid".

Mr Poovalingam said white Cabinet Ministers were guilty of "gross discourtesy" to Dr Reddy by not being in the House when Dr Reddy made his opening speech in the debate.

He said it was traditional that, when the Leader of the Opposition stood up to propose his motion of no confidence, Cabinet members occupied their benches.

"There was no such courtesy. In effect the Cabinet almost treated him with contempt."

Obviously, he said, the white Cabinet Ministers had thought it more important to be in their own House.

"In other words, the attitude was that these coolies don't count."

— Sapa.

'Whites must join blacks' struggle'

PARLIAMENT — White South Africans had to identify themselves clearly with the struggle of the black people for freedom, **Mr Albert Nothnagel (NP, Innesdal)**, said in the no-confidence debate.

"So long as the masses continued to say they were fighting for freedom . . . and so long as social and economic conditions were such that they appeared to be impinging on black people's freedom, there would be problems in South Africa, he said.

"We must look black leaders in the eye and say: 'We want to be leaders in your struggle for freedom — so long as it is not inconsistent with our thinking o[illegible]man values and [illegible]'"

Bill to help UIF raise needed loans

BUS DAY 5/2/86

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

THE Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) may soon be permitted to go to the domestic capital market to raise loan funds to prop up its hard-pressed coffers.

A Bill proposing amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act was tabled in Parliament yesterday, providing that the Director-General of Manpower may, after consultation with the Unemployment Insurance Board, raise loans from private institutions.

Nothnagel: Identify with blacks' struggle

3044

BUS DAY 5/2/86

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — White South Africans had to clearly identify themselves with the struggle for the freedom of blacks, Albert Nothnagel (NP Innesdal) said in the no-confidence debate yesterday.

As long as the masses continued to say they were fighting for freedom, and as long as social and economic conditions appeared to be impinging on black people's freedom, there would be problems in SA.

"We must look black leaders in the eye and say: 'We want to be leaders in your struggle for freedom — as long as it is not inconsistent with our thinking on human values and justice'."

Referring to the State President's recent speech, Nothnagel said that if ever there was a stage in SA history when Members of Parliament had the opportunity to stand together and prove to the world that the country was busy with a process of fundamental change, that opportunity was now.

Power-sharing 'heresy is now a gospel truth'

5/2/86 BUS DAY 3044

GOVERNMENT would reach its goals only over the political corpse of Afrikanerdom, Casper Uys (CP Barberton) said in the no confidence debate yesterday.

Before introduction of the new constitution, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis maintained that government was committed to the development of separate structures for black nations.

Now, however, the National Party had accepted not only healthy power-sharing but total power-sharing with blacks. What was once heresy had now become gospel.

Uys also said he could not believe that Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange had recommended to the President that Nelson Mandela should be released.

He added that the release of Mandela was the most dangerous possible step government could take. — Sapa.

Slabbert concerned over E Cape

BUS DAY 5/2/86 3044

PATRICK CULL

THE administration of townships in the Eastern Cape was disintegrating and the townships were virtually being run by the military, Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

Introducing his motion of no-confidence in the House of Assembly, Slabbert said one could no longer talk to community leaders because they were either in detention or unable to talk.

Slabbert said that between the two speeches delivered by the State President at the start of 1985 and 1986, 334 people had died in the 201 days leading up to the declaration of the State of Emergency in certain areas and 575 people since then.

In the same period, 7 200 people had been detained and 920 schools were destroyed or extensively damaged.

S
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ember 1985

	*At 31 December 1985	*At 31 December 1984	At 30 June 1985

Business Day

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De Klerk stresses other side of coin

STAR 5/2/86 3044

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A major announcement is expected later during this session of Parliament concerning the division of power.

While much attention was focused on President P W Botha's announcements on power-sharing, the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday emphasised the other side of the Nationalist coin.

The only alternative for South Africa was one which provided for power sharing and power division, for aspects in common and group interest, for the elimination of discrimination and the retention of group security, he said in the No-Confidence Debate.

The diversity of South Africa was a reality, as were the shared interests in the country, he said.

As Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly, Mr de Klerk is in effect the Prime Minister of white own affairs.

The appointment of such a senior man to this post is generally believed to mean the own-affairs administrations for whites, coloureds and Indians are to be considerably upgraded.

Mr de Klerk is expected to make a major announcement concerning the transfer of certain important powers and functions from the former provincial administrations and possibily the central government to his administration when the debate on his budget vote comes up later in the session.

It is Nationalist policy to devolve as much power as possible to the various race groups and to the lower tiers of government.

Whatever cannot be devolved will be shared by all communities in nonracial structures.

5/2/86 (304 A)

CAPE TIMES 5/2/86 304 A

Nats lash PFP over ANC contacts, attitudes

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Senior National Party members opened the no-confidence debate with a concerted attack on the PFP over its contacts with and attitudes to the African National Congress.

The Minister of Environmental Affairs, Mr John Wiley, said the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, had capitulated completely to the forces of the left.

Mr Wiley started by expressing condolences with the families of all those who had died in the recent unrest and in acts of terror.

He challenged Dr Slabbert to say whether he would demand that the ANC give up violence should the proposed grand alliance against apartheid become a reality and the PFP a member of it.

"It is strange that those who complain about terrorism the world over always exclude the ANC and Swapo," Mr Wiley said.

"Terrorism of whatever nature should fill civilized men with abhorrence."

Should the State President's offer to South Africa's neighbours to create a security secretariat be turned down and terrorism continue, "South Africa will not hesitate to defend its people wherever necessary despite the cries that might come from outside and inside (the country).

"We shall be just like Israel," he said.

Dr Slabbert had seen Mr Oliver Tambo in Lusaka, Mr Bob Hawke in Australia and President Samora Machel in Maputo.

"Name a single critic of South Africa and the Leader of the Opposition has been there to see him.

"Let me remind him of the old adage: 'By your friends shall you be known'.

"What we have seen here was a total surrender to the forces of the left."

Mr Wiley said the State President's speech on Friday had indicated the evolutionary steps needed to be taken to a negotiated future for South Africa.

"We have to come to terms with the realities and must offer the people of South Africa something better than the radicals.

"South Africans that reject this offer for a new future will never be forgiven by the generations to come.



Mr John Wiley



Mr Ron Miller

"It is not for us in the National Party to satisfy the ANC and other radicals. They want surrender and power. They want the reins of government in their hands and their own South African Police and Defence Force.

"They want to steal from others what they covet for themselves, they want money from the West and weapons from the East.

"That is what has happened when terrorist cliques take power in Africa," Mr Wiley said.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, said the PFP aided and abetted the forces of violence by calling for the withdrawal of security forces from the townships.

He said he had warned Dr Slabbert before that if one first associated with those who committed violence, then negotiated with them, one would end up by condoning violence and participating in it.

The PFP was "ready to capitulate to the forces of violence".

It wanted the security forces withdrawn from the townships, leaving them open to the "criminal elements" such as the UDF, the ANC and Azapo.

Mr Miller said it was time for the moderates in the party to reconsider their allegiance.

The five members of the NRP should also "follow their supporters and come and support us".

The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said the future of all South Africa's peoples could be secured only through negotiation. It could not be secured by military force, only goodwill.

The reason why the revolutionaries could not succeed in South Africa was because of the "strength of moderate blacks".

"We must talk with moderate leaders. This is the reality facing us," Mr Nel said.

Mr Myburgh Streicher (NP De Kuilen) said open schools would be impractical and "unhealthy" for education.

Most blacks did not want to go to white schools but wanted equal education opportunities.

Schools were linked to the communities in which they were situated and scrapping race restrictions would lead to problems such as the choice of language to be used, he said. — Sapa



Parliament goes into a political time-warp

BUSDAY
5/2/86
3044

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Parliament went into something akin to a time-warp yesterday as the clock turned back 16 years.

There was the MP for Worcester strongly defending the traditional Nationalist apartheid philosophy.

Those baying at him sounded just like "Die Sappe" of the bad old days — the now defunct United Party.

But it wasn't the MP for Worcester of old.

It was a much greyer, more battle-weary, Louis Stofberg, former Nationalist MP for Worcester, and now the Herstigte Nasionale Party MP for Sasolburg.

And it wasn't the old United Party baying at him either.

It was "Die Nuwe Sappe" — the National Party of today — which has comfortably slipped on the mantle of reform which they once disdained.

Stofberg sounded like a Nat of old as he propounded Verwoerdian philosophy, while "Die Nuwe Sappe" laughed scornfully.

Nine words that put government on the spot

6/2/86 · BUS DAY (304A)

NINE WORDS written by an advertising copywriter have at last pinned down a government whose capacity for trickery was most kindly described last year by Dr Chester Crocker as the code language of a foreign culture.

This country should erect a monument to the unknown man who wrote: "The pass system will be scrapped by July 1."

With those nine words, he constructed a test of faith for President Botha's latest promises to abandon the "outmoded concept" of apartheid, to share power, to widen democracy and to try to return to the rule of law.

Like all good advertising copy, the short promise has the virtue of plainness: it means what it says, or it is a lie.

Either the pass system is scrapped, or we have been cheated again.

This government has so often played cunning tricks with the language that nobody knows when to believe it.

When President Botha said last week that apartheid was an outmoded concept, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, recalled that last year he was "caught for a sucker" by a similar-sounding set of promises.

Last year, he recalled, government was to create a forum for negotiations with blacks; this year it offered a council. What was the difference?

"Talk is cheap," he said suspiciously, "but money buys the whisky."

Nor were other parts of President Botha's speech more reassuring. In education, he promised equal standards of examination and certification — but not, it seems, equal education.



KEN OWEN

He accepted an undivided republic consisting of all regions and communities within the borders of SA — but he did not say which borders he had in mind.

He promised one citizenship to all South Africans — but seemed to suggest that he was excluding the four nominally independent homelands from SA and millions of people from citizenship.

On influx control he said only that the "present system" was outmoded, that government favoured orderly urbanisation and that "influx control is closely linked to urbanisation".

All the old semantic tricks of the Piet Koornhofs and the Connie Mulders, all the loopholes, all the double-speak of apartheid's "foreign culture," seemed to be there.

Then the advertising man wrote the nine-word promise that wiped away all ambiguity, and President Botha signed it. He was committed.

The advertisement added: "I don't intend to stop there ... I will go further ... the wheel of reform is turning."

To say that President Botha is up a creek without a paddle is to exaggerate, but he has clearly left the safe shore of apartheid without, so far, arriving anywhere else.

That's an uncomfortable position not only for the President but for his opponents.

Most obviously, the scrapping of the pass system — it means the repeal of the notorious Section 10 of the Black (Urban Areas) Act if it means anything at all — will undercut the pass-burning campaign planned by the ANC for April and May.

If, by the time that campaign is due to begin, the reform legislation has been published and is passing visibly through Parliament, there won't be much sense in risking life and limb in anti-pass demonstrations that are bound to culminate in clashes with police and army.

On the other hand, the advertising man has raised expectations so high that any attempt to pull back now would add enormous impetus to any ANC campaign of civil disobedience, not to speak of the effect it would have on international bankers, on the sanctions movement and on SA's few remaining friends abroad.

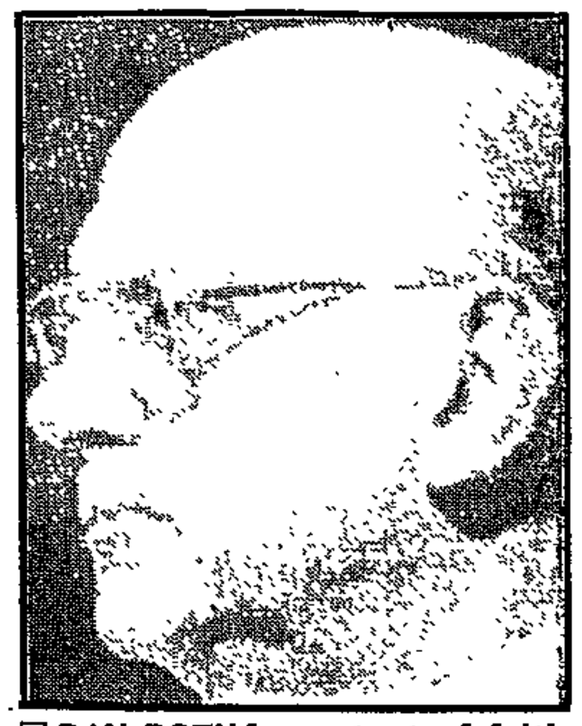
To the suggestion that Botha might renege, one parliamentarian said simply: "It's unthinkable."

The shockwaves are spreading through the system. For everybody except the far right, the prospect of real reform is a dilemma.

It is by no means clear that the Nationalists, some of them still fighting a desperate rearguard action to keep coloured MPs out of their restaurants, are at all ready for the process of fundamental change they seem to have unleashed.

The Verwoerdian fantasies have now become the property of the Conservative Party, and the Nationalist backbenchers will be watching the electorate closely. Some of them, surely, will jump.

That worries the leaders of the party. Already Harry Schwarz, that discerning MP, has accused FW de Klerk (the Transvaaal's favourite as successor to President Botha) of trying to recreate apartheid by redefining the President's speech. It's an old trick of politics, and De Klerk plays it well.



☐ P W BOTHA ... test of faith

Nor is there necessarily much comfort for the official Opposition and all its extra-parliamentary supporters in the prospect of change, even if it gives them great pleasure. Opposition has for so long been a matter of moral posture that the art of politics has atrophied.

Now the government has become a shifting target, and the more dogmatic of its opponents are likely to find it less easy to be expedient than to be pure.

Only for President Botha is the choice clear-cut: he can keep the promise to scrap the pass system, or he can break it.

On that decision all else now rests. The advertising man has brought us at last to the point of choice.

Fight back, urges UK journalist

A British rugby journalist urged South Africans to fight back against the propaganda war being waged against the country, at the launch of the International Interaction Foundation at a Johannesburg hotel last night.

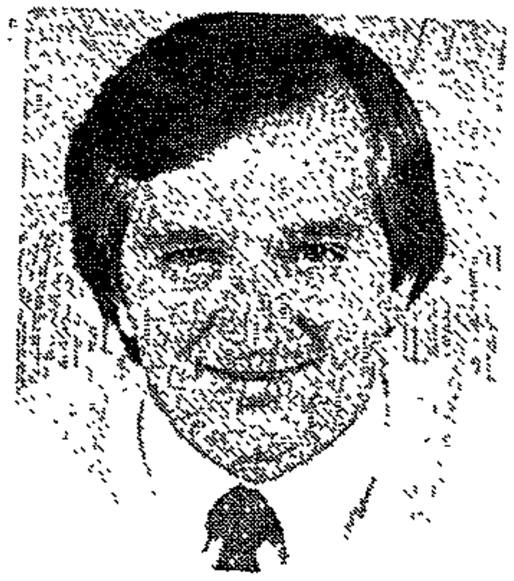
John Reason, rugby correspondent for the *Sunday Telegraph*, said the extent to which news about South Africa was "exaggerated to the rest of the world was horrific".

Reason, who has visited South Africa on several occasions, said he thought it was one of the best potential holiday spots in the world.

"Unlike other countries who advertise in British newspapers for tourists, South Africa does not. The foundation should urge the authorities to attract visitors with cheap flights so they can see what this country is really like."

He said it was South Africa's fault it was so isolated as it let itself appear to be the only country of its kind with racial problems.

"You have to tell the world of the progress you are making. Things have changed over the years I have visited this country."



Mr Johan Claasen

Body formed to boost SA image, counter negative 'info onslaught'



Dr Ludi Koekemoer

By Sue Dobson

An organisation aimed at improving South Africa's image at home and abroad was launched in Johannesburg yesterday.

The International Interaction Foundation (IIF) hopes to enhance South Africa's image to benefit business and sport by counteracting the "onslaught and disinformation campaign levelled against the country".

According to the executive director of the organisation, Dr Ludi Koekemoer, the body is non-political and non-profit-making and is funded by business and sport.

"We believe the time has come for business and sport to join forces and fight back. We must market South Africa to South Africans and the outside world," he said.

Members believe the foundation will offer South African business and sport an open forum where people can act as mouthpieces to improve local and international opinion on South Africa.

At a Press conference yesterday, Dr Koekemoer said South Africa had not been successful in communicating the "true facts" about political developments to the outside world.

Positive developments in the country were often ignored or sneered at by the local and international media, while negative aspects were often considered newsworthy, he said.

Chairman of the foundation is banker and Ellis Park Stadium chairman Mr Johan Claasen.

The foundation will be governed by a president, a board of trustees and a council consisting of representatives of business, sport and media committees.

The IIF's statement of intent reads that the body will:

- Liaise with South African and international business and sport in an organised way through selected, independent strategic committees.
- Act as a united mouthpiece for South African business and sport through research, regular meetings of the strategic committees and communication with business, sport, the media and the Government.

COURSES OF ACTION

- Inform South African and international business, sport and media about the "true" state of affairs regarding economic, sporting and political issues through members of the IIF, the South African and international media, conferences, visits, documents, videos and other means.
- Involve business, sport and the media by planning courses of action with the co-operation of the strategic committees.

Dr Koekemoer said the organisation had held talks with black community leaders, but declined to mention names, saying that those who had been consulted preferred to give the organisation a chance to prove itself before revealing themselves.

No talks had been held with organisations such as the UDF and the ANC.

No plans to advertise PW's speech overseas

By Hannes de Wet

The Government was not planning any special overseas campaign to promote President Botha's opening of Parliament speech, the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday.

"The speech has a momentum of its own. Although it is not possible to evaluate the results yet, the speech has received wide publicity abroad because of it natural news value," Mr Johan Lötter, a director at Foreign Affairs, told *The Star*.

He was reacting to remarks by Professor Carl Noffke, director of the Institute for American Studies at RAU, that the Government had lost valuable time in promoting the President's speech.

While foreign perceptions were of the utmost importance, it appeared the campaign to promote Mr Botha's pledge on political change was limited to South Africa alone, Professor Noffke said.

EXTRACTS

Mr Lötter said there were a few South African embassies abroad which proposed advertising summaries or extracts from the speech.

"I know that our people in Paris and Munich were planning to place advertisements. A third possibility was our embassy in Canberra.

"But these were initiatives by the embassies themselves. We are not planning any intensive advertising campaign on a large scale for the moment," he said.

"All our embassies of course made a concentrated effort through the normal procedures — Press releases, newsletters and personalised letters signed by the ambassador — to convey the gist of Mr Botha's speech."

According to Mr Lötter, previous experience has shown that advertisements in overseas newspapers are not that effective.

"Apart from that, the genuine news value of the speech assured wide coverage. We will, of course, have to wait a week or two before we will be able to evaluate the results."

Mr Lötter said the Information Bureau was working on a pamphlet on the speech which would be distributed locally.

"We still have to decide whether we are going to do the same abroad," he said.

New council may be test of power-sharing

Cabinet role for blacks?

STAR 6/2/86 30A

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Is the proposed national statutory council in effect a mechanism to include blacks in an extended Cabinet?

Senior Nationalist sources believe it is, and that the council will prove to blacks that participation in decision-making and power-sharing can yield impressive results.

Mr Botha announced the formation of the new structure when he opened Parliament on Friday. He said he intended to negotiate the establishment of a national statutory council, which would meet under his chairmanship.

He said then: "I propose that this council should consist of representatives of the South African Government, representatives of the governments of the self-governing national states, as well as leaders of other black communities and interest groups.

'Pending the creation of constitutional structures jointly to be agreed upon for our multi-cultural society, this council should consider and advise on matters of common concern, including proposed legislation on such matters.

"This council can meet under the chairmanship of the State President as often as needed."

Not just a forum

And in his much-publicised newspaper advertisements this week, the President said: "The proposed national statutory council is not just a forum for the talkers. It is the first step towards institutionalised power-sharing. Where black leaders can now have a voice in central government and under my chairmanship make a positive contribution to the running of this country."

Certain words in the President's announcement need careful scrutiny. In the first instance, he said that intended to negotiate the establishment of the council.

Government sources point out that this means that there is no prescribed format for the structure.

Depending on how successful it is in attracting big-name leaders, the council could in effect be a committee on which senior Cabinet Ministers and black leaders would sit, deliberating and negotiating decisions by consensus.

The structure and composition of the council is to be negotiated. To this end the President deliberately left categories of participants vague.

According to sources the Government would dearly like to include leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu.

But even if only the predictable people put their names forward, the Government is determined to go ahead and would then negotiate with those outside the system to join.

If the structure does succeed in attracting a good crop of credible leaders, it could become the basis of a national convention. The representatives of other population, political and interest groups would then be included to negotiate new constitutional structure.

PFP quizzes Govt on Nkomati violations

30A

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT — Circumstances surrounding South Africa's technical violations of the Nkomati Accord are being probed by the official Opposition in the House of Assembly.

Questions tabled by the Progressive Federal Party for reply by the Minister of Defence have queried whether the South African Defence Force has been involved in training or supporting certain organisations.

PFP leader and defence spokesman Dr Van Zyl Slabbert asked if such training had since been discontinued and whether any of the organisations involved had established any bases in South Africa.

Mr Colin Eglin (PFP, Sea Point) asked whether during the investigation into support or sympathy for MNR among members of the SADF certain people were investigated, and what the findings were.

A related question from Mr Eglin asks for details of MNR sympathisers, whether more have been found and whether the investigation is continuing.

Another question by Dr Slabbert asked the Minister of Defence whether, since the signing of the accord, any member of the South African Government had visited a certain organisation in Mozambique, whether he was informed or had prior knowledge of such visits and whether any SADF personnel or equipment was involved.

Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North), has asked the Minister of Law and Order for details of the shootings at Mamelodi on November 21 when a number of people who took part in a protest march died as a result of police action.

Mr Frank le Roux (CP, Brakpan) has asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs whether his department has incurred any expenditure in connection with Mr Klaas de Jonge, who is still hiding from the police in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria.

Mr Roger Hulley (PFP, Constantia) has asked whether any complaints were received and charges laid against members of the police in 1984 and 1985 during unrest situations.

Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton) has asked the Minister of Law and Order for details of detainees held under emergency regulations.

'Doublespeak' on Natal-KwaZulu 'must be sorted out'

Fears that Buthelezi will not participate

304A Mercury 6/2/86

Political Reporter

NATIONAL Party MP Con Botha's rejection of the Natal-KwaZulu proposals has raised fears of a refusal by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to participate in a national statutory council proposed by President Botha at the opening of Parliament last week.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said this week that he would consider participating in the council.

The PFP's Natal leader, Mr Ray Swart, welcomed Chief Buthelezi's statement but said the KwaZulu Chief Minister's participation could be jeopardised by an official Government rejection of the plan for a joint government of Natal and KwaZulu.

Mr Con Botha said in the no-confidence debate in Parliament that the Government would have to come to the rescue if the plan failed, and it should also be rejected because it proposed that some of the powers of Parliament should be handed over to a joint Natal-KwaZulu government.

Architects

Natal's senior MEC, Mr Frank Martin, who said he was 'delighted' at Chief Buthelezi's reaction to the proposed council, said the Government's 'doublespeak' on the Natal-KwaZulu proposals would have to be 'sorted out very quickly'.

Mr Martin said Mr Con Botha's statement ran counter to other statements by the Government and he said he would wait for someone 'more authoritative' than Mr Botha to speak on the issue.

The KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture Dr Oscar Dhlomo, one of the chief architects of the 'KwaNatal' plan, said Mr Botha's remarks were probably a personal opinion and should not be taken seriously.

Sceptical

'The political future of Natal and KwaZulu will be decided by all the people of the region,' Dr Dhlomo said.

This was understood to be the view of Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

'I would be worried if Mr Heunis or at least a Cabinet Minister said what Mr Botha said,' added Dr Dhlomo.

But the remarks did contribute towards the destruction of mutual trust between the negotiating parties.

He was not prepared to comment on the possibility of Chief Buthelezi refusing to participate in a national statutory council. Chief Buthelezi could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andreis Treurnicht was sceptical that Chief Buthelezi would co-operate with the Government for long.

'Quite recently Chief Buthelezi said he would not accept a divided Parliament.

'His aim is a one-man-one-vote system and either the Government will capitulate or there will be a parting of the roads.

'But it seems to me that the Government is very eager to have his co-operation. It would mean a tremendous amount to them if he would join the club.'

● See also Page 12

'New council must include all parties'

PARLIAMENT — The National Statutory Council proposed by the State President would be able to achieve more than the recently formed National Convention Alliance, **Mr Jac Rabie (LP, Reigerpark)** said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Speaking in the No-Confidence Debate he said proposals needed to be sought from all political parties in South Africa, including the United Democratic Front, the Labour Party, the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, to form the agenda of the council.

Each organisation should send two representatives to the council, which will meet under the chairmanship of the State President, and weigh their proposals for a new constitution.

The council should not only be advisory council, he said.

"The State President must also say whether he is going to let the council hold open proceedings or in secret. Some organisations will not contribute if it were not in the open."

Mr Rabie said the internal wing of the ANC, not the external wing committed to violence, should be unbanned to give them the ability to have a say in the politics of the country.

Mr Rabie said it is essential that the State President announce the Tricameral Parliament was a temporary measure. Democracy could not function if the ruling party in the House, the Labour Party, needed to speak to itself instead of with the parties it criticised, while the opposition parties within the House were of no consequence. — Sapa.

History 'may prove P W to be big traitor'

PARLIAMENT — The State President, Mr P W Botha, would be be known in future as "the biggest traitor" if he continued on the path of integration and powersharing, **Mr Jan Hoon (CP, Kuruman)** said in the House of Assembly's No-Confidence debate yesterday.

Dealing with the systematic "destruction of apartheid", he said Mr Botha's statement in his opening speech to Parliament on Friday on the blacks' constitutional future was in fact a "first step on the road to total black majority rule and power-sharing".

"If he continues on this path, the State President will be known in future as the biggest traitor," Mr Hoon said.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, **Mr Chris Heunis**, rose on a point of order to ask if it was Parliamentary to call the State President traitor.

The Speaker, **Mr Johann Greeff**, said he had taken careful note of Mr Hoon's words and pointed out the CP member had said "if", which meant he had not actually called Mr Botha a traitor.

Earlier, Mr Hoon referred to the announcement that the homeland of kwaNdebele would ask for independence this year and said: "That small nation ... will have more freedom than the four million whites in South Africa", when its independence was granted. — Sapa.

POINTS FROM THE DEBATE

Non-violence option for political prisoners queried

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT — Two prisoners who signed undertakings to reject violence were still in jail, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton) said yesterday.

Entering the No-Confidence Debate in the House of Assembly, the MP for Houghton asked whether the offer to release Nelson Mandela if he rejected violence still held good, and whether it still held good for other prisoners in the same category as the State President said it would last year.

"I ask because I know of two such prisoners who signed the undertaking to reject violence and who are still in jail. The Minister of Justice knows to who I am referring," she said.

HUMANITARIAN

Mrs Suzman said President Botha's latest initiative concerning the release of Mandela was bizarre.

"He has changed his original stance, adopted last year during the No-Confidence Debate. Then humanitarian considerations were a side issue. Release depended on Mandela's unconditional rejection of violence as a political instrument.

"The choice is his, the State President said. On Friday, however, the choice was no longer Mandela's. It had become an international issue with Shcharansky, Sakharov and Captain du Toit all in the act, and South Africa trading humanitarian considerations with Russia and Angola.

"Why, one wonders, would Russia want Mandela out of jail if, as the State President told us, the SA Communist Party and the ANC have much to gain by Mandela's remaining in prison?

"By the same token why does the Government continue to keep Mandela locked up in Pollsmoor jail? Surely the State President lays himself open thereby to the charge of furthering the aims of not one, but two banned organisations?"

Mrs Suzman was heavily critical in her speech of the state of emergency and the role of the police.

The emergency had not restored peace and normality to the townships or anywhere else, she said.

"Police excesses, about which my colleagues will give details, are in good measure due to the blanket indemnity police and army enjoy under the emergency regulations," she said.

A special matter of concern, she said, was the detention of children, for those arrested under the emergency regulations did not enjoy the protection of the Children's Act. They were locked up with adult prisoners.

An extremely disturbing matter was the emergence of vigilantes and a sinister "Third Force".

The "Third Force", or "Death Squad", was widely believed to be responsible for a number of unsolved murders of black community leaders such as Mrs Victoria Mxenge, Mr Mathew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata and others.

"How come none of these thugs engaged in nefarious activities is brought to trial?

"As for the vigilantes who terrorise and kill members of the black communities who are opposed to Government policy — these ruffians are allegedly not only tolerated, but are actively encouraged by the police."

MOUTSE ISSUE

Mrs Suzman said she had affidavits about this happening in Huhudi, the black township at Vryburg, and in black townships at Parys, Kroonstad, Krugersdorp, Bloemfontein and Queenstown.

On the Moutse issue, Mrs Suzman said the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, had asserted the incorporation of the region into kwaNdebele was irreversible.

"Section 37 of the National States Constitution Act of 1971 lays down a procedure whereby Parliament can reverse the idiotic decision taken by the Cabinet.

"Parliament merely has to disapprove of the decision of the proclamation of incorporation issued by the State President and it will be of no effect," Mrs Suzman said.

She said she intended introducing such a motion of disapproval as soon as the proclamation was tabled.



Mrs Helen Suzman . . . worried by detention of children.

Some police out of control, Soal alleges

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, had allowed some members of the police force to become "a law unto themselves", Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North) has told Parliament.

Speaking in the No-Confidence Debate in the House of Assembly yesterday, Mr Soal said the Minister was "a disaster" and should resign.

In many townships throughout South Africa matters had got completely out of hand, Mr Soal said.

"Ask any black person who has had experience of police activities in the townships and he will tell you it seems as though the police have declared war on the blacks of South Africa."

Referring to recent events in Pretoria's Mamelodi township, Mr Soal said Mamelodi had long been regarded as a township of conservative people.

After police action there on November 21 last year, there had been subsequent police activities during which police moved from house to house allegedly "intimidating residents".

Mr Soal said the shootings at Mamelodi on November 21 showed the Minister had lost control of certain sections of the police force.

'New council must include all parties'

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Each organisation should send two representatives to the council, which will meet under the chairmanship of the State President, and weigh their proposals for a new constitution.

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Mr Rabie said the internal wing of the ANC, not the external wing committed to violence, should be unbanned to give them the ability to have a say in the politics of the country.

Mr Rabie said it is essential that the State President announce the Tricameral Parliament was a temporary measure. Democracy could not function if the ruling party in the House — the Labour Party, needed to speak to itself instead of with the parties it criticised, and the opposition parties within the House were of no consequence — Sapa.

POINTS FR

"Can there be equal justice ... verted by detention without ... Houghton).

"President Botha's announ... ple is the first step towards ... (CP, Kuruman).

"Every effort by the Gover... racy in South Africa is ... H M J van Rensburg (NP, ...

"If the State President puts ... honoured as the greatest st... — Mr Arthur Booysen, L... House of Representatives.

KwaNatal plan 'still on cards'

Political Staff

TOP-LEVEL co-operation between Natal and KwaZulu is still on the cards at executive and administrative levels, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said yesterday.

He had been asked to comment on interpretations that the "KwaNatal option" had been sunk by Mr Con Botha, Nationalist MP for Umlazi, who said that a joint legislature was not acceptable.

Mr Botha, entering the no-confidence debate in place of his provincial leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, who is in hospital, said a special political dispensation for Natal was not acceptable.

Mr Heunis said that the original motion by the Natal Provincial Council — which started the KwaNatal negotiations — made no mention of a legislative body.

He confirmed that this was all Mr Botha was restating and that he was still prepared to consider proposals for co-operation between the two administrations. He said the motion "calls upon the government as a matter of priority to establish a statutory body to provide a link between the Natal and KwaZulu administrations".

No objection

Mr Heunis announced last year that the government had no objection to the negotiations. However, he said yesterday that up to now he had received no official proposals from either administration.

He pointed out that other communities would be affected by the recommendations, which meant there would have to be further consultations with other parties.

PW steps in to clear confusion

Argus 7/2/86 (30KA)



Sarah Ferguson, tipped as fiancée to Prince Andrew, seen here during a skiing trip with the Prince and Princess of Wales in Klosters, Switzerland.

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

A HURRIEDLY called meeting of National Party members of the Cabinet was held in Tuynhuys today under the chairmanship of President P W Botha.

It was decided there that President Botha must take part in the no-confidence debate in the Assembly this afternoon.

Nationalist leaders felt that it was necessary for him to clear up some of the confusion created by explanations of his speech by various Ministers, notably Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the party in the Transvaal.

The Ministers were apparently summoned to the meeting late last night and most of them cancelled all engagements for this morning.

After accusations that Mr de Klerk was taking a harder line than Mr Botha on his "apartheid is outdated speech" last Friday a number of Mr de Klerk's colleagues rushed to his defence.

Black president

A stir has also been caused by a statement to foreign correspondents by Mr Pik Botha that South Africa could have a black president

The Ministers seemed to be planning strategy for the last day of the no-confidence debate in the Assembly this afternoon or were discussing the impact of Mr Pik Botha's statement.

Some Nationalist MPs defended the statement and said that it had been conceded during the referendum campaign that, in terms of the new constitutional system, someone other than white could be president.

Even some of Mr Pik Botha's Cabinet colleagues appeared to be upset when they saw the report in the late edition of The Argus yesterday.

The report also caused a stir in Parliament.

Keenly read

While the no-confidence debate continued some MPs were keenly reading the report.

The speaker at the time was Conservative Party MP Dr Willie Snyman of Pietersburg. His attention was drawn to the report and he waved a copy of The Argus as he challenged the Government about it.

He served notice that the right-wing parties will go all-out in an effort to exploit the remark, although Mr Pik Botha carefully qualified his remarks

Mr Botha's explanation of his remark is that, logically speaking, it is the only conclusion that can be drawn if joint agreement can be reached on structures which will make this possible. According to him the key phrase in his answer was the reference to structures which had been jointly agreed upon.

Mr Chris Heunis was scheduled to take part in today's debate but has now withdrawn from it

Woman, 80, raped by bogus technician

Staff Reporter

A MAN posing as a telephone technician raped and robbed an 80-year-old Maitland woman.

She was the third elderly woman to be attacked this week and police have asked women, especially those living alone, to identify callers before unlocking doors.

The woman told detectives that she answered a knock at her door about 6.45pm yesterday and let the man in when he said he was from the post office and had come to examine the telephone.

He attacked her, raped her and then fled with jewellery and cash worth R500, said Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, police liaison officer.

IDENTIKIT

The attacker was in his early 20s and an identikit picture was being compo-ed, Lieutenant Laubscher said.

Yesterday's attack was similar to an incident about two years ago when a rapist gained entry to a woman's home by posing as a post office worker.

A spokesman for the post office said all employees carried identity badges bearing the post office logo and a photograph.

The woman did not ask the man to identify himself, Lieutenant Laubscher said.

Detectives are still hunting for a rapist who attacked a 79-year-old Mowbray woman on Monday and a man dressed as a woman who attacked an 83-year-old Gardens woman on Tuesday.

Andy, Sarah to marry in September?

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Prince Andrew will marry Sarah Ferguson in September after a four-month engagement.

That's the inside information from Fleet Street today as the royal romance hots up.

In its main front-page report today the Daily Mail says: "The Queen has given her blessing to the match. Princess Diana, an old friend of Sarah, has told other friends she forecasts a royal wedding this year."

Any doubts about the seriousness of the relationship between Prince Andrew, 25, and

ette to rning

Dingo trial: Chamberlain freed for good

SYDNEY. — Lindy Chamberlain, jailed for life for killing her baby, has been freed.

Mrs Chamberlain's release today came three days after the discovery of a tattered baby's jacket in desert sand which, according to her lawyers, shattered the government case against her.

The Australian Government has set up a commission of inquiry to review her case.

The prosecution had dismissed the existence of the jacket during the trial

It also dismissed Mrs Chamberlain's claim that her nine-week-old baby Azaria was carried away by a dingo (wild dog) while the family was on a camping holiday near Ayers Rock.

Mrs Chamberlain, 37, who has been in jail for three years, identified the jacket as the one Azaria was wearing when she went missing in August 1980 Azaria's body was never found

Bank bid to control rand — dealers

Finance Editor

FOREIGN exchange dealers suspect the Reserve Bank intervened in the foreign exchange market today in an attempt to stop the rand rising too strongly against the dollar.

At the opening today it quickly shot to a six-month high of 47,25 US cents, only to fall back to trade at around 46,50 cents at mid-morning. Last night it closed at 46,55

CP demands that PW disclose RAU study

3 Feb (A) STAR 7/2/86

By Hannes de Wet

An information skirmish of a different nature is looming between the State President, Mr Botha, and the Conservative Party over a "secret" Rand Afrikaans University report on a national communication strategy for South Africa.

The CP has demanded that Mr Botha discloses the report which, it says, was compiled with State money.

RAU has refused to release the report, which was sent to the President about two months ago. The university's explanation to the CP for the refusal was that South Africa had "so many enemies".

The CP's Extra-parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs and Information then wrote a letter to the President, insisting that it had a right to see the report.

"The RAU is a public institution, receiving taxpayers' money. The fruits of its work may not be withheld from the public," the CP told Mr Botha.

Explaining the party's request, a CP spokesman told *The Star*:

"Dr Connie Mulder was kicked out of the Government for using taxpayers' money for secret projects to boost the the Government's image.

"And now they're using taxpayers' money for their own secret reports on an information strategy."

The letter to the President was sent on November 30.

"We have not received an answer yet and will sent another letter within the next week. We insist on seeing the report," the spokesman said.

A spokesman for the President's office said: "We don't comment on private mail received by the State President."

Requests by *The Star* to get a copy of the report from RAU were also refused. A spokesman for the inter-disciplinary group which compiled the report said it had decided against making the study public.

Although the study was done on RAU's initiative, it was the prerogative of the President to decide whether the report should be disclosed, the spokesman added.

Twelve departments at RAU worked together on the report, which set out specific recommendations on how the Government should go about in promoting itself.

Surveys in the United States and other countries formed part of the study.

The Star learnt from informed sources that the report recommended, among other things, that an independent council be established to advise the President on information affairs.

This council, consisting of private sector specialists of all political parties, should have direct consultations with the President on a regular basis, the report said.

It also stated that the Information Bureau's operations should not be limited to South Africa. The bureau should be responsible for the overseas information initiatives by the Government and should fall under a Cabinet Minister.

The report further stressed that South Africa's level of media sophistication fell far short of that of its opponents.

Govt committed to Nkomati Accord, says Pik Botha

7/2/86

Political Staff

Star

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has rejected allegations by the Opposition that the Government had no intention of honouring the Nkomati Accord.

He gave an assurance that South Africa remained unequivocally committed to "the letter and spirit" of the agreement with Mozambique.

Speaking in the No-Confidence Debate in the House of Assembly yesterday, Mr Botha came to the defence of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, whose dismissal had been demanded by the Opposition.

Earlier Mr Philip Myburgh (PFP, Wynberg) had accused General Malan of "consistent bungling" and said he should be removed from office.

Mr Pik Botha said the Government had gone out of its way to honour the Nkomati Accord. Any involvement by Pretoria with the MNR had been at the request of the Frelimo Government in efforts to arrange a ceasefire in Mozambique. All the complaints of violations of the Accord had been properly investigated, and Mr Myburgh owed General Malan an apology, Mr Botha said.

Emergency proved effective: Le Grange



● LE GRANGE

IMPOSITION of the state of emergency had the desired effect and government's actions had been proved correct, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange said yesterday.

At the same time, he warned that security forces would go on fighting SA's enemies "until they gain a different insight or are destroyed".

Speaking during the no confidence debate, Le Grange rejected Progressive Federal Party statements that the state of emergency had not led to a fall in the number of unrest incidents.

He said that in the Western Cape the number of incidents of unrest had fallen from 1 413 in October, when the state of emergency was declared, to 162 in December.

He gave figures of casualties during unrest, saying 955 people had died from September 1, 1984, to January 24 this year. Of these, 628 had been killed by security forces and 327 "by their own people".

Twenty-five security force members had been killed and 534 injured in this period, while 2 229 civilians had been injured in action by security forces and 1 429 by "their own people".

Le Grange said 7 777 people were detained under emergency regulations from July 21, 1985, to February 2 and fewer than 300 were still being held. — Sapa.

Come to grips with the ANC — PFP

ANTHONY JOHNSON

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Government cannot ignore nor wish away the ANC if it hopes for a negotiated solution to South Africa's future, said Alex Boraine (PFP Pinelands).

He added in yesterday's no confidence debate there was no point in government negotiating with those who "cannot deliver".

It was not enough for government to negotiate only with moderates or those black leaders in agreement with it.

"Negotiation has also to take place with those you are diametrically opposed to. For this reason government simply cannot ignore or wish away the ANC.

"I don't want to take on the mantle of a prophet, but I am prepared to say here and now this government will have to negotiate with the ANC, as well as with others, and it will be sooner rather than later."

There were those within the NP who believed this, he said.

Boraine said it was inconsistent of government to condemn the PFP for calling for the ANC to be unbanned so that negotiations could take place, on the one hand, and to proceed with the release of Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, on the other.

"Don't play games. Release him and get on with the politics of negotiations," Boraine said.

I would not object to serving under a black President — Pik

Conservatives raise howl of protest

304A
STAR
7/2/86

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's candid admission that he would not object to serving under a black President has predictably raised a howl of protest from the Conservative Party.

But even a few Nationalist MPs, and Ministers, will be somewhat uncomfortable about so blunt an exposition of the logical conclusion of Government policy.

Not that there was anything new in Mr Botha's statement to a closed meeting of the foreign Press in Cape Town yesterday.

Several Nationalist MPs have gone on record as saying it was theoretically possible for a black to be President.

Certainly the present Constitution theoretically provides for the election of a coloured or Indian President. All that is required is for the electoral college, which is numerically dominated by the governing party in the white House of Assembly, to vote for such a candidate.

Protection of minorities

In answering a direct question yesterday whether in principle he was against serving under a black President, Mr Botha said: "If in terms of the structures to be jointly agreed upon, that is made possible, how can I be?

"I cannot go and say that we are going to share power and then try to do it my way only .... As long as we can agree in a suitable way on a protection of minority rights without a racial sting — let me make it clear — as soon as we are agreed on that then we have the security, and then it could possibly become unavoidable.

"Unavoidable that in future you might have black Presidents of this country, blacks sharing the power of this country. That to me becomes an inevitable result in the future as long as minorities feel safe," he said (according to a transcript).

Representatives of all the major parties took great interest in newspapers carrying Mr Botha's statements yesterday.

The CP demanded to know if the report was true and, when Mr Botha nodded confirmation, asked State President Botha if this was his policy too. If it was, then the Government was giving in to the ANC's every demand, a CP member said.

Mr Pik Botha's admission has highlighted a clear difference in accent in the National Party.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly, Mr F W de Klerk, places the accent on the sovereignty and division of the different racial groups. In his contribution to this week's No-Confidence Debate he reminded MPs of the flip side of Nationalist policy — power division as opposed to power-sharing.

General direction

It would be wrong to say that Mr de Klerk is pulling in an opposite direction to the President. Instead, he and the Foreign Minister are more like the two forces of a vector, Mr de Klerk pulling towards the right and Mr Botha towards the left of a certain general direction.

President Botha has made no bones about that general direction. In his opening of Parliament speech he said the peoples of South Africa formed one nation, but the nation was also one of minorities.

Given the multicultural nature of South African society, this of necessity implied participation by all communities, the sharing of power between them; but also the devolution of power and the protection of minority rights.

It is Government policy that there should be maximum autonomy for each ethnic group over its own affairs, especially over matters such as education, residential areas, health and community development. Only those affairs which cannot be devolved will remain for power-sharing.

In such a system a black President might be acceptable even to the right wing of the National Party.

Scrap system before election — Eglin

304A
7/2/86 STAR

PARLIAMENT — If the State President was serious about his pledge last week that no South African would be excluded from full political rights, he should announce the scrapping of the present tricameral constitutional system before the next general election, **Mr Colin Eglin (PFP, Sea Point)** said yesterday.

Speaking in the No-Confidence Debate, he said this would enable all South Africans to participate in an election for a new constitutional system based on the principle of power-sharing and full political rights.

He should also announce immediately that the Government would end the "farce" of having three separate debates in three separate Houses on matters which fell under general affairs.

BETTER WAY

If the message of the State President's statement was that things were going to be different, that there was now a better way of achieving liberation from discrimination than by violence, it could make a "real contribution" to peace.

If it was not, and if the reality was reflected by the speeches of the Ministers of National Education, Mr FW de Klerk and of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the violence would get worse.

Mr Botha had said the Government was committed to equal treatment and opportunities for all South Africans.

"Let the State President announce that the whole civil service will be open to South Africans of all races and that appointment, promotion and remuneration in that service will be made without discrimination," said Mr Eglin. — Sapa.

De Klerk defended against Opposition critics

PARLIAMENT — Government spokesmen have defended the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, against Opposition charges that he had weakened the impact of President P W Botha's reform initiatives.

The Government's reaction came when several Cabinet Ministers entered the No-Confidence Debate in the House of Assembly yesterday.

The Minister of Justice, **Mr Kobie Coetsee**, said Mr de Klerk's speech in the Assembly earlier this week was not in conflict with President Botha's opening address to Parliament.

A theme in President Botha's address was that South Africa was a country of minorities, and Mr de Klerk had elaborated on this.

Reform should also provide for the protection of the right of groups and peoples to self-determination at all levels of Government.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, **Dr Gerrit Viljoen**, said it had been clearly spelled out by President Botha that the concept of "separate freedoms" was a reality and was part of the overall solution of South Africa's problems.

Earlier yesterday **Dr Alex Boraine (PFP, Pinelands)** said he hoped President Botha would enter the debate — "otherwise some positive statements he has made are going to be swept aside by the controversy over what he does or does not mean."

P W BOTHA

Is it the real thing?

It was the speech many had been waiting for. The scene has been set for rapid change — though too many grey areas remain.



Well, perhaps one can cross the Rubicon twice. The rhetoric was Jeffersonian; the delivery modulated, and indeed statesmanlike, as if P W Botha has assimilated the criticisms levelled at him since last August and come out the better for it.

The real question facing South Africa is whether we can navigate our way towards enduring peace and renewed economic growth. Such terms are relative — the low-level war being fought between the South African State and the African National Congress (ANC) and its cadres shows no sign of abating. It could go on for a long time.

Nonetheless, peace and stability are rational goals; and they are still achievable — provided we can, through negotiation, achieve a democratic constitution in which a moderate majority is seen to be advancing the lot of all. Otherwise there will be a civil war in which the main casualties, as now, will be black, given the schisms in black politics and white control of the army and security forces.

> *"There can be no peace, freedom and democracy without the law. Any future system must conform with the requirements of a civilised legal order, and must ensure access to the courts and equality before the law"*

Civil war would mean poverty and destitution; possibly, even, the incursion of foreign forces into the region. And as Jean-Francois Revel has pointed out: "The Soviet Union's great strength lies in its freedom to invade areas where history has left the decaying remnants of archaic regimes that are important to the West's security or are sources of vital materials." The West's morality does not permit propping up such regimes — so we had better make sure we don't actually become one.

Against this shifting backdrop — in which almost any outcome is possible — Rubicon 2 must be evaluated. Does it assist in creating the climate in which a moderate majority could emerge and, as importantly, remain intact in the face of violent and uncontrollable people and tendencies?

It must immediately be said that no leader of the National Party (NP) since 1948 could have said what Botha did last Friday: "We accept an undivided Republic of South Africa, where all regions and communities within its boundaries form part of the South African state, with the right to participate in institutions to be negotiated collectively." Or the fundamental shift that, in terms of new NP perceptions, the freedom of the individual takes precedence over group and state liberties.

And then there are the seemingly unequivocal statements on common citizenship, equality before the law, the belief in democratic government, and so on. In their way, these commitments are quite as libertarian as those set out in the Federated Chamber of Industries' (FCI) Charter for Business (*FM* January 24). If the FCI played any role in shaping Botha's credo, it deserves the highest praise.

> *"All South Africans must be placed in a position where they can participate in government through their elected representatives"*

To give substance to his words, Botha, in those impressive Sunday advertisements, set a real date for the scrapping of the pass laws: July 1. How much better if all this had been done last year and averted the collapse of the rand, the debt standstill and the advent of sanctions. But there is little point in recrimination — Botha's speech must be seen as a clear and level-headed attempt to set out most fully to date his intentions on reform.

The statutory body for the negotiation of black rights has thus, in effect, become his "statement of intent" — which Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been calling for. It may therefore have the effect of bringing in credible black leaders, and not just the Sebes and Mphephus.

The speech should also have an important impact on business sentiment. It was not that long ago that business leaders, in despair at what Rubicon 1 had done to the country and their livelihood, were trekking to Lusaka to sound out the ANC. Whether all is "forgiven," as they say, is moot.

> *"We accept an undivided Republic of South Africa, where all regions and communities within its boundaries form part of the South African state, with the right to participate in institutions to be negotiated collectively"*

Rubicon 2 has several flaws, which need to be examined. Now that we know influx control is going to go, and when, it must be asked what precisely is meant by "orderly urbanisation." The truth is that industrial growth is disorderly, and in SA will inevitably see the growth of squatter and informal settle-



Botha leaves for Europe (1984) ... and now, fresh initiative

(304A)

> *"We believe in the sovereignty of the law as the basis for the protection of the fundamental rights of individuals as well as groups. We believe in the sanctity and indivisibility of law and the just application thereof"*

ments around the cities — witness Cape Town and Durban.

If people are locked into these settlements, terrifying animosities and factional rivalries arise over the essentials of life. And this comes on top of the politicisation of township youth. So the areas around such amenities as water points, or decent shelter, become killing fields — which is what happened in Natal at Christmas and afterwards.

Genuine reform, therefore, simply has to accept a degree of *disorderly* urbanisation. For the process not to degenerate entirely, there must be the provision of land, basic services and the elements of shelter. Money costs are small, and the social costs of not doing so immensely large.

Therefore, it must be asked why the looming problems of the Group Areas Act (GAA) were not even mentioned by Botha. After July 1, a potentially massive number of people are going to be drawn to the bright lights — driven out from barren "homelands" where until now they have been legislatively condemned to live. And since, as we have been told, the laws against squatting are going to be applied to them, why retain the GAA — an artificial and deeply wounding restraint on where people may live?

Perhaps the scrapping of this Act (hitherto "non-negotiable") will be the subject of Rubicon 3. Otherwise, the repeal of the pass laws, with the application of the squatter laws, will mean that a sizeable part of the influx control mechanism will remain intact. For if squatters are to be evicted, where will they be pushed but to those very "homelands" they have left? What good will their common citizenship do them then? And what will happen to the promise of no more forced removals — already looking tattered because of the Moutse affair?

Influx control would then operate on the *werk en woon* principle — enshrined in the Riekert Report. If a person has work, and a place to stay, he has urban rights — including that of freehold. If he has neither, he must go. Clearly, encouragement of the informal sector, and a simultaneous acceptance of lower standards of housing (given health safeguards), is required.

Fortunately, this seems well within the shape of the future SA outlined last Friday. But it needs to be spelled out much more clearly in the coming weeks in Parliament.

Another problem with Rubicon 2 is that it does seem intent on maintaining the ethnic principle. After all, even now, KwaNdebele is moving through calamity and bloodshed towards "independence." Why? One may well ask, if we are one nation in a common South Africa, this political legerdemain?

A nation of groups is not unheard of, but perhaps Botha should now speak further on the KwaNatal Option — an option which appears to be a racing certainty.

The important point about the KwaNatal idea is that it transcends homeland and other boundaries — and so transcends race and ethnicity. The killings in KwaNdebele are shamefully unnecessary and would never have happened if government had communicated earlier its adaptability, its real shift away from classic apartheid.

In convincing blacks that it is sincere, Pretoria still has a long way to go. This is both obvious and common cause. But the real danger exists that a false euphoria could now arise, a post-Rubicon 2 optimism, and the situation in the areas covered by the State of Emergency (and elsewhere) be relegated in public awareness. Last Sunday two women and three men were shot dead by police. The scenes: Mohlakeng (near Randfontein), Wesselton and Breyten (eastern Transvaal). Shots were fired at police in Lamontville, and a grenade went off injuring a policeman (it is unclear whose grenade it was). The prospect certainly exists for intensified clashes of this nature.

> *"We accept one citizenship for all South Africans, implying equal treatment and opportunities"*

On the same day — for the "unrest" is frighteningly widespread — two nuns were arrested in a march in Munsieville, near Krugersdorp; and the previous day the OK Bazaars in Randfontein was petrol-bombed.

One weekend's toll. Botha's belief that "human dignity, life, liberty and property of all must be protected, regardless of colour, race, creed or religion" needs to be more widely known — and implemented.

Nonetheless, the State President has made an important speech which might assist us at home and abroad — and which is also humane, certainly a far cry from the "outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid."

With the right kind of impetus — and provided it can be maintained — an alternative has been presented to the twin evils of repression and revolution. ■

> *"We believe that a democratic system of government, which must accommodate all legitimate political aspirations of all South African communities, must be negotiated"*



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Mixed spouses would have separate Houses

7/2/88 Mercury 2CAA

Parliamentary Correspondent

SOUTH African law permitted a husband and wife of different races to become MPs, but it forbade them sitting in the same legislative chamber, Dr Alex Boraine (PFP Pinelands) complained yesterday.

Dr Boraine said the spouses would have to sit in different chambers because of the racially divided Parliament.

'They could copulate together but they could not legislate together,' he pointed out.

'How would you like to be in that position?' one of his colleagues interjected.

The only response from the Government benches was laughter.

FPF says blundering Malan must go

Cape Times 7/2/86 3000

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A ROW erupted in Parliament yesterday when the Progressive Federal Party charged that South Africa had flagrantly violated the Nkomati Accord and called for the sacking of the "blundering", Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Opposition spokesman on defence Mr Philip Myburgh said the government had known before and after the Nkomati non-agression pact with Mozambique that it would not honour it and insisted that President P W Botha give the general his marching orders.

'Request'

However, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, sprang to the defence of his colleague and said Mr Myburgh should be ashamed of the unfair and one-sided accusation he had levelled at General Malan.

He denied that South Africa had broken the accord and insisted that any involvement by Pretoria with the Mozambican National Resistance movement had been at the request of President Samora Machel's government and was aimed at arranging a "ceasefire".

Rebels

Mr Botha admitted that entries cited by Mr Myburgh from the diary of Mr Joachim Vaz, secretary to the MNR's chief commander, that related to South African Air Force flights to Mozambique and meetings with the MNR in Pretoria were true.

However, he dismissed other claims by Mr Vaz that he and senior defence force officials had promised to help the rebel group overthrow President Machel and of large-scale SADF arms shipments to the MNR.

Earlier, Mr Myburgh said it was clear the South Africa government had "instructed the SADF to plan the ongoing war in Mozambique after the accord had been signed".

Since General Malan had confirmed that everything the armed forces had done in Mozambique been ordered by the government, this meant that the Cabinet had not only condoned but given instructions for the arms build-up there.

Diary

Mr Myburgh quoted extensively from the Vaz dairy which detailed how South Africa:

- Assisted the MNR in attempting to "destroy" the economy and infrastructure of Mozambique.
- Agreed to send "war material," including AK-47 ammunition, time bombs, timing devices to work with explosives, and radio transmitters.
- Involved its troops in Mozambique's internal conflict.

The fact was, Mr Myburgh said, there had not been any intention to stick to the Nkomati Accord.

He said the government believed that "the better you lie, the better your patriotism".

● SA committed to Nkomati, page 4

Rand rises above $0,46

Financial Reporter

THE rand rose above $0,46 yesterday to reach its highest level for five months and the financial rand also rose to $0,3315.

There were signs for the second day running that the SA Reserve Bank was buying dollars to prevent the rand from rising too fast.

● Report, page 10

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	$337,75
Rand	$0,4650/60
FT index (close)	1171,70
BD 100	1179,30

isiness Day

THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER FOR DECISION MAKERS



7/2/86 BUS DAY 304A

Black president in SA may be unavoidable — Pik


● BOTHA

A BLACK president would be possible provided agreement were reached on protecting minorities, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday..

"As long as we can agree in a suitable way on the protection of minority rights without a racial sting ... then it would possibly become unavoidable that in future you might have black presidents of this country," he told foreign correspondents in Cape Town.

"If blacks share in the power of this country that to me becomes an inevitable result," he said.

He added that he would have no objections to serving in a government which included blacks.

Botha also disclosed that government had been in touch with other governments about the possible release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

"If I denied it, I'd be telling a lie," he said.

The Foreign Minister declined to speculate on when Mandela would be released, but said further discussions "might not even be necessary" before the 67-year-old prisoner was freed.

This depended on Moscow releasing Soviet dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov, and the freedom of Captain Wynand du Toit, held in Angola since an unsuccessful commando raid on oil installations last year.

President P W Botha opened Parliament last Friday by suggesting that interested governments should negotiate the release of the Soviets, Du Toit and Mandela together, on humanitarian grounds.

Soon after the President's speech, Press reports from Europe suggested Shcharansky would be included in an expected exchange of spies between East and West.

Pik Botha said the offer to free Mandela

● To Page 2

Black leader 'unavoidable'

BUS DAY 304A 7/2/86

● From page 1

on humanitarian grounds, in effect, took the decision on his release away from Mandela, the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP).

"The SACP is against Mandela's release," Botha said, suggesting that the party's exiled leaders believed Mandela was more valuable to their cause in jail.

Botha said government was trying to dismantle racial segregation and share power with blacks without destroying all forms of cultural variety or yielding to communism.

"We have stated categorically that apartheid is disappearing, is dying," he said.

□ SA's New York consul general, Abe Hoppenstein, has raised eyebrows among his superiors by publicly urging Nelson Mandela's prompt release, reports SIMON BARBER.

At a luncheon in New York on Monday, Hoppenstein said he would like to see Mandela set free unconditionally.

In a subsequent interview, he acknowledged that he was exceeding his official brief, but said he believed President Botha had already "indicated a willingness" to release Mandela without setting preconditions on the man or his organisation. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Botha calls snap meeting

Gerhardts 'not part of Soviet spy swop'

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

Convicted spies Dieter and Ruth Gerhardt will not be released in the current exchange deal involving Russian dissidents, a senior Government source said today.

President Botha is understood to have called a snap meeting of key Ministers today as rumours of an intricate deal — which could involve Nelson Mandela, military prisoners in South Africa and Angola, leading Russian dissidents and the Gerhardts — reached a crescendo.

The reason is that, at present, Gerhardt might still have information that could be valuable to the Russians if he were handed back to them.

Tight security on information is adding to the mystery and intense speculation surrounding what is suggested might be a major prisoner swop in South Africa and abroad.

The Office of the State President was unable to confirm or deny whether such a meeting was taking place but senior sources have indicated that the Gerhardts are not part of any swop deal "at this stage".

Humanitarian grounds

Speculation on Mandela's release, either this or early next week, started when it became known that Anatoli Shcharansky was likely to be included in a spy swop between East and West.

Observers immediately linked this to President Botha's speech last Friday when he suggested that if Russian dissidents Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov and Angolan prisoner Captain Wynand du Toit, could be released on humanitarian grounds, then Nelson Mandela could possibly also be released on a similar basis.

Sapa-Reuter reports that the Polish Government has confirmed that an East-West spy swop, expected to bring freedom for Shcharansky, will take place on Tuesday.

Government spokesman Mr Jerzy Urban last night gave the first precise official comment on the timing of the swop, news of which has prompted days of speculation and conflicting reports about a venue and the imprisoned East bloc and Western agents who may be involved.

Bonn Government sources have said the deal includes the release of Shcharansky, jailed in 1978 for 13 years on charges of spying for the United States.

Bild, the West German newspaper which first reported the swop on Sunday, repeated today that it would take place on Tuesday at the Glienicke Bridge which links West Berlin with Potsdam in East Germany.

The *Bild* report said Dieter Gerhardt would be among 22 imprisoned East bloc and Western agents traded.

It gave no source, but quoted a Western security adviser as saying: "Details of this East-West game of human poker will be finalised only at the last minute."

West German official sources said yesterday that six alleged communist agents were prime candidates for release by Bonn as part of the swop, but that only the non-Germans, a Russian and a Pole seemed virtually certain to go free.

If the swop is on Glienicke Bridge, it will occur almost 24 years to the day since US spy pilot Francis Gary Powers was swopped there for Soviet agent Rudolf Abel.

sunrise news

'Think tank' a voice crying in the wilderness

'Sabra has no influence on Govt policy now'

STAR 304A 8/2/86

By Hannes de Wet

The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs' (Sabra) was once a staunch National Party "think tank", but its condemnation of President P W Botha's latest pledges on political change was like a voice crying in the wilderness.

Nobody in Government circles really paid attention.

This week Sabra chairman Professor Carel Boshoff acknowledged in an interview with *The Star* that the organisation had no influence on Government policy anymore.

In fact, the two parties barely talk to each other today.

"We have no personal contact with leading figures in the Government," Professor Boshoff said.

This phenomenon is but another strong manifestation of how the political pendulum has swung in South Africa.

Sabra, although its declared aim was scientific political research, was until a few years ago viewed by many as a front for the Afrikaner Broederbond, assigned to give apartheid intellectual justification and respectability.

Sabra was indeed a loyal partner of the Government in the Sixties and early Seventies.

But, as the Government gradually put into motion its plans for constitutional reform, Sabra stuck to the old Verwoerdian concepts.

In 1980 there was a row when it was disclosed that the black administration boards were to make financial contributions to Sabra. This was stopped.

In 1983, the gap between Sabra and the Government came to a head when the bureau published a report critical of the constitutional proposals. The Government subsequently withdrew an annual grant of R70 000 to Sabra.

Several leading Nationalists also resigned as members of the bureau.

Professor Boshoff, speaking this week to *The Star* on the break between Sabra and the Government, said:

"It all started with the new constitution for a tri-cameral Parliament. These proposals were a deviation from the concepts of separate development and the self-determination of nations."

"These principles have always been the framework within which Sabra conducted its studies".

Professor Boshoff said the 1977 proposals by the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, already contained aspects which clashed with the idea that every nation should be sovereign.

"But it was the tri-cameral constitution which prompted Sabra to state unequivocally that the Government was courting a system which contained built-in conflict and would only lead to unstability."

Professor Boshoff was confident that Sabra was only temporarily out in the cold.

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SELLING REFORM — HOW THE NAT AD BLITZ WAS BORN

New leader tees off



A last shot at relaxation for Mr Colin Eglin before taking up the responsibilities of an Opposition thrown into turmoil by the resignation yesterday of its leader, Dr Frederik

Slabbert's 'shock tactic' leaves PFP in a spin

Shock and anger

TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

WAVES of shock and anger swept the Progressive Federal Party today following the sudden resignation of Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Some MPs were apprehensive about the party's future but were determined that it should continue to play a role in parliamentary politics.

A smaller group felt it should follow Dr Slabbert's example by leaving the tricameral system.

Pledges

There were also fears that the party's fund-raising effort, in the form of a trust fund named after Dr Slabbert, could be seriously affected.

Although a considerable amount has been collected, more has been pledged over the next few years and there is concern that many of these pledges may be withdrawn.

Party members and some of its MPs were angered at what



Mandela release: ANC alerted

AFRICAN National Congress sources in Lusaka said they have been alerted to expect the release of their jailed leader, Mr Nelson Mandela this weekend.

"We were told to expect him in Lusaka this weekend," a spokesman said yesterday.

The information was alleged to have originated in Cape Town but no official confirmation of his release or inclusion in an exchange could be obtained. — Sapa.

Argus PROPERTY

It's another record — Property Argus offers you

2 held for train theft

By PATRICK BULGER
Weekend Argus Reporter

CAPE railway police have arrested two men on charges of theft following the disappearance of R215 000 in used banknotes from a Cape Town-bound train late last month.

The theft, believed to have been the biggest in the province in recent years, went unnoticed until the train reached Cape Town station. None of the money has been recovered.

Mr Benjamin Sleyers, 20, a factory worker, and an elder brother, Daniel, no age given, appeared in the Swellendam Magistrate's Court on Thursday. They were

Mowbray Golf Course at precisely 12.30 and quipped: "Don't ask what my handicap is. It's too bad. Ask the starter." . . . "19," the starter whispered.

Eglin head until new man elected

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

MR Colin Eglin MP will act as interim leader of the PFP which is to hold a federal congress to elect a successor after Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's resignation.

Mr Eglin was chosen at a special meeting of the party's parliamentary caucus, of which he is chairman.

A caucus statement expressed "great appreciation" of Dr Slabbert's services and "deep regret" at his resignation, announced yesterday. It said the party still had a role to play in Parliament, a sentiment echoed by Dr Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert will attend a session of the Assembly for the last time on Monday when tributes will be paid to him. He resigns his Claremont seat on Monday.

He first came to Parliament as the MP for Rondebosch in 1974.

Decision a surprise

A meeting of the party's federal council will be held next Saturday to decide on a federal congress.

The names of Mr Eglin and Dr Alex Boraine MP are being mentioned as possible new leaders. It is not clear whether Dr Boraine is available.

Dr Slabbert's decision to resign as leader came as a surprise to PFP MPs who were told about it during the day yesterday. In the Assembly, all MPs listened in stunned silence as he announced it.

He and President P W Botha warmly shook hands. Mr Botha afterwards declined to comment and said he would speak in Parliament on Monday.

Dr Slabbert said he had made no further plans and would at some stage have to look for a job.

He would remain a member of the PFP and could still, from outside parliamentary politics, try to make a contribution to negotiation politics.

Dr Slabbert said he thought the party should continue in Parliament and said a new leader could possibly succeed where he felt he had failed.

At a Press conference afterwards, Dr Slabbert said he found his efforts in negotiation politics in Parliament were a waste of time because of the fundamental difference between himself and the Government.

The Government believed South Africa should consist of ethnic groups prescribed by law and that their participation in a new system should thus be laid down.

He believed in a system of freedom of association.

Although he had been willing to explore the tricameral system at the start, he had found it fatally flawed by laws such as the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act.

He was young enough to explore other alternatives of the politics of negotiation in other fields.

... cis on and ... on hem by Dr Slabbert.

Some described it as a slap in the face and felt that they had been let down.

PFP MPs have been inundated with telephone calls from rank-and-file supporters who are puzzled and shocked by Dr Slabbert's move.

While determined that the party must continue — Dr Slabbert has said it should — MPs said they may have to spend time trying to motivate party workers.

Let down

They also felt Dr Slabbert had let down the party at the start of a crucial session of Parliament when signs of tensions and uncertainty were showing in the National Party.

Dr Slabbert's decision, announced to a special PFP Parliament caucus at 1.40pm yesterday, 35 minutes before the start of the Assembly debate on the last day of his no-confidence motion, came as a surprise to most of his colleagues.

After the initial shock the consensus was the party had to close ranks and that "the show must be kept on the road".

Dr Slabbert was today not available for comment. A relative said Dr Slabbert and his wife Jane were "away for the weekend".

According to some of his colleagues, Dr Slabbert had become disillusioned. As an Afrikaner he had failed to influence the Government's policy on a society rigidly separated into various ethnic communities. He believes in a system which allows for freedom of association.

The recent utterances of the State President, Mr P W Botha, finally convinced him that the Government did not intend abandoning apartheid, but wanted a new model.

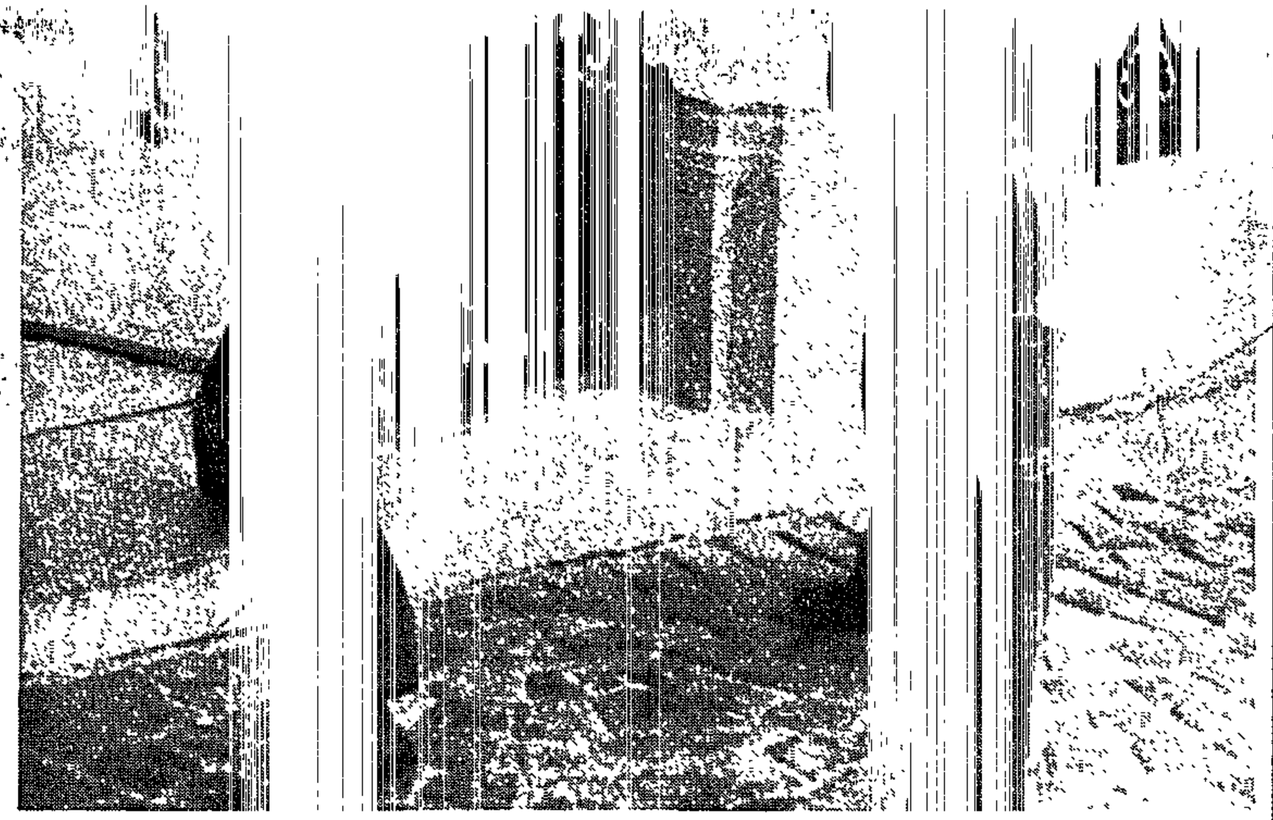
In his parliamentary career Dr Slabbert gradually came to believe he was not influencing Government thinking and that Nationalist politicians did not take him seriously.

He felt his hopes of getting through to the Government as an Afrikaner were shattered.

He believed he no longer had a useful contribution to make and, as he put it yesterday, decided against a "life sentence" in his present situation in Parliament.

Finally he decided to use shock tactics to demonstrate his deep dismay at a system he felt was futile.

It was a personal decision which PFP leaders would find very difficult to explain to rank-and-file supporters.



Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK, Weekend Argus

LEAVING Dr van Zyl Slabbert leaving Parliament after his shock announcement that he was resigning as Leader of the Opposition and as an MP.

SA politics in turmoil

By LEON MARSHALL
Political Editor

SOUTH African politics is in turmoil today.

After high drama in Parliament yesterday three issues dominate:

- Dr van Zyl Slabbert's dramatic resignation as Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, and as an MP, will have far-reaching political implications.

It has left the Progressive Federal Party in a state of shock and uncertainty over its future role. While facing serious difficulties in electing a new leader, more resignations from its parliamentary ranks are not excluded.

- Equally serious repercussions could follow President Botha's slapdown of Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, for his remarks that South Africa could have a black President, and his support of Mr F W de Klerk's controversial remarks on group areas.
- Mr Pik Botha's future is open to intense speculation.

He did not speak to reporters when he left Parliament after the eventful no-confidence debate.

In political circles the President's remarks are seen as a serious setback for Mr Botha, who once aspired to become Prime Minister and who has since featured in speculation about a possible successor to Mr P W Botha.

The Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said at a meeting in Cape Town last night that it was unthinkable that Mr Pik Botha could remain in the Cabinet after the President's action.

Combined, these events could be a serious blow to expectations raised by the President's "apartheid is outdated" speech and his attempts to get credible black leaders to join a proposed national statutory council.

False start

Announcing his resignation, Dr Slabbert described the Government's new reform attempt as a false start.

He added that the new tricameral Parliament was a "hopeless, flawed and failed constitutional experiment" which did not begin to solve the problem of political domination but rather compounded it.

Much of his speech was devoted to the frustration of engaging in proper political debate over the dangers facing the country.

He said President Botha's entry into the debate was a "rescue operation" after differences of interpretation of his opening speech to Parliament.

Mr Pik Botha knew that if Mr de Klerk's interpretation (which amounted to the maintenance of group areas and separate education) went into the world, he would not be able to sell the President's speech.

He tried to change and he lost.

WEEKEND WEATHER

Fine

(Details — page 2)

Why I resigned — Page 14 ● Day of Drama — Page 3 ● 'Pik Must go' — Page 3 ● Briefs — Page 6

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Drama in Parliament

Cape Times 8/2/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party and the National Party were in turmoil last night following a day of high drama in which Dr Van Zyl Slabbert abandoned parliamentary politics and President P W Botha issued a crushing public repudiation of his foreign minister and presidential aspirant, Mr Pik Botha.

Dr Slabbert's shock resignation as PFP leader and his retreat from the arena of formal constitutional politics was greeted with dismay, anger and resolve by party members and has precipitated a crisis for the future direction of the party.

Chastising

The unprecedented and humiliating repudiation of Mr Pik Botha by the President before Parliament has aroused intense speculation as to the future of the Foreign Minister and his verligte band of supporters.

And in publicly chastising his foreign minister for remarks he had made about the possibility of a black president for South Africa, President Botha endorsed the reaffirmation of apartheid policies and practices spelled out by other senior Nationalists during the no-confidence debate.

The President's action is seen in political circles as a significant defeat for "verligte" forces within the cabinet and a major setback for his much-vaunted reform programme launched at the opening of Parliament last week.

President Botha's unequivocal siding with the right wing of his party yesterday is expected to torpedo his government's latest initiative to market its "apartheid is outdated" image both at home and abroad.

Diplomats and political observers expected yesterday's developments to sink prospects for the successful launching of the National Statutory Council mooted by the President at the opening of Parliament and to increase external pressure for sanctions against South Africa.



Mr P W Botha ... dressed down his foreign minister



Mr Pik Botha ... buckled and wrote a letter

More reports on Slabbert's resignation, page 4

Following a stormy emergency cabinet meeting at the Tuynhuys yesterday morning, the Foreign Minister buckled and wrote a letter to the State President acknowledging that a black president was not government policy.

Despite this, however, President Botha later censured the Foreign Minister in Parliament by saying "No member of the cabinet has the right to compromise the government in this way."

National Party sources indicated that Mr Pik Botha was likely to weather the political storm but that his presidential aspirations now lay in tatters.

After President Botha's speech, Dr Slabbert rose to tell the House that the week-long no-confidence debate had left him with an "overwhelming sense of absurdity" when seen against what was actually happening in South Africa.

"The reaction of this parliament to 1985, in its first sitting of 1986, strikes me as a grotesque exercise in irrelevancy," he said.

In announcing his resignation, Dr Slabbert said he was convinced that reform of constitutional change would never succeed while the government insisted that it took place on the basis of compulsory race membership.

Dr Slabbert's departure has left a leadership vacuum in the PFP that will not easily be filled and could well lead to an erosion of electoral support for the party.

Mr Colin Eglin, the former leader of the PFP and chairman of the party's caucus, has taken over as interim leader until the Federal Council meets next Saturday to decide on a new leader.

The PFP caucus yesterday said that it deeply regretted the decision by Dr Slabbert to resign as leader and his withdrawal from party politics.

"It places on record its appreciation of the enormous contribution which Dr Slabbert has made as leader of the party and as Leader of the Opposition."

Meanwhile, intense speculation has already begun as to who will succeed Dr Slabbert, who has led the PFP since September 3, 1979.

And, while the name of Dr Alex Boraine has been mentioned, it would appear that his chances could be severely hampered by fears that right-wing members of the party would break away.

At this stage it would appear that Mr Eglin, who was leader of the party from November 1977 until September 1979, is likely to take over as a compromise candidate.



Dr Slabbert walks away from Parliament after announcing his resignation.



Dr Slabbert faces a barrage of microphones and cameras at a press conference at Parliament yesterday.

Cape Times Newscolour: Ivor Markman

Regret, joy as Slabbert resigns

THE shock resignation of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert was regretted by many of his colleagues in Parliament yesterday, while extra-parliamentary opposition organizations welcomed the news as a vindication of their rejection of participation in government structures.

Senior government spokesmen declined to comment. They said that any comment on Dr Slabbert's resignation would be held back until Monday when time would be allocated for a fitting farewell.

While the NRP felt that Dr Slabbert's resignation was unfortunate, the Conservative Party felt that it signalled a split in the PFP.

The NRP's parliamentary leader, Mr Vause Raw, said Dr Slabbert's "throwing in of the towel" would be interpreted as an act of desperation.

"I have always disagreed politically with Dr Slabbert but respected his sincerity and personal integrity. I believe his precipitate resignation at this time is unfortunate for South Africa. It can also perhaps lead to some interesting political developments."

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said the resignation was in fact a vote of no confidence in the PFP.

He said the move plunged the PFP into a very serious leadership crisis as the party "has lost a very talented leader".

"The political conclusion one could come to was that Dr Slabbert apparently could not see a political future for himself in the PFP. In a way, it has been a very dramatic day."

Mr Koos van der Merwe, the Conservative Party MP for Jeppe, said he felt Dr Slabbert had lost total confidence in the parliamentary system which had been "shattered" by the National Party.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party's sole representative in Parliament, Mr Louis Stofberg (Sasolburg), said Dr Slabbert's resignation was clearly the result of a division in PFP ranks — with the faction of Dr Alex Boraine (Pinelands) on the one hand and of Mr Harry Schwarz (Yeoville) on the other.

Mr Schwarz would be moving closer to the government while Dr Boraine would stand much closer to the ANC.

Leaders of parties in the other two houses expressed sorrow at his departure.

In the House of Representatives the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, appealed to Dr Slabbert to stay on as Opposition leader in the House of Assembly.

"I urge him to reconsider his resignation, as he still has an important political role to play in South Africa," Mr Hendrickse said.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the ruling National People's Party (NPP) in the House of Delegates and Cabinet

**** To page 4 (A)

P.T.O.

sunrise finance

Getting the message across

By Peter Farley

"It seems to us the Government has become modern by using marketing techniques that have become standard elsewhere. Such programmes are particularly important in this country where there have been so many missed opportunities, unfulfilled promises and broken hopes."

Those are not the words, as one might expect, of an advertising agency, a white businessman or even a government sympathiser. It is, rather surprisingly, taken from an editorial last week in *The Sowetan* — the country's biggest circulation black daily newspaper.

Such has been the impact of the recent string of adverts, after the State President's opening address to Parliament, that almost everyone in the country has been talking about them. And most of the comment has been favourable.

Mr David Stewart, head of the Bureau of Information which masterminded the project, says there was a realisation that the Government's communications were in need of improvement.

"We wanted to make sure that the message was conveyed to all the people in SA and advertising was judged to be the best medium to do this."

The government has only once in the past resorted to advertising, and that was essentially a National Party exercise to support its efforts in the Referendum.

On that occasion it used KMP —Compton, an agency with a strong Afrikaans base — KMP's Hennie Klerck was later elected head of the Afrikaans Handelsinstituut.

This time around KMP shared the honours 50:50 with Grey Phillips, whose chairman Darryl Phillips has long been a strong opponent of both the government and its policies.

It seemed a natural way to diffuse any criticism by bringing the two agencies together, but Mr Stewart says that the decision to go that route was made purely on the basis of advertising talent and not political persuasions.

However, it is also interesting to note that both Grey and KMP had been making separate representations to government over the past few months in an effort to convince them to adopt a more professional approach to national communications.

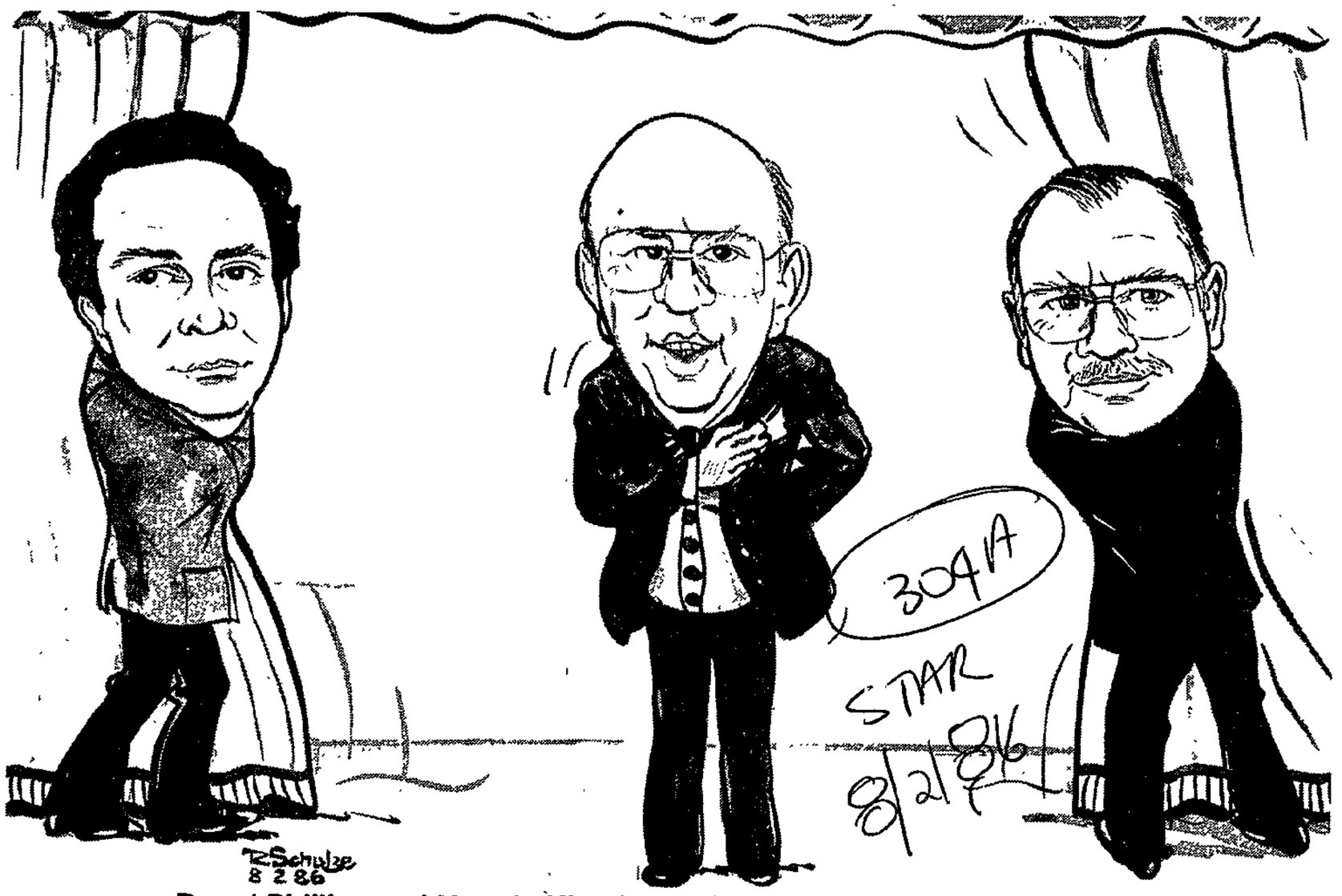
When both were summoned to a meeting with ministers Louis Nel and Pik Botha in Pretoria it was a big surprise to both advertising men to see the other present.

Nevertheless, the combined creative talents appear to have come up with a winning formula. Not that it was a straightforward advertising exercise. If anything, the cloak-and-dagger-style tactics necessitated by the nature of the task meant that it was a highly unusual operation.

With only two weeks notice to prepare for the launch of the campaign and only 24 hours to work with the material involved, it was also high-pressure creative work.

Space was booked in newspapers throughout the country a week or so before the speech, but in the name of one of the Grey group's clients that was supposedly having a secret launch. The advertising material was therefore arranged to be available only the day before printing.

The creative team was flown to Cape Town the night before "the speech" and worked through the night behind locked doors with telephones and all other contact with the outside world removed.



Darryl Phillips and Hennie Klerck unveil the new-look State President

Mr Stewart admits the whole exercise was a tremendous success and indicated that it will probably be continued. But he would not be drawn on when the campaign will be extended, what form it might take, or whether it would ever be extended outside the borders. "We don't want to show our hand too early."

Nevertheless, the general impression is that a second phase could be launched in the next few weeks.

The cost so far has been a shade under R300 000 — the price of placement in the papers — with the two agencies getting around R25 000 each based on the standard 16,5 percent rebate structure.

There has been some criticism that Government funds should not have been diverted for this exercise, but Mr Stewart contends that it was important that the message be conveyed to everybody in the country. That justified the decision to draw on the State's coffers.

One point raised is the use of the July 1 date for the removal of Pass Laws given in the advert but not specified in the President's speech. Mr Stewart said that this, in part, justified the advertising which, apart from backing up the speech, was intended to give greater clarity to its content.

Outsiders, commenting on the campaign, say that it is to be hoped that the Government now goes ahead with a follow-up message that spells out its intent in the various areas covered in the speech. It is important, they note, not to lose the initiative that has been established.

And those inside in the industry just hope that, in addition to the success of the campaign, the Government also gains a greater understanding of both how advertising works and how useful a tool it can be.

Maybe, therefore, there is an outside chance that the Government may then reverse its decision to apply GST to advertising.

THE circumstances in our country are simply too serious for us to bluff ourselves in the clubby atmosphere of Parliament, no matter how desperately a way out is needed.

Why I resigned — Dr Slabbert

THE decision to resign finally clarified itself for Dr Van Zyl Slabbert when he listened to the State President's Opening of Parliament speech and the commentaries which followed on it.

Announcing his shock resignation at the end of the no confidence debate in the House of Assembly yesterday afternoon, the outgoing Leader of the Opposition said his gut feelings was "here is the 1983 Referendum all over again."

"Everybody was getting excited about something which I simply could not see, no matter how hard I tried.

"One of the most painful periods in my political life was the 1983 Referendum when out of deep conviction I had to be critical and negative, while together with everybody else, I would have liked to believe we were getting out of the mess.

"This time I thought that I must weigh my words and wait for the State President to respond to some of the issues that puzzled me. He did not, but some of his ministers did and all I can say to him and his Government in all sincerity is: What I have heard and seen from all of them, including the State President, is simply not good enough. It s a false start."

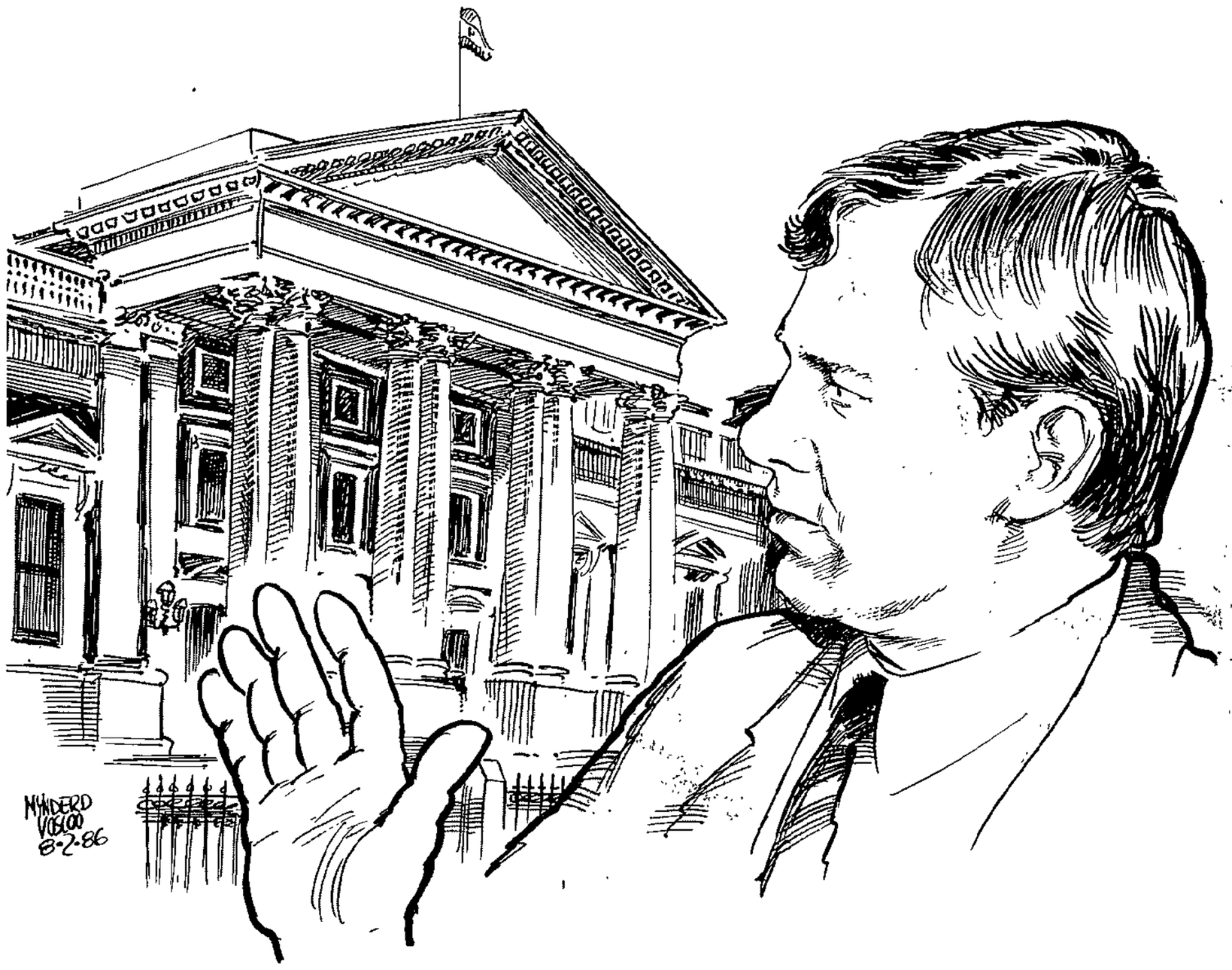
Dr Slabbert said he did not say this easily or without a certain degree of anguish.

"I have made it my business to get to know this Government and to try to understand its thinking.

"Given my position, I think I have explored politics of negotiation. So I do ot make conclusions without experience or from a remote distance.

Too serious

"I have some idea what lies behind a peech or an advert. The circumstances n our country are simply too serious or us to bluff ourselves in the clubby tmosphere of Parliament, no matter



nents start taking you for granted — either as a political punchbag or a nice guy to have around, but not to be taken seriously.

"But it is worse when you feel you are starting to take yourself for granted, that is to ask yourself where you are going for the rest of your life. Like one of those mantelpiece musical boxes that people dust off from time to time and listen to with a certain quaint nostalgia.

"Political leadership is a pro-active career, not a safe route to a retirement gratuity and pension.

ments about the state of politics and the country.

"Let me start by saying the obvious.

Not a radical

"I am not a radical, a revolutionary, or a violent protester. If our intelligence services are worth anything they know this.

"I believe passionately in the politics of negotiation. I am afraid this government does not understand the price of negotiation or if they do, do not abide

"What is up for negotiation is its alternative.

"Reform or constitutional change will never be successful as long as this Government insists that it takes place on the basis of compulsory group membership.

Flawed, failed

"The tricameral Parliament is a hopeless, flawed and failed constitutional experiment. It does not begin to solve the problem of political domination, in fact it compounds it.

DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

"If the Government extends the principle of co-optive domination to blacks as it has done to coloureds and Indians, violence and conflict is inevitable.

"The search for consensus does not lie in finding co-optive clients. It lies in genuine negotiation with those who can deliver the goods."

He said he remained an incurable democrat.

United country

He did believe South Africa could become a non-racial united South Africa where all its people could participate voluntarily in the governmental institutions of the land.

"For 12 years I have tried to pursue this goal inside Parliament. I will continue to do so outside, although at this moment I have no plans, no intention, to join any organisation or movement, nor to start one.

"In fact as of the moment my resignation becomes effective, I will not have a job. I go out as I came in, an ordinary concerned citizen of my country.

"I will continue to explore the politics of negotiation as best I can."

Dr Slabbert said he wished to close by talking as an Afrikaner. Speaking in Afrikaans, he said he had no fear for the future of his language in a democratic, united South Africa based on the free association of its citizens.

Fear for language

"In fact this is the only way in which the Afrikaner can achieve his place equally in the cultural diversity that is South Africa.

"But I fear for my language if the Afrikaner persists in being apart in the land of his birth and if domination and partition is the manner in which he does this.

"If Afrikaners reject their fellow Africans because they wish to be apart, the future will reject us in the land of our birth.

"Many of the things I have said have absolutely nothing to do with the political divisions inside and outside the Assembly.

"In fact, the political divisions as they now exist are absolutely artificial and unfit to meet the massive demand upon o

WEEKEND Argus

Slabbert goes — a tragic parting for SA

AS much as the shock resignation of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert as leader of the Opposition in the Assembly creates an opposition crisis, it also reflects South Africa's crisis of government.

It is nothing short of tragic that this young, able, energetic South African — a man whose political vision extends so clearly and courageously beyond the confines of partisan interests, whose commitment to a greater South Africa went beyond the limitations of current party structures and policies — should find his leadership role so frustrating that he can see no future in continuing.

He spoke to a hushed Parliament yesterday of his pain at having to oppose the 1983 referendum when "like everyone else I would have liked to believe that we were getting out of the mess".

Those same feelings returned this week and that same hope was dashed yet again in the no-confidence debate. South Africa was waiting for the answers and the political daring that would meet the challenges of the real world outside Parliament. It had a Presidential speech pregnant with promise — and then followed a debate larded with petty politicking and finally the moment of clarity when the State President endorsed the interpretation of Mr F W de Klerk, the Minister who most closely followed the traditional party line.

Dr Slabbert, who had been puzzled by the Government's intentions from the outset, called it "another false start". How right he is, for the country will remain in a cul de sac for as long as there is a perpetuation of the Nationalist myth that South Africa can stand united while it is unilaterally divided. His frustration at attempting to raise the level of debate and impress upon the Government the urgency of South Africa's realities is understandable and is shared by many. The tragedy is that his departure from the stage removes one of the very few people with the credibility and honesty of purpose to bridge the chasms that divide the nation so.

The political minnows have won the day.

"Another reason why it is time for me go is that a political leader is blessed ther by others or by himself.

"It is bad enough when your oppo- ... to have a go at it."

Dr Slabbert said that as this was his last speech in the House of Assembly he wanted to end with a few general com-

"Dismantling apartheid has nothing to do with negotiation. It is simply the first step towards negotiation. Apartheid is not up for negotiation. It has to go completely.

... powersharing. Those who have come into it, however good their intentions may be, have slightly eased the harshness of their own domination by administering it themselves.

... time is near that we will be redivided on language, colour and party lines, so that those who genuinely believe together, will stand and work together and will not be caught up in the tired political remnants of the past."



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Van Zyl Slabbert — the reluctant politician . . .

THE suddenness of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's resignation as Opposition leader has come as a shock.

But those who know him well have also known for long that he was not going to grow old in the Opposition benches.

He said so himself on occasion. Other politicians have said so about themselves, too, in the past. But mostly they have stayed until retirement or until a fate not of their own making forced them out.

It was different with Dr Slabbert. Much as his colleagues and supporters might have resisted the thought, they must have known he had to be taken seriously.

The concept of Parliamentary opposition in this country has long been in danger of becoming outdated. The force of Nationalism, backed by the powerful rallying call of segregation under its various names, had worn it down long before apartheid was declared to be outdated.

'Good fight'

It seemed simply inconceivable that Dr Slabbert, like others who have gone before, would simply continue the "good" fight, returning to Parliament year after year to introduce motions of no confidence in the Government and further to faithfully play the role of leading some 'Majesty's' loyal opposition.

Shortly before Parliament opened I asked him: "How long have you been in Parliament? Are you not tired of it yet?"

He flinched at the last question but started counting on his fingers in answer to the first: "Let's see, I came in in 1974... '75, '76, '78.... Yes, it's getting on to 12 years... Seven years as Opposition leader... It's becoming a long time..."

An end

I had no idea that that "long" time might come to an end so soon.

Dr Slabbert came close to quitting politics once before. He was still in the back benches then.

Before that I watched him often, sitting in the back row, chin in hand, surveying the goings-on around him. He seemed interested at first and puzzled. There was a time when he seemed amused, with just a hint of exasperation at the party-political antics. Then there came the disturbing signs of disenchantment and soon disillusionment.

It was a danger sign. And when it was announced that he had been approached to stand for election as vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, it seemed quite possible he might go.

Politically, however, the impact of that offer was dramatic. Party-colleagues who had long thought of him as a future leader jumped into action. And soon after he became Opposition leader.

Contradiction

I am still not sure whether the thing was engineered. It seemed too genuine for it. But, then, Dr Slabbert, once he set his own mind on becoming opposition leader, somehow showed the same qualities — ruthelessness, political cunning, call it what you will — that are the essential ingredients of a "good" politician.

To become opposition leader he had to step over old and trusted colleagues. That did not dissaude him.

I saw that same streak on various other occasions, such as when he laid into opponents across the floor of the house, from political platforms, or, most memorably, the time he summarily kicked Mr Japie Basson out of his caucus and subsequently his party.

And yet, Dr Slabbert would time and again suggest he wasn't "into politics", at least not the kind his opponents wanted him to play. The word "politics" he had the habit of pronouncing in a way that suggested it smelt.

Perhaps the political circumstances under which he has been forced to fight had much to do with this contradiction.

His academic brilliance is common cause. But even before he entered party politics his political brilliance and personal charisma brought him to the attention of frustrated members of the old United Party. They wanted him to sign on in the hope that he might provide the leadership they were so desperately searching for.

Dr Slabbert declined and, instead, joined the then Progressive Party.

In spite of his academic background, which did cause him to resort to too scholarly langauge for political tastes at times, he showed a striking political flair from the outset.

Awesome

He could get into the rough and tumble of party-politicking as only the best could. The awesome sight of an overwhelming Nationalist majority in Parliament seemed to inspire rather than frighten him.

HE could get into the rough and tumble of party-politicking as only the best could. The awesome sight of an overwhelming Nationalist majority in Parliament seemed to inspire rather than frighten him.

LEON MARSHALL, Political Editor



He used to take a particular delight in tearing apart the arguments of opponents, and then giving them a dressing down politically. He could turn serious, and analyse political points to the bone. Few opponents would take him on in straight-forward debate.

Yet, he rarely became personal, unless anybody had become personal in such person's attack on him.

In a strange way, yesterday's events included all the elements that have marked Dr Slabbert's political career. Except there was a tone in his speech from the outset that seemed unlike him. He seemed tense, whereas he has always been relaxed.

Shortly before he heard the President appeal to him not to become personal "again", such as he thought was implied by Slabbert's remarks about his inability to reconcile economics with politics.

In his reply Dr Slabbert had to deal with the most personal attacks on him by first Mr John Wiley and then General Magnus Malan. He replied in kind.

But what finally seemed to get to him was the frustration, as Opposition leader, of once more getting caught in exchanges that bore no relation to the serious situation of the country.

Some would say he has "chickened out". No doubt there would be many, and inevitably these would be the same who might wish to continue the "old" debate until, as Dr Slabbert indeed suggested, time would catch up and end the game.

His resignation marks the ultimate frustration of a well-meaning, highly talented South African at being unable to bring about a politically sane debate over ways of preventing the inevitable catastrophe that awaits if allowed to continue on its present course.

Even Conservative MPs have often remarked on his leadership qualities, in a way that suggested they wouldn't mind having a man like him on their side. Of course, not with the same ideologies. Heavens forbid.

Evidently politics has suffered a sad loss.

**... ... ...

Day of political drama

Wide response to turmoil in SA politics

Weekend Argus Reporter and Sapa

DR Slabbert's resignation and the turmoil in Parliament have drawn wide response.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Churches and patron of the United Democratic Front, said Dr van Zyl Slabbert's decision to resign was "a courageous one which opens quite new perspectives on the situation from the white opposition point of view".

He said: "In his resignation I see a vindication for those of us who have been critical of President Botha's speech and a vindication of the UDF's stand since the installation of the tricameral Parliament."

Integrity

The UDF executive expressed the hope that the remaining PFP MPs would also resign.

The Vice-Chancellor of UCT and president of the Institute of Race Relations, Dr Stuart Saunders, said South Africa could not afford to lose the services of "a man as talented and dedicated and with the integrity of Dr Slabbert".

Mrs Mary Burton, western Cape chairman of the Black Sash said: "We sympathise with his concern about the future and see this decision as a dramatic response to the lack of detailed and informative content in the President's much-advertised reform programme."

Regretted

A National Union of South African Students spokesman said: "This step by a man who has accepted Parliament as the only effective channel through which to challenge apartheid, must finally convince all thinking white South Africans of the nation which was "a measure of frustration with the Government's attitude in not coming to terms with the real situation in South Africa".

He said: "I think the PFP still has a great role to play in the white Parliament."

From London it is reported that the ANC has hailed Dr Slabbert's resignation as "an act of vision" that deserved a "solemn salute of honour".

Frustration

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, expressed jubilation at the news that Dr Slabbert had quit politics. "He has been a great politician with a considerable flair."

The chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said he sincerely regretted Dr Slabbert's decision to resign. He understood his frustration, "which, besides disillusionment, would also be the result of dissension within his party".

Crucial time

The chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said Dr Slabbert was a fine parliamentarian and his political expertise would be missed. "But it has been very clear that he and his party have been moving in different directions."

The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, said Dr Slabbert's resignation was a loss to South Africa at a crucial time and a loss for him personally.

The NRP's Parliamentary leader, Mr Vause Raw, said: "I believe his (Dr Slabbert's) precipitate resignation at this time is unfortunate for South

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THERE was high political drama in Parliament when the no-confidence debate reached its climax in the Assembly.

The first major development yesterday afternoon came when President P W Botha entered the debate, slammed his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, for remarks about a future black State President and supported the Transvaal National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, on the issue of racial separation in residential areas, schools and political institutions.

Then came the shock resignation by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

These events came after a week of debate in which the key issue was the meaning of President Botha's opening address to Parliament on the Government's reform plans.

Confusion

Throughout the week Parliament was buzzing with controversy over what exactly President Botha had meant when he said: "We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid."

The debate left uncertainty and confusion about the Government's reform plans.

All that was clear by the time President Botha rose to speak yesterday was that the words in his opening address did not mean what most people had thought they meant.

The initial glittering image of an apartheid-free South Africa had faded rapidly.

Minister after Minister, especially Mr de Klerk, had given Parliament interpretations and explanations which seemed like a watered-down version of the President's opening address.



President Botha . . . rebuke for Pik

Even the Government's costly attempt to market President Botha's words with advertisements stood in glaring contrast to the new version from senior Cabinet Ministers.

Originally the impression seemed to be that President Botha had meant apartheid was a thing of the past and would be abandoned.

Not only Opposition but also some Government MPs thought the end of apartheid was in sight.

The first indication that President Botha meant anything else came from Mr de Klerk when he interpreted the reform initiative.

He said the National Party still stood by key aspects of apartheid — racial separation in residential areas, schools and institutions.

This was confirmed by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

In the Assembly yesterday, President Botha said these Ministers had interpreted his words correctly.

The President's criticism of Mr Pik Botha came shortly after the Conservative Party had challenged him on Mr Pik Botha's reported remarks to foreign correspondents about a future black President.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP, Lichtenburg) said Mr Pik Botha was a happy man who was "beaming and rejoicing" because he had "his hand in many things".

Referring to Mr Pik Botha's statement that a black could become President, Dr Hartzenberg said the question which President Botha and members of the Cabinet now had to answer was "whether that black President can also be Nelson Mandela".

"Is it yes or no?" Dr Hartzenberg asked. There was little response from the Government.



Dr Slabbert . . . Parliament stunned



Mr Pik Botha . . . "black President"



Mr F W de Klerk . . . "separation stays"

When President Botha spoke, his rebuke of Mr Pik Botha seemed to be a direct response to Dr Hartzenberg's aggressive criticism. The impression was that President Botha had given in to the right wing.

Then Dr Slabbert rose to speak. There was a stunned silence when he announced his resignation.

Outside the Assembly, Mr Pik Botha declined to comment on the President's criticism of his remark about a black President. An official of the Department of Foreign Affairs said Mr Pik Botha would remain in the Cabinet.

Pik's view widely reported in UK

LONDON. — The comment by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, that a black President could one day rule South Africa was widely reported in London.

The Guardian declared: "Pretoria says an African President a possibility" and the Daily Telegraph said the hint of a black President had stirred anxiety in South Africa.

The Guardian quoted Mr Botha as saying that the elected upon, that (a black President) is made possible, how can I be (against it)?"

"If blacks share in the power of this country, that to me becomes an inevitable result," the report added.

The Telegraph reported that observers said Mr Botha



Pik will have to go, says Treurnich

PETER FABRICIUS
Parliamentary Staf

IT was unthinkable fo Minister of Foreign Affair Pik Botha, to stay in the net with any self-respect the repudiation he had rec from his leader, the Cons tive Party leader, Dr Ar Treurnicht, said last night

"President Botha public pudiated Mr Pik Botha i clearest language, in a v never thought P W would done," he told a meeti about 700 in the Cape City Hall.

"He said: 'It is your pe speculation that a black become President. It is no Government standpoint.' he ended by saying: 'Go on your work . . .'

"It is unthinkable that a son could stay in the Cal with self-respect after su repudiation. Why does he ask him to resign?"

Message

He said President Botha been forced to repudiate Pik Botha because the Con vatives had delivered the n sage to him that there wa revolt in the country after opening speech to Parliame

The Conservatives forced him to choose betw Nationalist policy as interpr ed by Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha.

But it was not Mr Botha's credibility that w called into question.

Sharing

It was Mr P W Botha w said one thing for the outs world and another for the c servatives within his own pa ty, who, as Dr van Zyl Slabbe had said, really belonged in th Conservative Party.

"Pik Botha spoke the truth: If you accept power-sharing, then there could be a black Presi dent.

change through this Parliament."

The Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, said he deeply regretted Dr Slabbert's resig-

Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative MP for Jeppe, said he felt Dr Slabbert had lost confidence in the Parliamentary system.

The Times headlined its report, the main item on its foreign page: "Pik Botha foresees day of black President ruling South Africa."

The Times quoted Mr Botha as saying when asked about the possibility of a black President: "If in terms of the structures to be jointly

[illegible] become unavoidable" if agreement could be reached on "a suitable way" of protecting the rights of minorities.

[illegible] views of the more enlightened reformist section of the National Party rather than speaking for the party as a whole. — Sapa.



Dr Treurnicht

[illegible]otha to say that he was going to say it much later. And he especially didn't want him to look as if he enjoyed saying it."

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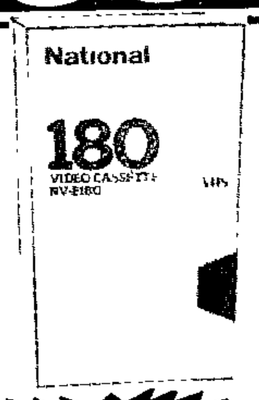

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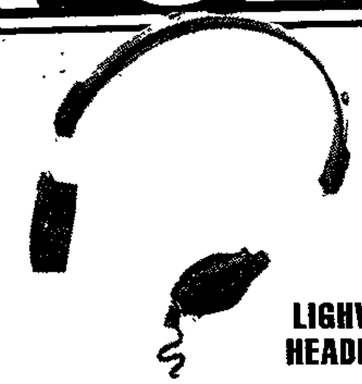

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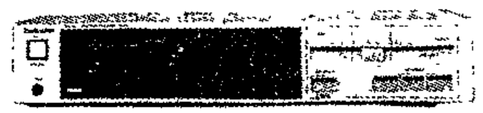

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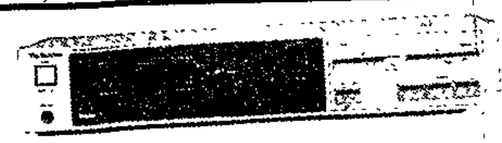

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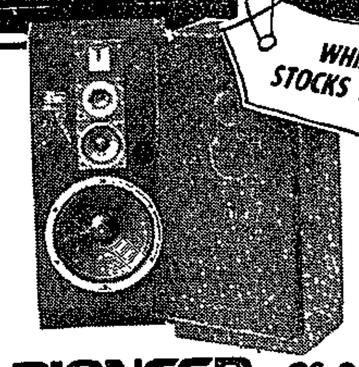

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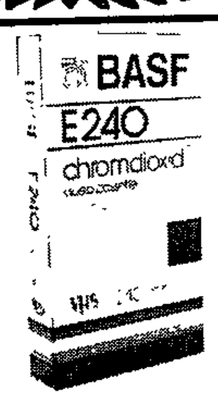

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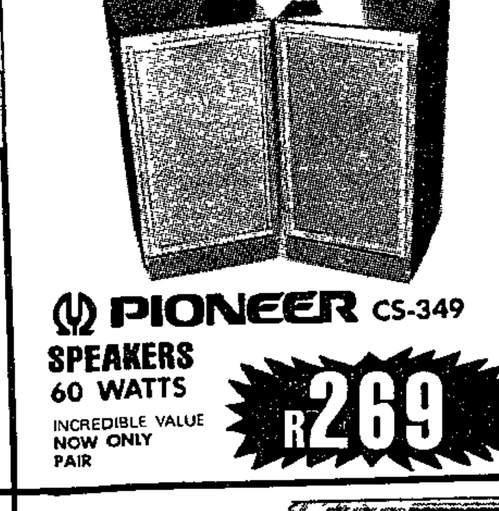

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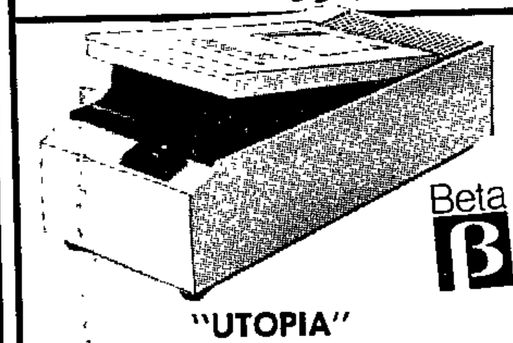

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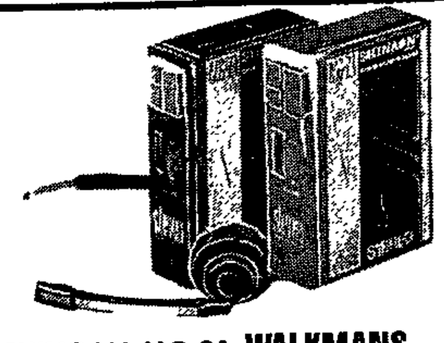

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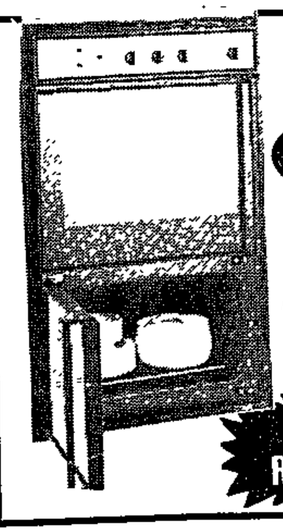

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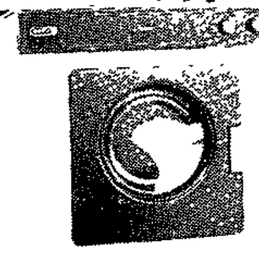

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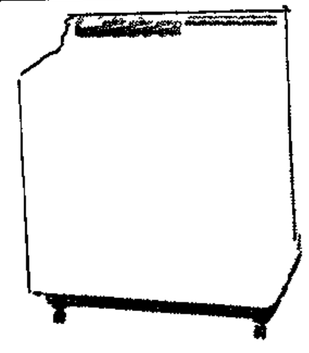

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8/2/86 (304A)

Referendum first, says PW

PARLIAMENT — Any drastic decisions for South Africa's constitutional future would be taken to the country first for a test of the peoples' will, in the form of a referendum, the State President, Mr P W Botha, reiterated yesterday during the No Confidence Debate.

Under his leadership, a programme had been worked out along a number of guidelines. The first of these was that the peoples of South Africa formed one nation, "but our nation is a nation of minorities", he said.

Repeating the principles he gave in his opening speech to Parliament on Friday, among them participation by all — taking into account the multi-cultural nature of South African society — the State President said he was "not for any other system that does not meet these requirements".

No drastic decisions would be taken about constitutional moves without them being tested by referendum, he said. — Sapa.



President Botha . . . "No member of the Cabinet has any right to compromise the party in such a way".

PW Botha hauls Pik over the coals for 'speculation' on future black president

(304A) STAR 8/2/86

PARLIAMENT — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday repudiated the view of the Minister of Foreign Affairs that a black president was possible in terms of Government policy.

The President said no Minister had the right to compromise this Government in the manner in which Mr Pik Botha had.

He wished to state unequivocally that any speculation or discussion regarding future constitutional situations were purely hypothetical and in no way represented official policy.

The Foreign Minister had been advised of his view. Mr Pik Botha had agreed with these views in a letter to him yesterday morning, the President said.

The President said much had been made of the different viewpoints expressed by Mr Pik Botha and the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk.

He wished to say that Mr de Klerk had correctly interpreted his presidential speech on Friday on the protection of minority rights and he had no difficulties with the views expressed by the Minister.

But he could not allow any member of the Cabinet to compromise the Government in the way in which Mr Botha had.

Speaking amid interjections in the No Confidence Debate the President said much had been made over the last few days of the "sensational" statements of some of his senior Ministers, in an attempt to play them off against one another.

Mr Botha said opposition speakers' attempts to create divisions among senior Government Ministers was accepted political strategy and it was obvious not everyone thought the same way.

After further interjections, which the Speaker prohibited for the rest of the President's speech, Mr Botha said both senior Ministers had been fully informed of the contents of his opening speech to Parliament last Friday and that "they fully supported every word".

Mr de Klerk, in his speech during the debate, had emphasised the parts of the President's speech dealing with the protection of minority rights in South Africa, "clearly setting them out ... I have no problems with this," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha said that the parts of his speech which Mr de Klerk had dealt with "have to be seen in the context of my whole speech".

DUTY TO SPEAK OUT

Mr Pik Botha, however, had told a foreign Pressman what could happen when it came to a future President of South Africa.

The President said he had told Mr Botha he felt the Foreign Minister had compromised himself and the National Party on matters which he and the party should not speak out on.

Mr Pik Botha had told the President his remarks about the possibility of a future black president had not been intended to be seen a National Party policy.

Mr P W Botha said he felt it his duty to speak out on the matter and to say "any speculation about future presidents is purely hypothetical ...".

In a letter to the President yesterday morning, Mr Pik Botha had said he agreed with this. — Sapa.

Parliament and Politics

Slabbert: 'Time for me to go'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the Leader of the Opposition, yesterday announced his resignation.

Replying to the no-confidence debate he said: "I have done my share and I believe that it is time for someone else to have a go at it.

"Political leadership is a pro-active career, not a safe route to retirement, gratuity and pension.

"I have decided the time has come for me to go.

Clarified

"Perhaps the issue finally clarified itself for me when I listened to the State President's opening speech and the commentaries that followed it."

Dr Slabbert said his gut feeling was "here is the 1983 referendum all over again".

Everybody was getting excited about something he simply could not see, no matter how hard he tried.

The 1983 referendum had been "one of the most painful periods in my political life when out of deep conviction I had to be critical and negative whilst toegther with everybody else I would have like to believe we were getting out of the mess".

Issues

"This time I thought that I must weigh my words and wait for the State President to respond to some of the issues that puzzled me.

"He did not, but some of his ministers did and all I can say to him and his government in all sincerity is: 'What I have heard and seen from all of them, including the State President, is simply not good enough'.

"It is a false start," Dr Slabbert said.

His resignation announcement followed what he termed his political response to the debate.

Personal

"I wish to conclude on a more personal note — without acrimony or bitterness," he said

This was his 12th year in Parliament and his seventh as Leader of the Opposition — years during which he had often asked himself what the role of the Opposition should be in a complex, conflict-ridden society such as South Africa's.

Even now, with clarity and conviction, he could answer that. An Opposition had to question the actions of government, expose its contradiction and shortcomings, protest against injustice and the erosion of civil liberties and define alternatives to policy deadends.

All this the PFP Opposition had done.

For this he wanted to pay sincere tribute to his colleagues for their efforts and encouraged them to continue to do so in the future.

Another aspect of Opposition, which had a life and momentum of its own, was political leadership in Opposition.

"This has to be judged on different grounds and the most important judge is the person himself," Dr Slabbert said.

He had to decide when the tension between analysis and practice was no longer bearable for himself.

Right time

"In other words, he has to decide when is the right time to go. The magic moment for any political leader is to find the right time to go.

"I believe it is perhaps slightly less painful to go when people want you to stay, than to stay when people want you to go.

"I have decided the time has come for me to go," he said.

He had made it his business to get to know the government and to try to understand its thinking.

Explored

"Given my position I think I have explored every nook and cranny for possible leverage to promote the politics of negotiation, so I do not make conclusions without experience or from a remote distance.

"I have some idea what lies behind every speech or advert. The circumstances in our country are simply too serious for us to bluff ourselves in the clubby atmosphere of Parliament, no matter how desperately a way out is needed.

"And we need a way out," Dr Slabbert said.

Another reason why it was time for him to go was that a leader was blessed if he realized he was being taken for granted, even if opponents took him for granted as a political punchbag not to be taken seriously.

"But it is worse when you feel you are starting to take yourself for granted, that this is where you are going to be for the rest of your life — like one of those mantlepiece musical boxes that people dust off from time to time and listen to with a quaint nostalgia." — Sapa

Peace through power sharing

Cape Times 9/2/86 (3044)

The Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

PRESIDENT BOTHA'S commitment to power sharing between whites and blacks flies in the face of Nationalist dogma of many years.

Nationalists have always maintained: "One can divide power (the homelands policy, for example) or be forced to give up power but power cannot be shared — certainly not between whites and blacks."

These spokesmen were of course thinking of power sharing exclusively in terms of the Westminster system of government. Blacks voting on a common roll with whites would indeed irrevocably lead to the end of white rule in South Africa.

That a Nationalist leader can now commit himself unambiguously to power sharing testifies to the strength of a new theory of democracy which has been gaining ground in the Western world and in South Africa since the early 1970s.

This is the tongue-twisting concept of consociationalism which can be better termed "power sharing between groups".

The main exponent of this theory is Arend Lijphart, a Dutch political scientist now teaching at the University of California.

Highly respected in academic circles here and abroad, he was the expert cited most frequently in the President's Council constitutional report of 1982. (He politely but firmly rejects attempts to enlist his writings in support of the constitution of 1983.) As a member of the Buthelezi Commission's report he put his imprint on its proposals for power sharing in the Natal region.

It is singularly fortunate that Lijphart's latest work on the subject, completed in October last year, has just become available in South Africa. This is his study "Power-Sharing in South Africa" which is published by the University of California (Berkeley) Institute of International Affairs*. It deserves to be widely studied by all who advocate peaceful change in South Africa.

Form of democracy

On the cover there appears these striking words: "This book is based on the conviction that peace and democracy in South Africa are a realistic possibility — although by no means a certainty or even a high probability. Nobody who knows South Africa can be an optimist, but few would completely deny that a peaceful and democratic solution can be found... We must try to discover which particular solution maximizes the probability of success."

Lijphart argues convincingly for a particular form of democracy as the solution.

In his view democracy means firstly that those who are affected by a decision should have the chance to participate in that particular decision, and that executive power be shared among all the significant segments in a plural society.

In contrast, the Westminster-style winner takes all democracy demands that the will of the majority should prevail.

Lijphart prefers to call this not democracy but majoritarianism. It is a system that can work only in homogenous societies.

In deeply divided plural societies like South Africa the permanent domination of small groups by those that are more populous "will inevitably lead to the violation of the rights of minorities, both black and white, to ethnic and racial polarization, and to civil war and/or dictatorship".



President Botha ... a commitment to sharing power.

For President Botha's "power sharing" to be accepted by blacks and the Western world as a genuine variant of democracy it must meet the following requirements:

There must be:

(i) Executive power sharing among representatives of all significant groups.

(ii) A high degree of internal autonomy for groups that wish to have it.

(iii) Proportional representation of groups elected on a universal franchise.

(iv) A minority veto on the most vital issues.

These requirements can be met only if there is a fundamental restructuring of South Africa.

To take the first point — that of a group coalition to form the executive branch of government. Lebanon has shown how explosive a situation can become where a minority group, like the Christians in Lebanon, has built-in control.

For power sharing as proclaimed by Mr Botha to be accepted, whites will have to accept a co-equal leadership role.

As Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi suggested, President Botha is indeed courageous to be prepared to serve as chairman of the national statutory council, which is to address matters of common concern. However, in the longer run the question is whether the white leader will accept a system whereby the chairmanship/presidency rotates.

Consociational democracies often operate on such a principle and this is probably what Mr Pik Botha has in mind when he talks about the possibility of there being black presidents in the future.

Even more crucial is the question of how the constituent groups are identified in a system of power sharing between minority groups. In simple terms: he states that South Africa's official classification of the population into four racial groups "is so objectionable that any stem of election based on it is doomed to failure".

Equally objectionable is enforced "own affairs" such as enforced school segregation. Certainly a group like the Afrikaners can opt for voluntary self-segregation in schools. But the state has no right to deny other groups the option of multiracial and multi-ethnic education. Statements by Nationalist spokesmen this week that there will never be school integration seriously undermine President Botha's claim that South Africa has outgrown the concept of apartheid.

Finally for a genuine system of power sharing to work, South Africa must adopt a system of proportional representation to assess the respective strength of the groups.

It is almost impossible to see this electoral system coming about for it may mean the National Party dismantling itself.

Lijphart thinks that if race classification is abolished the Progressive Federal Party would win the support of at least two-thirds of the white-coloured-Indian group that is likely to form. As in the case of Britain, the big parties are dead set against any change of rules which would weaken their position.

It will make little sense to push the National Party too hard on this. Afrikaner nationalism as a factor is publicly de-emphasized, but is a major factor that must not be underestimated. For this reason, too, much thought will have to be given to make the minority group veto as effective as possible.

Separate rolls

No one can be optimistic about the government meeting the requirements for power sharing. Still, if words have any value, President Botha is prepared to walk along the road of power sharing.

Along that road many compromises will have to be struck. Lijphart himself refers to the possibility of separate voters' rolls — or one in which one or more groups, for instance the whites, can separately elect their representatives. According to him it can be acceptable provided it is properly negotiated.

However, there is a bottom line: enforced racial classification (which is the essence of apartheid) and enforced school segregation destroy any chance of power sharing winning acceptance.

Nevertheless in power sharing South Africa finally has a concept on the table which offers the hope of a peaceful solution. This is a solution which meets the vital requirements of both giving blacks full participation in genuine political power and protecting minority groups against the perils of majoritarianism.

Our politics can become so much more constructive if this becomes the framework of debate for all reasonable people.

(Herman Giliomee is a Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town.)

* **Arend Lijphart**: Power-Sharing in South Africa, Institute of International Studies, Berkeley, $10.

even more dramatic development in the Assembly is a shock to the entire party system.

The Leader of the Opposition has resigned in as startling a way as possible: at the climax of a formal national debate with the international media in full attendance. He has taken his decision with almost no warning to his party.

No doubt Dr Van Zyl Slabbert is intent on shocking white South Africa to its senses. No doubt he feels that his supporters, grasping at straws and blinded by wishful thinking, are in danger of being duped. No doubt he wants to ensure that he is not responsible for leading his flock, like a Judas goat, into quicksands.

Dr Slabbert's case, like his sincerity, is hard to fault. But his timing and his political wisdom are in question. The questions that arise are:

- What happens to the parliamentary opposition?
- What happens to government?
- What happens to the electorate?

The answer to the first question is that the PFP may disintegrate. The Opposition Leader is perhaps the only man who can hold it together. He is one of the few who can communicate well with the Government. If his party breaks up it would allow the Conservative Party to take over the Opposition benches.

As far as the Government is concerned, Dr Slabbert's grand gesture may strengthen the Right-wing elements in the party — or at least leave the Nat verligtes isolated.

As for the electorate, well, will they hear the deep warning that the thoughtful and desperate Opposition leader is trying to give them? Or will they regard his move as defeatist and negative? Is he looking for a new platform?

Time will soon tell, though the answers already appear predictable. It is likely that the retiring Leader of the Opposition will be criticised for taking his stand (or leaving his ship, depending on the point of view) at the very moment when difficulties within the National Party were beginning to make his point for him. Why should he resign — moments after an embarrassing split has appeared in the smooth granite-like surface of the Government?

Dr Slabbert has been agonising over his role for some time. His explanations show that he cannot bring himself to support the kind of reform which the State President is attempting to project. Dr Slabbert's view is that the reform programme and the tricameral Parliament are a double load of codswallop. But can he convince more people from outside the system than from the Opposition front-bench?

Nothing he has said so far has convinced us that his action is not a political cop-out. Should it prove so, it will be a tragedy.

PIK: future on line?

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's public reprimand from President Botha yesterday may make his position almost untenable.

There was no immediate comment from either the Minister or his staff on yesterday's events.

Mr Botha headed immediately for the Transvaal after Parliament adjourned to attend a National Party executive meeting scheduled for today.

There is speculation that he may resign as Minister and as one of the Transvaal NP's vice-chairmen.

Sources close to the Minister dispute this, pointing out that the President had said he had received a letter from the Minister agreeing with the view that any speculation or discussion regarding future constitutional situations were purely hypothetical and in no way represented official policy.

They dismiss as unfounded speculation stories that the Minister is to take over the leadership of the PFP, or that he will start a new political party with PFP and NP moderates, or that he will retire completely.

If Mr Botha does stay, it would be difficult to imagine how he could continue to be the Government's chief representative



MR PIK BOTHA

abroad, or how he could market the country's case credibly.

He has previously been involved in a controversy over his alleged hard sell overseas of last years's "Rubicon" speech. Some have accused him of raising the expectations of the speech too high.

If Mr Botha goes, the National Party will lose a flamboyant but highly effective communicator.

He is one of the world's most experienced Foreign Ministers, having served in this office longer than any Western politician except for West Germany's Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Mr F W de Klerk, the Minister of Home Affairs and leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport from Cape Town last night. Asked about the State President's comments on Mr Botha, he replied "I have no comment to make."



DR VAN ZYL SLABBERT . . . "the party must go on and grow."

Stunned silence as PFP leader drops 'bombshell'

Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT — Government and opposition MPs appeared stunned when Dr van Zyl Slabbert dropped his resignation bombshell in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Only minutes before the PFP leader rose to close this year's No-Confidence Debate the State President expressed his admiration for Dr Slabbert's qualifications and intellectual approach.

"He knows my door is open to him, that I have always gone out of my way to open it to him," Mr Botha said.

"I would like to keep it like that, otherwise I am not going to descend to the level where we go at each other across the floor as if there are no problems in South Africa," he said.

Dr Slabbert rose to deliver what only his grim-faced colleagues knew was to be his last speech in Parliament. He summed up the debate routinely, attacking the Government incisively.

Then the Leader of the Opposition said he wished to conclude "on a more personal note — without acrimony or bitterness".

As the penny began to drop that he was quitting, the House became silent. The President stared straight ahead. Senior Ministers shot glances at their leader. Several PFP members looked anguished. Afterwards, when the Government had defeated Dr Slabbert's motion of no confidence in the Cabinet the President was seen to stroll over and shake the PFP leader's hand.

Reaction outside Parliament was dramatic.

Even Government Ministers were shocked by Dr Slabbert's decision, apparently fearing the PFP coalition would break up, allowing the Conservative Party to take over as official Opposition. PFP MPs and staffers stood around in groups. Diplomats lingered and one described Dr Slabbert's speech as "beautiful and moving".

Financial shock as Nedbank MD resigns

Mr Rob Abrahamsen, managaing director of the Nedbank group, has resigned and Mr Anton van der Merwe Vance has been appointed MD. Mr Gerry Muller, deputy chairman and former chief executive officer, will re-assume the position of chief executive officer.

Mr Abrahamsen told *The Star* last night his decision was based entirely on personal reasons and should not be linked in any way to the bank's difficulties as a result of the country's debt standstill with its international creditors.

However, there is no doubt that Mr Abrahamsen's resignation will lead to a great deal of uncertainty in the banking world, not only in this country, but overseas as well.

The next meeting between this country's monetary authorities and its major creditor banks is scheduled for later in the month. The resignation of the MD of one of the country's major banks and, in particular the bank most exposed in the standstill arrangement, can only lead to further uncertainty.

- **The rand is on the rise, bolstered by the speech delivered by the State President at the opening of Parliament last Friday.**

The rand, which had fallen to well below 40 US cents, closed a very successful week at just above 47 cents.

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — White politics are in a turmoil after Mr Pik Botha's public chastisement by the State President yesterday and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's shock resignation.

It was a day of Parliamentary high drama as the No-Confidence Debate ended with first a slapdown of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, then Dr Slabbert's "I quit" speech.

Reaction to Dr Slabbert's resignation ranged from African National Congress jubilation to sadness from his colleagues.

In the other drama, President Botha's almost brutal repudiation of his Foreign Minister's view that the country might one day have a black president has overturned last week's carefully planned and publicised reform speech.

The major setback for the National Party's liberal wing has raised an enormous question mark over Government sincerity about shared power.

It put Mr Pik Botha's political future in doubt and seriously undermined his credibility as the Government's most effective reform salesman.

At the same time Dr Slabbert's resignation plunged the Progressive Federal Party into a crisis. At least three more PFP MPs indicated they might also resign.

Last night the two factions of the PFP "coalition" were already at odds over Dr Slabbert's successor. MPs on both sides say they might not stay if the wrong man gets the job.

The feeling is almost unanimous that there is nobody in Parliament able to keep the party together.

Question

President Botha's heavy-handed action after yesterday's snap meeting of Nationalist Cabinet Ministers stunned diplomats and journalists.

Mr Pik Botha's "crime" was to express his personal view in answer to a question by a foreign journalist. He told his questioner that if the minorities felt safe the country would have black presidents as an inevitable result of power-sharing.

His punishment was a sharp rebuke from the State President:

"No Minister of the governing party of this House has the right to so compromise his party without consultation."

Only minutes later, before MPs had digested the first drama, Dr Slabbert announced he was quitting his party's leadership and parliamentary politics immediately.

"My decision finally clarified itself when I listened to the State President's opening-of-Parliament speech and the commentaries," he said.

● See Pages 2 and 9.

Pik widely quoted

LONDON — The recent comment by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, that a black president could one day rule South Africa was widely reported in London.

The Times headlined its report, the main item on its foreign page: "Pik Botha foresees day of black president ruling South Africa".

The Guardian declared: "Pretoria says an African president a possibility."

The Times quoted Mr Pik Botha as saying when asked about the possibility of a black president: "If in terms of the structures to be jointly agreed upon, that (a black president) is made possible, how can I be (against it)."

If you're going to the Big T today or intend having a couple of bets on the meeting, may I make a few suggestions which will save you much embarrassment later on.

Start the morning by asking your bank manager to freeze your account and, if you're a building society boytjie, phone the cops and tell them you saw someone carrying a plastic bag into your branch. They'll close it.

Second, try to wear your oldest clothes, which if you're a punter, shouldn't be too hard to find ... and then tie a jersey around your neck — you might not be back until after winter.

Third, if you're one of the lucky few who survived World War 2 and won one of those awards for bravery like the VC

● To Page 2, Col 7 ☛





Bridget Weigh... is described as bubbly, bouncy and full of fun.

● See Weekend



● See Weekend



cer and Adrian Frederick's reports from Royal Johannesburg.



PFP's parliamentary 'coalition' threatened

Slabbert shock puts politics in turmoil

STAR 304A

8/2/86



MY VIEW
Francois Wolfaardt

Go to the Big T — if you dare

sunrise opi

The Star

The city: now what?

ONE wonders whether the city fathers, and citizens themselves, appreciate what is happening in central Johannesburg. Quite apart from its imminent "opening" to normal capitalist practices — all races are about to be allowed to trade in it — the city is on the brink of some profound physical changes too. The question is: what sort of city have we in mind for the future? Should we bumble on, or should planners spell out a scenario so that we who live and work in it can approve or disapprove?

The open trading issue is extremely important. It would be nice to see it extended to unrestricted property ownership too. It was significant that in the Christmas buying boycott by blacks, the central city was not badly affected. Most shopkeepers found it difficult to tell whether the decline in turnover was due to the recession or the boycott.

Not so in Pretoria. There the boycott had impact. But then, for years, Pretorians had talked of making their city white by night; a few even wanted it white by day! Had city centres been "open", boycotts would not have even been discussed.

Apart from the impact of an open city, what are we to make of Johannesburg's new blue-glass image? The latest glass building, the Johannesburg Sun, has unwittingly challenged the public to decide whether to allow property developers to call the tune for the city centre's looks — the hotel has opted for antiseptic landscaping rather than "green lungs" — or whether we need urban designers to suggest guidelines.

The Star believes in a proper overall plan. Pleasant city centres don't just happen. Johannesburg is living proof of that. The city centre is becoming more exciting only because a few big entrepreneurs have become concerned by the sight of derelict shops, offices and parking garages while, in the suburbs, they see the opposite. The time is now ripe to plan the new Johannesburg.

Other opinion

White people cannot possibly understand how difficult the pass laws and, later, influx control made life for the average black person, with run-ins with the police becoming an everyday occurrence.

According to the Urban Foundation the arrest picture for the last several years, under these laws, looks like this: In 1981, 160 000 people were arrested; in 1982, 206 000; in 1983, 263 000; and in 1984, about 240 000.

Roughly there was therefore a stage when someone was being arrested every two minutes and by implication being branded a criminal . . .

The scrapping of this legal millstone alone, however, will not solve all the problems. One major challenge is going to be to create a strategy for urban employment opportunities which will give increasing numbers of South Africans the chance to work their way up.

— Beeld

THEY SAY . . .

I am against communism. I want freedom. I am an African. — **Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.**

□ □ □

You can tell which is McEnroe's jet. The whine goes on after the engines have been switched off. — **American pilot after a flight with John McEnroe and Tatum O'Neill.**

□ □ □

I'm not a politician, but I believe that if we could send teams to South Africa or entertain them here, the racialist diehards would see that people of all races can play cricket together. — **Former**

r worth more than the vote

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS
BY HARVEY TYSON



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and the promises that are circulating like inflated two-rand notes.

The common denominator is not only unique, it happens to be almost the highest goal any community can attain.

I'm talking of Rule of Law.

The very term is so overused, the concept so abused and little used that it has taken several paragraphs before I could bring myself to repeat it. Yet it ought to be the holy grail of all South Africans. It offers the only key to security, equality, justice, peace and all those other "motherhood" qualities for which we yearn.

And the magic quality of Rule of Law is that every politician, every citizen wants it, or must pay lip-service to it.

"We believe in the sovereignty ... sanctity and indivisibility of law and the just application thereof. Any future system must conform with the requirements of a civilised legal order, and must ensure access to the courts and equality before the law."

So said State President Botha on Friday last week.

"...a workable ideal (is) Rule of Law (involving) individual rights protected by an independent judiciary. The guaranteeing of human rights is in fact, in my opinion, one of the best forms of guaranteeing group rights."

So said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Tuesday.

"What is needed is some sort of Bill of Rights which will place inviolable rights in the hands of the Supreme Court, not in those of the Government or legislature."

So said Mr Justice Gert Coetzee, Deputy Judge-President of the Transvaal and senior judge of the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court, in an SABC radio broadcast last week.

"The independence of the judiciary is of cardinal importance to the protection of the rights of all inhabitants of South Africa, and to the maintenance of an atmosphere of trust, and law and order. In a society that finds itself in a phase of rapid change, an independent judiciary is indispensable to the creation of a basic order in which conflict may best be regulated and prevented."

So said the Society of University Teachers of Law in a resolution passed by their annual meeting last week.

"The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children ... No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial. No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official."

So says the Freedom Charter, drawn up 31 years ago and embraced today by the UDF, the ANC, and several other organisations. The Freedom Charter, in fact, has 10 headings and almost all deal with elements of Rule of Law and full democracy.

Law, proper law properly protected, is all we really need to agree on in South Africa. If we accept what our cultural heritage teaches us to strive for, we can only move towards peace and security.

It sounds so simple. Yet it is a goal which mankind has sought for a thousand years, and seldom reached, let alone held on to.

Germany had it, but lost it during the 1935-45 period. Germany lost its entire civilised heritage in an instant in history, without even a revolution or nation-wide civil disturbance.

America has enshrined it for 100 years, yet the struggle to achieve parity before the law still continues in some states of the union.

The British, with all their traditions since the signing of Magna Carta, have often sacrificed it in the cause of protecting privileged property or extending their own rule.

South Africa has fought for it, won it, and lost it.

The position in our now reviled country is starkly obvious. We could so easily put matters right — by dramatically returning all the power of the law to an independent judiciary, and taking it out of the hands of party politicians and policemen.

A return to Rule of Law would, in one simple sweep, kill apartheid and legal discrimination; and ensure basic rights and basic freedom. It would unlock the jails which hold prisoners who have never been charged and never been allowed to defend themselves. It would prevent torture in captivity and end all such accusations.

The law is something which our parents and their parents were prepared to defend with their lives. It is something every South African ought to feel passionate about today.

If you and I and people of every colour and persuasion were to draw a line beyond which we would not be moved; if enough people told the leaders they support that they will not tolerate violence — especially legalised violence — there would be no need for all the bombast we hear from Cape Town, Lusaka and political platforms everywhere. There would be no need for elaborate reform plans and complicated constitutional blueprints.

Rule of Law matters much more to you than money, the vote, and political power.



"You were supposed to swop Shcharansky for one of our spies, Oleg!"

POLITICAL COMMENTARY
By DAVID BRAUN



Let's hope PW's adverts live up to their promises

The Government's R300 000 advertising campaign was generally welcomed this week.

Even politicians who objected to the fact that it was being paid for by the taxpayer were forced to admire the new aggressive style of marketing.

Businessmen must have been generally pleased, if only because President Botha's speech did not again result in a tumble for the rand.

In fact, the style of delivery of the speech and the advertisements probably contributed to the currency's recovery to above $0,45.

The hard-sell of politics, similar to the aggressive marketing of a new brand of laundry detergent, is modern practice in many countries.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party in Britain owed much of its last two election victories to the slick campaign directed by Saatchi and Saatchi.

In America, political advertising and image is critical. President Reagan continues to be a highly successful and popular leader largely because he is so good at using particularly the electronic media.

This week's marketing of a president is not a first in South African politics.

SUCCESSFUL

The Progressive Party, as it then was, once fought a highly successful campaign based largely on full-page advertisements with the slogan: "We have the people, you have the vote."

And in the 1983 referendum the National Party spent a large sum of money on its campaign for a "yes" vote, no doubt contributing significantly to the massive support it got.

Government leaders have also learnt the hard way that image counts for so much in the information age.

President Botha has clearly adjusted his style since the hammering he took after his performance at last year's Rubicon speech.

Last week's speech at the opening of Parliament was delivered more crisply and less arrogantly, while Mr Botha actually used a teleprompter for his address on black television on Friday night.

It was strange, though, that he chose to lecture the black community standing behind a lectern. Although he did come over sincerely, it would surely

LETTERS

This sexist rot is not cricket

The first "Sports Special" on TV4 on January 19 left me with the firm conviction that many female cricket fans, be they armchair viewers or otherwise, would thank the SABC in future not to subject ANYONE to the inane sexist rot seen on that programme.

Do we really need to see female models making such fools of themselves in states of semi-undress while a male, in an inane dream sequence, slavers over them?

It would be pleasurable to think that cricket is [illegible]

SA Govt displays communist traits

So long as the ANC is believed to be communist the less trouble it can be in a country like ours; and the less we have to lose by talking to it. As an economic system, communism has been shown universally to be a seismic disaster with an unbroken record of failure everywhere.

Unfortunately our Government equates communism with tyranny and despotism. That is a highly questionable assumption, especially from people who live in glass houses. Nazi Germany was violently anti-communist but its political regime was horrendously despotic.

We pretend to be a free enterprise capitalistic society even though nearly half of our work force is employed by the Government, which also controls significant chunks of our industry and the means of production. That is doing nearly as well as communist governments.

Politically, there are 20 million people in this country who consider 100 executions a year — more than the Czar of Russia committed in 10 years — the arrest of 250 000, all black, under punitive pass laws thereby creating an unbelievable wake of tragedy, the death of Biko in circumstances where nobody was held responsible except a couple of doctors who failed to restore him from rigor mortis to the pinnacle of athletism, and the shooting of nearly 1 000 people in the streets last year, a monstrous hideous record for any government. All the promises of reform cannot give the leopard new spots.

So if the ANC is communist then our

Fact-finders should stay 6 weeks

The South African Government is constantly being attacked from all sides. I have been in South Africa for almost four years

cated "violence". The teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ are "love", mercy and peace Bishop Tutu's teachings are a far cry from

SA's problems political

BERNE — SA's problems were political and not financial, said Walter Seipp, chief executive of Commerzbank.

Speaking at the Davos symposium in Switzerland, he added: "The troubles which led to SA's declaration of a debt moratorium started when US banks withdrew credit lines."

Commerzbank is a member of the group of banks negotiating SA's debts with debt-mediator Fritz Leutwiler. — Reuter.

Slabbert setback which way forwa

STANLEY UYS analyses the implications of last week's sudde tion of PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, which has pl party into crisis and created new problems for government.

Uys, who recently retired after more than 40 years of writ political events in this country, is the doyen of parliamentary c dents in SA and one of the most clear and perceptive political co tors.

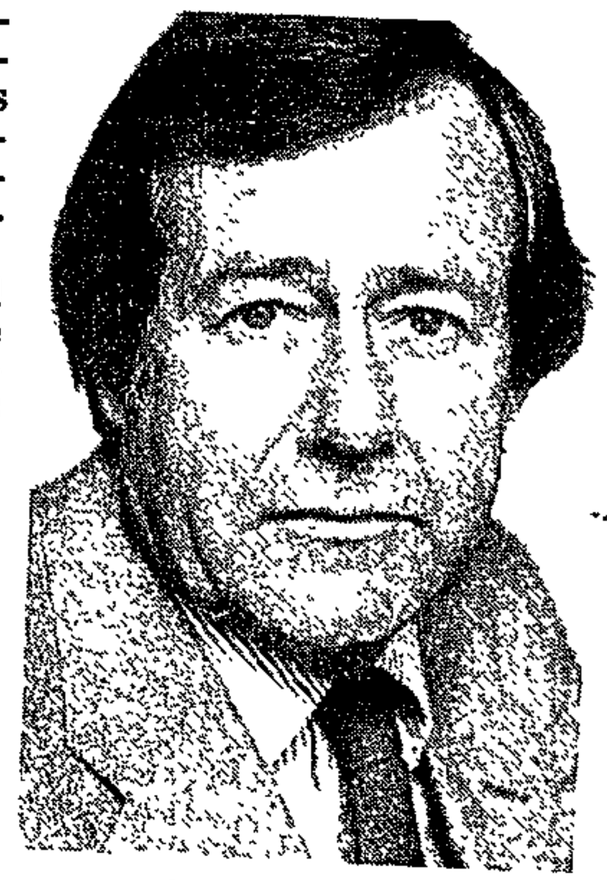
Rus DM 10/2/86

THERE is no more definitive way for an Opposition leader to declare his no confidence in a government than to resign his leadership and membership of Parliament.

This is what Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has done. Today in the House of Assembly he will formalise the deed. Effectively, he is telling the nation that Parliament is no longer the institution it used to be, and that working through it for apartheid reform is a thankless task.

There are two ways of looking at what Slabbert has done. One is from the point of view of the Progressive Federal Party. That he has dealt the PFP a massive blow to the solar plexus is undeniable. Now the recriminations are flying thick and fast.

The case against Slabbert, as it is being argued by his critics, may be stated as follows:



● STANLEY UYS

He should never have accepted the PFP leadership if he did not have a long-term commitment to see this as "an opportunity that had to be explored", rather than as a "cancer".

He has confirmed suspicions held from the start by one or two of his senior colleagues that he was not a stayer.

It was grossly self-indulgent to choose the winding up of the no-confidence debate as the moment of maximum self-dramatisation to drop his bombshell.

He cancelled out PFP gains in the debate and completely overshadowed President's P W Botha's massive repudiation of Pik Botha's "black president" remarks.

Slabbert, at the least, should have waited until the parliamentary recess.

The resignation will pave the way for other PFP MPs who may have been looking for an opportunity to quit Parliament.

Above all, Slabbert has served notice on PFP supporters around the country that there is actually no further point in sending anyone to represent them in Parliament, because it has become such an "ineffective" institution.

If a charismatic leader — and Afrikaner saviour of the English-speakers — like Slabbert believes the parliamentary struggle is no longer worth the candle, then who is there in PFP ranks to say him nay?

The impact on the PFP has been shattering and many bitter things are being said about Slabbert by former admirers. His reputation among some of them has been irretrievably damaged.

Picking up the pieces will be a melancholy business, but picked up they will have to be, because life goes on.

So much for the case against Slabbert. Is there anything to be said in his favour?

It has been claimed that he has done the credibility of the white opposition an immense service by pricking the bubble of apartheid reform. Much of the elaborate marketing of Botha's Rubicon II speech has gone down the drain.

It is not only the African National Congress which sees Slabbert's action as "heroic". So do many international critics of apartheid and, of course, many blacks in SA itself — those blacks who have never had any faith in the reform programme.

So in this sense, Slabbert has made an investment in the future.

Now Western governments, foreign bankers, Fritz Leutwiler *et al* are going to find it much more difficult to go along with the campaign that was building up so nicely to persuade us our situation really was improving.

It is still too early to assess what impact Slabbert's action will have on SA's financial situation. Possibly Leutwiler will still be able to persuade the 30 creditor banks to accept his compromise formula at the crucial February 20 meeting in London.

But what will Leutwiler tell the bankers if they quote Slabbert's considered judgment to him that apartheid snare and delusion

The question mu why did Slabbert r

Obviously, its not just to say that a what a man must d too, Slabbert knew tion would knock th his party.

So did he resign believes a crisis i white politics in SA clysmic things will h tify and legitimise own cataclysmic ac

The enormity of done can be excused mous events are to f wise, his resignati

WORLD

Aqui electi

MANILA — Opposit zon Aquino, pushing showdown with F nand Marcos, claim Philippine elections

Rival poll counts p tender Aquino narrov cos early yesterday ir Philippine presidency

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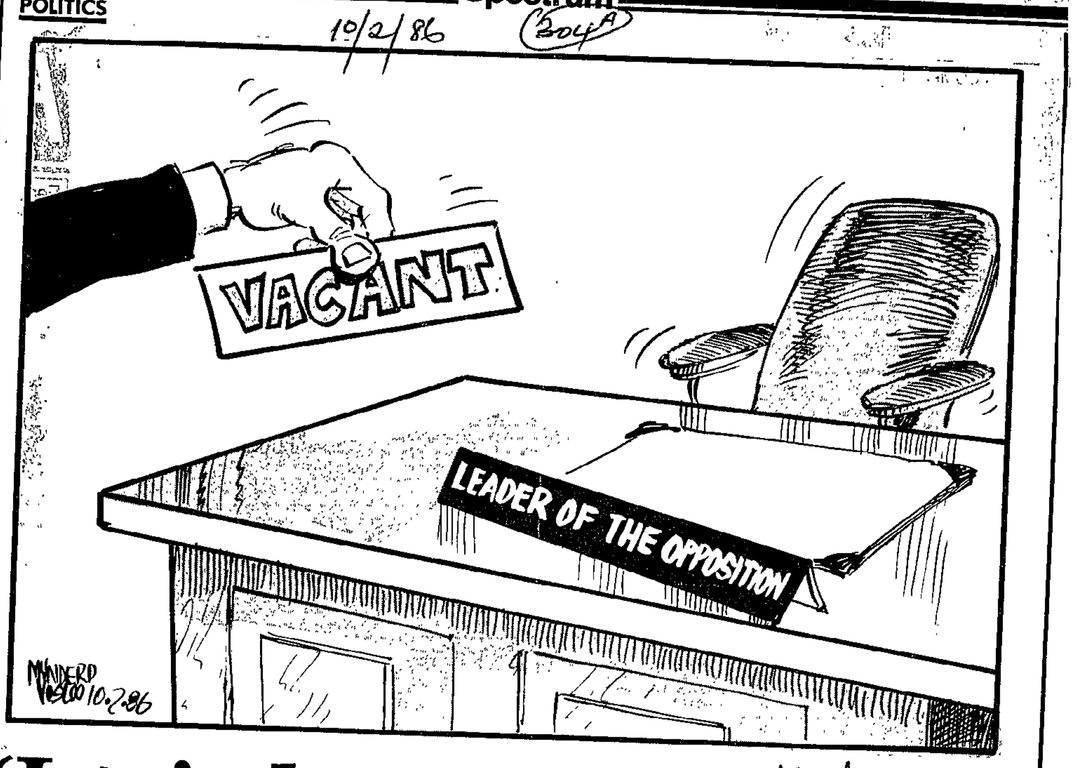


'I tried my best — but I was getting nowhere'

MG-GS 10/2/86 (30 GA)

BRUCE CAMERON of the Political Staff interviews Dr van Zyl Slabbert on his decision to resign as Leader of the Opposition and reports on his reaction to the shock and disappointment expressed by PFP supporters

"I AM not prepared to be a political band-aid," Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, the outgoing leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said after a weekend of harsh criticism of his shock resignation last Friday.

He is out and he is not coming back — not even if a thoroughly chastised Foreign Minister Pik Botha leads a bunch of left-wing Nationalists across the floor to join the PFP.

However in an interview last night it was clear Dr Slabbert was surprised at how quickly the PFP considered the king was dead and that the new king, whoever he might be, should be wished longevity.

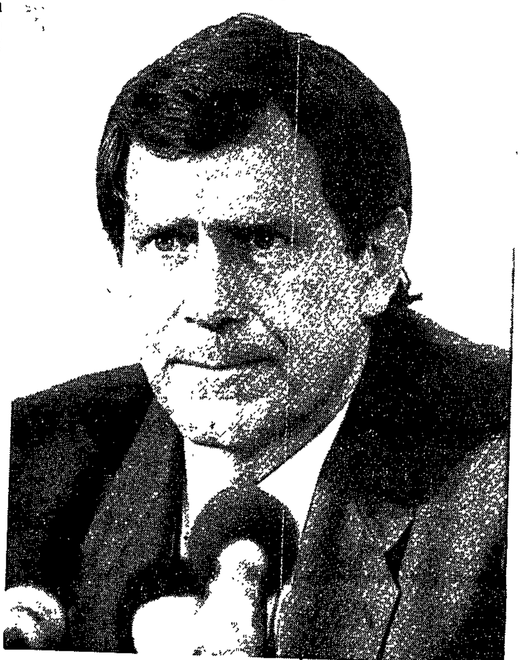
He was also obviously hurt by the accusations that he had betrayed the voters, his party and the Parliamentary ideal.

But he was still convinced that he had made the right decision.

Always a reluctant leader, Dr Slabbert asked his critics to say when he should have gone.

He conceded that many people may feel that he had betrayed them for many different reasons but he asked how he could avoid doing so without becoming a permanent capitive.

Dr Slabbert said he deeply regretted any unhappiness his action had caused but "I think one has to draw a distinction between why one should get out and the multitude of hopes, aspirations and even fears of those people who are not involved in the actual position itself."



Dr van Zyl Slabbert . . . "a long and painful process"

In reaching his decision he had to ask what an opposition party could do.

There was a clear distinction between the politics of power and the politics of protest even in the Parliamentary context.

He believed there was a very important role for the politics of protest in Parliament — to question the Government, expose injustices and contradications and to present alternatives.

But his primary interest as a political leader had been the politics of power which effectively covered the course of politics, particularly constitutional change.

"I tried as best I could to engage the Government in the politics of negotiation but after six years I decided I was not getting anywhere."

He felt someone else should try and that they might achieve what he had been unable to.

He had tried not only in Parliament but he had spoken to many people in and out of Government to get real change.

He had decided that unless President PW Botha had given a clear indication that he was prepared to move towards freedom of association in his speech at the opening of Parliament, he would not stay on.

He did not see any reason why the rest of the PFP members should leave Parliament because of the distinction between the politics of protest and of power.

There was also little chance of the PFP gaining the balance of power in the white house and control of the Indian and coloured houses of Parliament.

Neither did his resignation mean that it was useless to look to Parliament for political change.

"I don't think there is one particular site where one can pull a switch and that change will then take place.

"If, and it is an important if, constitutional change is to have any success it has to come from Parliament.

"It depends on what happens everywhere on how the Government responds to the pressure to bring about change.

"If it did not respond to the pressures, then violence would become the mode of change."

Dr Slabbert emphasised he was opposed to violent change.

He did not see his action as another step along the way of the polaristaion that he had so consistently warned was happening in South Africa with violence being the final result.

Polarisation was something that had to be stopped inside and outside Parliament.

Dr Slabbert said there was no other way he could have gone about standing down. If he had given notice it would have subjected the party to ridicule and public controversy.

Asked whether this was not going to happen anyway and whether the party was not already showing signs of splitting, Dr Slabbert said: "If that is so it merely shows I was a political bandaid."

A party could not survive on one person holding it together. It had to rely on it policy and principles.

He also rejected accusations that he had betrayed the many people who had voted for him rather than the PFP.

"Are we talking about a personality cult or a political movement ? Charasmatic politics have no future and I have no interest in being a charasmatic leader without political clout."

But would his resignation not open the way for the Conservative Party to take over the official Opposition benches, giving them the opportunity to gain greater support ?

"The National Party would simply gobble up the ground of the PFP using the the threat of the right wing," he said.

Despite his own depression about the situtaion he still had hope as South Africa had more energy and resources than could be destroyed by apartheid "but it is going to be a long and painful process."

Pik decides to stay on 'in national interest'

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

MR Pik Botha has decided to swallow the reprimand from President P W Botha and to stay in the Cabinet in the interests of the country more than that of the National Party.

This is the interpretation his followers in the party put on events at the weekend.

Verligte Nationalists were taken aback by the fact that the party leadership was so upset by carefully worded remarks by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the possibility of a black President.

They maintained this gave the impression the party was still looking over its shoulder at reactions and propaganda of the right-wing parties instead of pushing ahead boldly with reform.

STILL HOPEFUL

Mr Pik Botha has declined to comment publicly on last week's debacle but some politicians close to him maintain he is still hopeful that positive and evolutionary change is possible under the present Government and that was the reason why he is staying in the Cabinet.

He could reconsider his position if this no longer appeared to be possible.

At a weekend meeting of the Transvaal executive of the National Party there were attempts to restore the peace.

CONCILIATORY

The Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, whose interpetations of the aspects of "separateness" in Government policy won the day when President Botha spoke in the Assembly on Friday, adopted a conciliatory tone.

Mr Botha explained his viewpoint at the meeting and afterwards Mr de Klerk said there were no tensions in the Transvaal party.

The debate is, however, bound to continue in Nationalist ranks and may again be raised at this week's caucus meeting. There are differences between the factions in the party on the effects of Mr Botha's remarks and the slapdown by the President.

The verligtes are apprehensive about the effects of Mr Botha's repudiation in the outside world while the verkramptes are worried about the propaganda the right-wing parties can make out of Mr Botha's remarks.

PFP and the Nats close their ranks

STAR 10/2/88 · 3041A

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

Both the Progressive Federal Party and the National Party were closing ranks today after the dramatic events in Parliament on Friday.

The PFP caucus met urgently this morning to try to show solidarity in the wake of the shock resignation of its leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

The NP has papered over its differences and, according to sources close to Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, he is definitely not thinking of leaving.

The emotion and confusion in the PFP which followed Dr Slabbert's announcement has rapidly given way to anger at its manner and timing.

One senior MP has made it plain he no longer wants anything to do with Dr Slabbert.

PFP sources generally agreed today there would be no further resignations and that the party was definitely going to stay in Parliament.

Today's caucus meeting thrashed out the problems and implications of Dr Slabbert's resignation.

It also discussed the growing perception that the party had reached a stage where it had to expand its effectiveness outside as well as within Parliament, a process started by Dr Slabbert himself.

It seems likely that interim leader Mr Colin Eglin will be appointed as the acting and eventually formal leader.

President Botha has reacted to Dr Slabbert's resignation.

He told his party mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, that it was a strange way for a politician to turn his back on Parliament, the only instrument which can effect change, merely because he did not agree with the Head of State's speech.

He added that he did not want to comment on Dr Slabbert's action, except that the status of Parliament had to be enhanced and its honour maintained because it was the only mechanism to bring about change.

Dr Slabbert has meanwhile denied he received a note from a Nationalist MP asking him to stay on as PFP leader because 35 Nationalists were ready to cross the floor.

Reliable sources have confirmed that Mr Pik Botha has decided to take his humiliating repudiation on the chin and stay. It is understood he still has faith in the NP, and particularly the President, to produce meaningful reform.

Eglin is top contender for party chief

By Hannes de Wet

Mr Colin Eglin was by far the strongest candidate for the Progressive Federal Party leadership among members of the party in the Transvaal.

Nobody else in the province had the support Mr Eglin enjoyed, Transvaal PFP sources said this morning.

"Mr Eglin is an experienced politician with tenacity and grace. When he was deposed to make way for Dr Van Zyl Slabbert a few years ago, Mr Eglin survived with a dignity that proved he was a man who could be counted on in times of turmoil," senior PFP members in the Transvaal told *The Star*.

The other candidate mentioned for the leadership, Dr Alex Boraine, had virtually no support in Transvaal, the sources said.

Dr Boraine told *The Star* this morning he was still considering his position.

"I'm getting a lot of of calls from people who want me to be available for the leadership, but I'm still not sure. It would be a very big step for me — one that I have never contemplated."

Dr Boraine added that he would make up his mind within the next 48 hours on whether he would be available.

The federal executive of the PFP is meeting in Cape Town today to discuss the party's position following Dr Slabbert's shock resignation.

An acting leader for the party will be chosen at a federal council meeting on Saturday.

Change 'must come from Parliament'

The former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, says his resignation from Parliament does not mean it is useless to look to Parliament for political change.

"If, and it is an important if, constitutional change is to have any success it has to come from Parliament," said Dr Slabbert in an interview with *The Star*.

"It depends on what happens, on how the Government responds to the pressure to bring about change. If it does not respond, violence would then become the mode of change," said Dr Slabbert, who stressed he opposed violent change.

Asked about a possible split in the PFP, Dr Slabbert said he was not prepared to be a "politi-

● See Page 11.

Clergyman says 'police informer'

A Mamelodi clergyman, Dr Nico Smith, saved an alleged police informer from a group of angry mourners during a weekend of violence in Pretoria, in which a 16-year-old youth was killed and 54 people arrested.

Dr Smith, chairman of the Pretoria Council of Churches, saved a man from a crowd of mourners who threatened to set him alight.

Dr Smith was called to the scene and pleaded with the mob not to harm the man. He appealed to the mourners to show respect for the dead.

Police confirmed George Moima (16) of Atteridgeville was shot dead when police dispersed stone-throwers after the funeral of another unrest victim on Saturday.

Fifty-four people were arrested after the funeral of a Mamelodi youth yesterday afternoon. — Pretoria Bureau.

Police shot at and vehicles bombed

PRETORIA — A bus was extensively damaged in Soweto when it was set on fire, police said yesterday.

At Clermont, near Durban, a shot was fired at a police vehicle and stones and petrol bombs were thrown at police and private vehicles cauing extensive damage, police said.

The crowd was dispersed with teargas and shotgun fire but no injuries were reported. — Sapa.

Kaunda is in hospital

LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda has been admitted to the University of Zambia teaching hospital for what was officially described as a routine medical checkup.

He was admitted on Friday. No statement has been made on when he will leave the hospital. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Lightning kills bike club official

WELKOM — The chairman of the Goldfields Motocross Club, Mr Stanley Hodge (40), of Riebeeckstad, was killed by lightning at a club race on Saturday afternoon.

Attempts to revive him failed and he was certified dead on arrival at the Welkom Provincial Hospital. — Own Correspondent.

Top posts for Indian MPs

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, is expected to announce the appointment of two new Indian Own Affairs Ministers to the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates today.

Sources in the House of Delegates yesterday said the MPs, Dr J N Reddy, leader of Solidarity, the official opposition in the House of Delegates, and Mr Ismail Kathrada, Solidarity MP for Verulam, had been informed about their new jobs. — Sapa.

More good rains forecast

Many parts of the country had good rains at the weekend, and roads were washed away in some areas of Natal.

A spokesman for the Weather Bureau said good showers fell last night and some places recorded more than 20 mm by 8 am today.

More cloudy and warm weather is forecast for the Johannesburg/Pretoria area today and to morrow, with maximum temperatures of 25 to 29 degC. — Pretoria Bureau.

SA envoy leaves Spain

MADRID — South Africa's military attaché left Spain on Saturday in line with an order by the Socialist Government issued on January 17.

The Foreign Ministry said Spain was following other European Community member countries because of the South African Government's apartheid policies.

Spain has boycotted arms sales to South Africa but other diplomatic and commercial relations have remained unaffected. — Sapa-Reuter.

'Let down by business and Afrikaner elite'

Slabbert 'quit for lack of real support'

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert quit parliamentary politics because he was let down by two important constituencies — the business community and the Afrikaner elite.

This was said yesterday by Andrew Savage, Progressive Federal Party MP for Walmer in the Eastern Cape.

In a handwritten statement, Savage said Slabbert felt badly let down by these two groups. Neither had given the support he felt the PFP deserved.

Indeed, the business community had often treated the PFP with "the irritation reserved for a wife with too sensitive a conscience", said Savage.

And Slabbert himself yesterday told *Business Day* that the business sector in SA was more involved in politics than ever before "because businesses are now being directly affected by the politics of the country".



● **SLABBERT ... 'I don't see the business sector as committed ... When things get better ... they become less political'.**

NEIL JACOBSOHN
Managing Editor

The attitude of the business sector towards government changed according to the state of the economy, he said.

"I don't see the business sector as a committed critic. When things get better on the economic front, they become less political."

At the same time, business had taken some strong stands, such as the recent Business Charter published by the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), Slabbert said.

● **See Comment Page 6**

According to Savage, Slabbert had hoped for greater support also from Afrikaner intellectuals and academics, but was disappointed.

But Slabbert is staying on in SA politics. "I believe I still have an important role to play," he said.

He stressed, however, that whatever part he took would be outside Parliament.

Slabbert dismissed as "very much exaggerated" weekend reports that 35 disillusioned Nationalist MPs were prepared to split from government to follow him as their parliamentary leader.

He said he had no immediate plans to lead any broad, multi-racial coalition movement — such as the National Convention alliance — inside or outside Parliament.

"I don't see myself leading anything. I don't see any hard-nosed, up-front position for myself."

Rather, he saw himself operating as a sort of "political consultant", Slabbert said.

"I plan to consult on politics to various people and groups. I'll write a bit, and I'll teach a bit. But first I simply want a rest."

He would be going to London in about 10 days' time to launch his book, and would then return to SA to plan his future.

Slabbert made clear on Friday that he had no intention of joining any organisation, nor starting one.

"In fact, as of the moment my resignation becomes effective, I will not have a job.

"I go out as I came in, an ordinary concerned citizen of my country. I will continue to explore the politics of negotiation as best I can."

Slabbert stressed that he remained committed to the ideal of a non-racial society in South Africa.

He believed, as he always had, that genuine negotiation was the only way to achieve this.

INSIDE

Share competition

ENTER the *Business Day* Stock Market Challenge. This exciting, new competition gives you the opportunity to test your share-investment skills on a R100 000 portfolio. Entry is free.

● **Details and entry form on Page 2**

Poll-result chaos

PFP 'at the crossroads'

CAPE TIMES 10/2/86 (30 CM)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE outcome of this week's tussle for leadership of the embattled Progressive Federal Party could markedly affect both the style and direction of white opposition politics in South Africa.

The leadership vacuum arises out of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's shock decision to abandon parliamentary politics — a move that has left his angry and bewildered party with an identity crisis.

None of the PFP's shell-shocked membership was yesterday prepared to formally declare themselves as "candidates" for leadership spot, but the leading contenders are clearly two Cape Town MPs — Mr Colin Eglin (Sea Point) and Dr Alex Boraine (Pinelands).

Who is eventually elected leader of the party could significantly influence the style and role of the PFP both inside and outside of Parliament.

'Rethinking'

Dr Boraine, chairman of the PFP federal executive for the past six years, said yesterday that he would decide this week both on his candidacy for party leadership and on whether he would resign from Parliament.

"What I am certain about, however, is that there must be a radical rethinking within the PFP about what it means to be an opposition party.

"There is no way we can continue along the same path as before — we are right at the crossroads," he said.

Dr Boraine said that after Dr Slabbert dropped a "small bomb in the politicians' playground" in Parliament on Friday, it was vital that the PFP work for a "greater open window" to extra-parliamentary groups and concerns.



Dr Slabbert at Friday's press conference.

In future, he said, MPs would be increasingly judged not just by speeches but by performance "in the field" when the interests and rights of black communities were being threatened or ignored.

"The performance of MPs outside of Parliament will give them more credibility and knowledge which go beyond the ritual sacrifices often made in Parliament."

Mr Eglin, the PFP's leader from 1977 to 1979 and currently the party's interim leader, said yesterday that he had not yet decided whether to make himself available to take over the reins of the party once again.

Although he did not want to go into detail on where he might steer the party were he to become leader, Mr Eglin did indicate that he would not move the party "in a clearly different direction".

While the PFP would still have a role both inside and outside of Parliament he felt the party should in future concentrate on becoming "100 percent competent in Parliament itself" and "strive for excellence in that field".

The PFP's extra-parliamentary contacts and activities would "depend on time and circumstances", he said.

Mr Eglin stressed, however, that he had not given much thought to the PFP's leadership since Dr Slabbert's resignation. As interim leader he had devoted most of his energies to performing a short-term holding action aimed at keeping the party functioning as efficiently as possible.

Candidates

Although the final decision of who is to become the new PFP leader will be decided by a federal congress at a date yet to be decided, the leadership race could be settled as early as this Saturday when the PFP's Federal Council decides who is to lead the party until a congress vote is taken.

Two other possible candidates for party leadership — the MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, and former PFP MP, Dr Zac de Beer — both indicated that they would not make themselves available for the job.

Meanwhile, a source close to Dr Slabbert suggested yesterday that the former PFP leader might adopt a "power-broker's" role outside of Parliament in the near future to promote the politics of negotiation.

● **ANC hails Slabbert's decision, page 2**

● **Leading article, page 6**

● **Reform in SA 'a farce', page 7**

Botha to 'ride out the storm'

CAPE TIMES 10/2/86 (30 CM)

Political Correspondent

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is likely to "ride out the storm" rather than resign following his humiliating public repudiation by President P W Botha in Parliament on Friday, according to Nationalist sources.

And the tensions between the "verligte" and "verkrampte" wings of the National Party — highlighted by Mr Botha's dressing down — appear to have eased somewhat over the weekend.

Some observers have suggested that the Foreign Minister's position within the cabinet had become untenable since his tongue-lashing by the President for his controversial "black president" remark.

However, latest indications are that Mr Pik Botha has decided to swallow his pride, lie low and steer clear of further controversy for the next few weeks in the hope that the storm will blow over.

Behind Mr Botha's decision to avoid a confrontational approach with the NP's right wing following his repudiation appear to be the presidential ambitions he continues to harbour.

Coveted mantle

Even if Mr Botha were to take his 25-odd verligte followers with him out of the party, such a move is unlikely to bring him any closer to the coveted presidential mantle.

Relations between Mr Botha and one of his conservative rivals, Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, were reportedly "cordial" at the NP head committee meeting at the weekend.

Afterwards Mr De Klerk said the committee had enthusiastically agreed that the controversy was no longer an issue. He said the matter had not been discussed during the meeting and had not caused any tension in the Transvaal party.

Scepticism in Parliament

CAPE TIMES 10/2/86

30CM

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

SUSPICION and scepticism over the government's intentions to bring about reform in South Africa dominated parliamentary politics last week.

"A grotesque ritual of irrelevance" was how Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, described it in his farewell speech to Parliament.

During the traditional no-confidence debate in both the houses of Delegates and Representatives, the government's "junior partners" indicated that they had little alternative but to pin their hopes on State President P W Botha's speech.

Praises

Most Indian and coloured MPs are holding Mr Botha to his word and called on him to act out his words that "apartheid is an outdated concept".

The debates heaped praises on Mr Botha, at times bordering on sycophancy.

In the House of Delegates, the leader of the official opposition Solidarity Party, Dr J N Reddy, departed from parliamentary tradition and only put forward a motion of no-confidence in the cabinet's apartheid polices.

Only Mr Dennis de la Cruz, leader of the opposition Democratic Workers' Party (DWP), in the House of Representatives tabled a motion of no-confidence in the cabinet and the government of South Africa.

Many coloured and Indian MPs were initially convinced that Mr Botha would start dismantling the "obnoxious" cornerstones of apartheid, including the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and the race classification component of the Population Registration Act.

As the week drew on several Labour MPs in the House of Representatives and members of both the ruling National People's Party (NPP) and opposition Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates became frustrated as they realized they were being let down.

Optimist

The row involving several Labour MPs who were refused service in the coffee bar, exclusively reserved for white MPs in the House of Assembly, added to the despair among the more radical LP members.

However, the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, remained an incurable optimist. In his attempts to restore "faith and hope" in his party ranks he explained that Mr Botha's speech was "the reality of a declaration of intent" which had finally been realized as a result of their participation in the tricameral Parliament.

In the House of Delegates moves to create one large ruling party are far from complete. Several MPs are expected to switch loyalties before this session ends.

CAPE TIMES 10/2/86

Reform in SA 'a farce'

DURBAN. — "Any pretence at reform" by the government had been reduced to "a grotesque farce" since the State President's speech to Parliament promising reform a week ago, the Tribune says in its editorial yesterday.

"Just a week ago President Botha seemed set fair to retrieve the remnants of his fatty reform policy. He opened Parliament with a speech which, to a nation yearning for recovery from economic depression, international isolation and bloody rioting, held some promise of a new beginning ...

"We argued that the six months of the new parliamentary session offered him ample time to show ... the substance of this promise. In barely six days, any pretence at reform had been reduced to a grotesque farce."

The govt 'discredited before the world'

As a consequence, the newspaper said, the government "stood wholly discredited before the world and before an increasingly embittered people at home.

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs cuts a pathetic figure before the international community and the official opposition is leaderless and struggling to retain credibility through being in any way associated with the tricameral system," it said.

The Tribune says the "successive attempts by Pik Botha to convince the world that power-sharing is a sincere intention have led, illogically and unfairly, to a public rebuke and humiliation that he surely cannot meekly endure and still retain his self-esteem. He owes it to the country to resign".

The resignation from Parliament of the PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, was "another matter entirely. He is a man of high intellect, keen perception, great courage, personal charm and rare integrity".

"His decision to quit conventional politics is obviously an intensely personal one."

The Tribune, however, says the timing of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's resignation was bad. It said "a week into the beginning of a crucial parliamentary session he has left his colleagues without a natural successor. Worse, his own assessment of Parliament's irrelevance raises the question whether those he has left behind should stay there.

"But we have no doubt about the relevance of parliamentary opposition," it says. — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 10/2/86

ANC hails Slabbert's decision

Staff Reporter

DR Van Zyl Slabbert's decision to resign from Parliament was hailed by the African National Congress at the weekend as an act of vision.

Dr Slabbert's courage, honesty and loyalty to a common South African nationhood were praised as they had led him to abandon a privileged political position.

A statement released in Lusaka referred to Dr Slabbert as a "new Voortrekker" and said his action would be acclaimed by millions of people of all races.

The ANC also reiterated its willingness to negotiate, while also repeating its commitment to continue to fight for an end to apartheid.

UDF sees stand vindicated

11/2/86 (3041) DISPATCH

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The resignation of Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert vindicated the stand of the United Democratic Front on extra parliamentary struggle, the Border branch of the UDF said in a statement yesterday.

The statement, issued by the general secretary, the Rev M. Stofile, called on all people as disillusioned as Dr Slabbert and who wanted real change, to reject President P. W. Botha's minority government.

The statement said: "For over two decades our people have been saying what Dr Slabbert discovered now. Change cannot come through parliamentary debate.

"To quote Dr Slabbert. 'It's just a waste of time'.

"The timing of the resignation is significant. It comes as perfect proof for all the world to see that Mr P. W. Botha's 'Rubicon 2' is a farce."

The statement said "reform" could only be seen as the sugar coating of apartheid, and not the eradication of apartheid.

"We reject sugar-coating and will strive for a democratic non-racial South Africa where, indeed, as Pik Botha seems to realise, a black president is a possibility or a certainty."

The statement called for a rejection of all institutionalised political structures such as the tricameral system, management committees and community councils.

"Let all join our progressive organisation and make South Africa free for all who live in it."

BUSINESS DAY

BUS DAY 11/2/86

PFP alarmed about new rightwing vigilantes

PETER WALLINGTON

THE Progressive Federal Party has expressed alarm at the launch of a second rightwing vigilante force.

Law and order spokesman Helen Suzman was reacting to a weekend announcement by the Stallard Foundation, a newly-formed "forum for conservative thinkers", that it had begun a nationwide recruitment drive for vigilantes to prevent crime in urban areas.

"The last thing we need, with the racial tension we have at present, is a lot of trigger-happy white individuals shooting everything that moves," Suzman said.

The foundation's proposed system of neighbourhood watches comes soon after the far-rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) announced the formation of a guard unit in Krugersdorp after a petrol-bomb attack on a white home in the suburb of Dan Pienaarville, which borders on the township of Munsieville.

Clive Derby-Lewis, the Stallard Foundation's founder director and a prominent member of the Conservative Party, told *Business Day* yesterday that the neighbourhood watches had been formed because police had their hands full combating unrest.

He said once the foundation had been established, it would work alongside the AWB units. Asked whether he was concerned at being associated with the AWB, he said he had not found AWB members to be extremists.

Derby-Lewis said while the watches would not check whether black people had passes, they would question people they found loitering in the early hours of the morning.

Asked if vigilante groups would not lead to an increase in violence — such as the incident in Honeydew, Randburg, on the weekend when three white men shot and wounded four black men — Derby-Lewis said the foundation would ensure such incidents did not occur.

He added that the watches would patrol areas voluntarily and would carry firearms if necessary.

A police directorate of public relations spokesman said yesterday the SAP was not, in principle, in favour of vigilantes, but added that anyone "had the right to protect themselves".

APPOINTMENTS

Dismay as Opposition MPs get key posts

Parliamentary Staff

CONFUSION and dismay surround the dismissal of Indian Health Minister Dr M S Padayachy and the elevation of two "opposition" MPs to key posts in the House of Delegates Ministers' Council.

In a highly unusual development, the Leader of the Opposition Solidarity Party, Mr J N Reddy, became the new Minister of the Budget, while the Solidarity MP for Verulam, Mr Ismael Kathrada, replaced Dr Padayachy of the National People's Party as Minister of Health Services and Welfare.

The reshuffle was announced by President P W Botha in a statement late yesterday.

However, a "surprised" Dr Padayachy said he had learnt of his dismissal while watching the 7pm television news at home yesterday.

He said although he had been aware of speculation that Mr Kathrada was a possible contender for his post, he had not been told officially of the move.



Mr J N Reddy

Dr Padayachy said shortly after watching the news bulletin that he was "surprised and disappointed in the manner in which it was done".

He felt he had become a "sacrificial lamb" for the NPP-Solidarity coalition bid — which still hangs in the balance pending the outcome of an interdict by four rebel Solidarity MPs opposed to the move.



Mr Ismael Kathrada

"How can they (Mr Reddy and Mr Kathrada) remain members of the Opposition while serving on the Ministers' Council?" asked Dr Padayachy, who now takes a R30 000 drop in salary.

REJECTED

He is the second member of Mr Amichand Rajbansi's Ministers' Council to be axed in four months. Mr Boetie Abramjee was sacked as Minister of the Budget by President Botha last November for divulging confidential information about the Mossel Bay gas-to-oil synthetic fuel plant.

Mr Rajbansi rejected Dr Padayachy's claim that he had not been told of his dismissal.

"He was made aware in a discussion with the State President last week," Mr Rajbansi said.

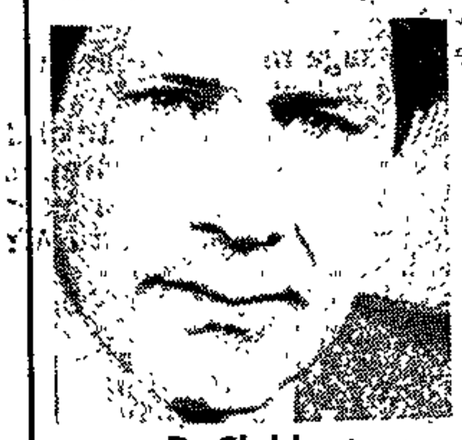
Mr Reddy scotched suggestions that he was to declare himself an independent in order to be installed as Minister of the Budget.

"I will remain a member of Solidarity," he said.

Asked how he could remain Leader of the Opposition while serving on the Ministers' Council, Mr Reddy said he could not comment as the matter was sub judice.

Mr Kathrada, who said he was "delighted" with his appointment, echoed his party leader's pledge to remain in Solidarity.

RESIGNATIONS



Dr Slabbert

Letter from Slabbert read to the House of Assembly — no farewell speeches

Parliamentary Staff

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert was not in his seat when Parliament resumed yesterday.

"There were no farewell speeches.

Dr Slabbert announced on Friday that he was resigning as Leader of the Opposition and MP for Claremont in the House of Assembly.

At the start of yesterday's proceedings the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, read a letter from Dr Slabbert requesting that his absence be excused.

The letter said:

"Mr Speaker, After I have thought deeply about the matter, I wish to ask you and the honourable Assembly to excuse my absence from the Assembly this afternoon.

"The nature of my resignation is an unusual one and not without political controversy.

"I believe that it may embarrass some members if I were to be present to receive farewell expressions. It would, in my opinion, detract from the dignity of the Assembly."

Dr Slabbert added that he accepted the good wishes of his colleagues in the way he had also wished them well.

"My best wishes to you and the honourable members of this Assembly in their work."

Dr Slabbert formally resigned as MP for Claremont yesterday.

off.

PFP asks PW to say if black presidents are out

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party has called on President Botha to say if the slapping down of Mr Pik Botha meant that in the new constitutional set-up there would be a prohibition on a black man being president.

"If this is so, then what hope does the President have of getting his national statutory council off the ground?" Mr Nic Olivier, PFP-nominated MP and head of the party's research unit, asked yesterday.

President Botha said on Friday no Minister of his Government had the right to compromise the National Party by speculating that the country could eventually have black presidents.

His remarks have clearly upset a small group of verligte Nationalist MPs, including Mr Pik Botha.

But sources close to the Minister were adamant today they were not going to walk out and they dismiss suggestions that a group of 35 MPs are ready to break away.

Mr Olivier pointed out this morning that in terms of the National Party's 1976 constitutional proposals, the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, said that in theory it was possible for a black to become State President.

Mr Vorster added, however, that this would never happen while the National Party was in power.

Former PFP leader Dr van Zyl Slabbert has also denied reports that he received a note from a Nationalist MP asking him to stay on to lead a large group of breakaway MPs.

A report in *The Sunday Star* yesterday incorrectly stated such a letter had been received.

Bleak outlook for PW's reform move

BRGMS 11/2/86 (36KA)

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

GOVERNMENT plans to revitalise the reform programme with a national statutory council may never get off the ground.

The divisions in the National Party, which emerged last week with the public reprimand of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, has left a key figure in the process, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, reconsidering his initial receptive stance.

In a statement last night the Kwazulu Chief Minister said President P W Botha's reprimand of Mr Pik Botha had set the clock back to his speech to the National Party in Durban.

And Mr Colin Eglin, interim leader of the Progressive Federal Party, warned today that as long as President Botha attempted to keep the two wings of his party together there could be no real reform.

Chief Buthelezi said he was wondering whether there had been any break from the past in spite of his earlier statement that the President's speech to Parliament this year had presented a courageous break from the past.

Can't ask

At this stage he could not now even ask blacks whether he should serve on the proposed council. He also now expected an unequivocal statement from Mr Botha to the effect that the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, on which apartheid had been founded, would be scrapped.

The reaction of Chief Buthelezi has confirmed the worst fears of senior members of the Government of the results of the Pik Botha affair.

Yesterday, before Chief Buthelezi had reacted, members of the Government were inquiring whether Chief Buthelezi had reacted to the events of last week and were hoping that he would not take up a position.

He is seen as a key figure in the proposed council to give it greater credibility and acceptance among blacks.

Major step

The left wing of the National Party in particular sees the council as a major step to speed up reform.

Mr Eglin said: "It is a major setback for whatever plans the Government may have had.

"It shows once again that Mr Botha put the unity of the National Party before the interests of South Africa.

"As long as he continues to try to keep the two wings of the party together real reform will never get on the road."

There was no immediate reaction from President Botha's office.



Slabbert right to resign, say readers — Page 10.

Slabbert: Inquiries from 3 varsities

(30CA)

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

A TEACHING post at a university is one of the options being considered by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

He announced on Friday his resignation as leader of the Progressive Federal Party and Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly.

Dr Slabbert may also write another book and will be seeing a publisher this week.

He said today that he had received tentative inquiries from three universities, but was not sure what he would do.

"HELPFUL"

He would also consider being a political consultant.

Dr Slabbert said he would not be joining in "protest politics". It had been wrongly implied that he was storming out of politics to do so.

While there is a great deal of bitterness in the PFP about Dr Slabbert's move — some senior members of the party have not spoken to him since his announcement and were absent from the Assembly yesterday — reactions from party ranks have not all been negative.

CHAIRMAN

● A former chairman of the Border branch of the PFP, Mr Donald Card, has resigned from the party in support of Dr Slabbert's move, Sapa reports.

The party's regional chairman, Mr Sandy Stretton, said the party regretted the resignations.

● The Houghton constituency committee of the PFP has recorded its regret at Dr Slabbert's resignation and expressed disappointment at the manner and timing of it.

Sapa reports that a spokesman emphasised the constituency's determination to continue "advancing the aims and the principles of the PFP, which transcend any individual considerations".

The committee was convinced the continued presence of the PFP as the official Opposition was essential.

● Eglin front-runner, Page 3.



Youth shot dead as mob stones house

BRGMS 11/2/86 (27B)

Staff Reporter

A YOUTH was shot dead and another was seriously injured when a man fired on a crowd which stoned his house in Maraisplaas, Mossel Bay.

Colonel Eddie Snyman, police liaison officer for the South Western Districts, said the man, who police refused to identify, fired shots after a large crowd threatened to kill him and stoned his home about 6pm yesterday.

The wounded youth was taken to a hospital and was under police guard, Colonel Snyman said. The dead youth had not been identified.

● There have been no reported incidents of unrest in the Peninsula in the past 24 hours, according to a police spokesman.

● See Page 6

Three accepted for PW's council

PARLIAMENT — The House of Assembly accepted a motion yesterday designating Mr Japie Basson, Mr P Grobler and Mr P J Loubser as members of the President's Council, with immediate effect.

The motion was proposed by the National Party Chief Whip, Mr N J Pretorius who, despite calls from members of the PFP to "tell us why", and "motivate your motion", did not address the House.

It was adopted after a division. — Sapa.

'Unfair to blame Rubicon speech'

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said in the House it was unfair to blame the State President's Durban Rubicon speech for South Africa's problems.

Replying to the Part Appropriation debate in the House of Delegates, he said many other factors were responsible for the falling of the rand and problems in the economy.

There were rumblings about short-term loans and bankers abroad became uneasy. Prolonged unrest had an adverse affect and unfavourable and biased media coverage of events in South Africa had all been resonsible, he said.

The Minister said the rand value was now rising, the economy was picking up and the time had come to look on the brighter side.

He said the forthcoming main budget would be promising.

The Bill was read a second time. — Sapa.

11/2/86 (304A)

Nat leaders try to paper over policy differences, but ...

Clear divisions have been exposed

STAR 11/2/86. (304A)

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — No matter how deftly the leaders of the National Party have moved to paper over their differences, the fact is fundamental divisions are there.

The events during last week's No-Confidence Debate ripped aside that paper for a moment, for the whole country to see what was beneath — a clear-cut division between those who adhere to group identity (separate development by any other name) and those who want to move towards freedom of association.

President Botha ascribed the public differences in policy interpretation by his Ministers last week as normal for strong-willed men.

Chairman of the Ministers' Council Mr F W de Klerk certainly placed a different emphasis on policy than did the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

"Own affairs"

But then as chairman of the white "own affairs" administration, he is paid to oversee the administration of all those aspects which the Government has decreed are of exclusive white concern.

The 1983 Constitution defines "own affairs" of a particular population group as those matters which specially affect that group in maintaining its identity and upholding and furthering its way of life, culture, traditions and customs.

A schedule to the Constitution contains a list of own affairs, which includes social welfare (including social pensions), education (especially schools), art, culture and recreation (except sport outside the official school context), health (particularly hospitals), community development (housing, rent control and squatter clearance), local government (within the relevant group areas), agriculture and water supply, elections and the appointment of marriage officers.

That this is the 1980's model of separate development, there can surely be no doubt.

It is the facet of Government policy that is directly descended from separate development and apartheid and which is adhered to by the greater portion of Nationalist MPs.

Their argument is that once you have devolved as much power as you can to your own affairs, then what is left may be shared with the other groups on a strictly equal basis (but with veto rights to ensure that no group dominates the others).

The left wing of the National Party takes this concept a lot further.

According to sources in this camp, all discriminatory legislation must go — including the Group Areas Act and the Race Classification Act.

However, there should be freedom of choice for those who want to live within the concept of group identity.

This means a few group areas should be reserved for those population groups that want them, and the rest of the country integrated.

For those communities that desire exclusivity, admission to their residential areas and schools would be controlled by each local community, perhaps by title deed or community decision.

Frustration

There would be no formal Group Areas Act, but neither would there be any legislation outlawing racial exclusivity. Those people who wished to live in an open society would be free to do so.

The NP's liberal wing is further characterised by its belief that as a prelude to meaningful negotiations with the country's black leaders, the ANC could be unbanned and Nelson Mandela released.

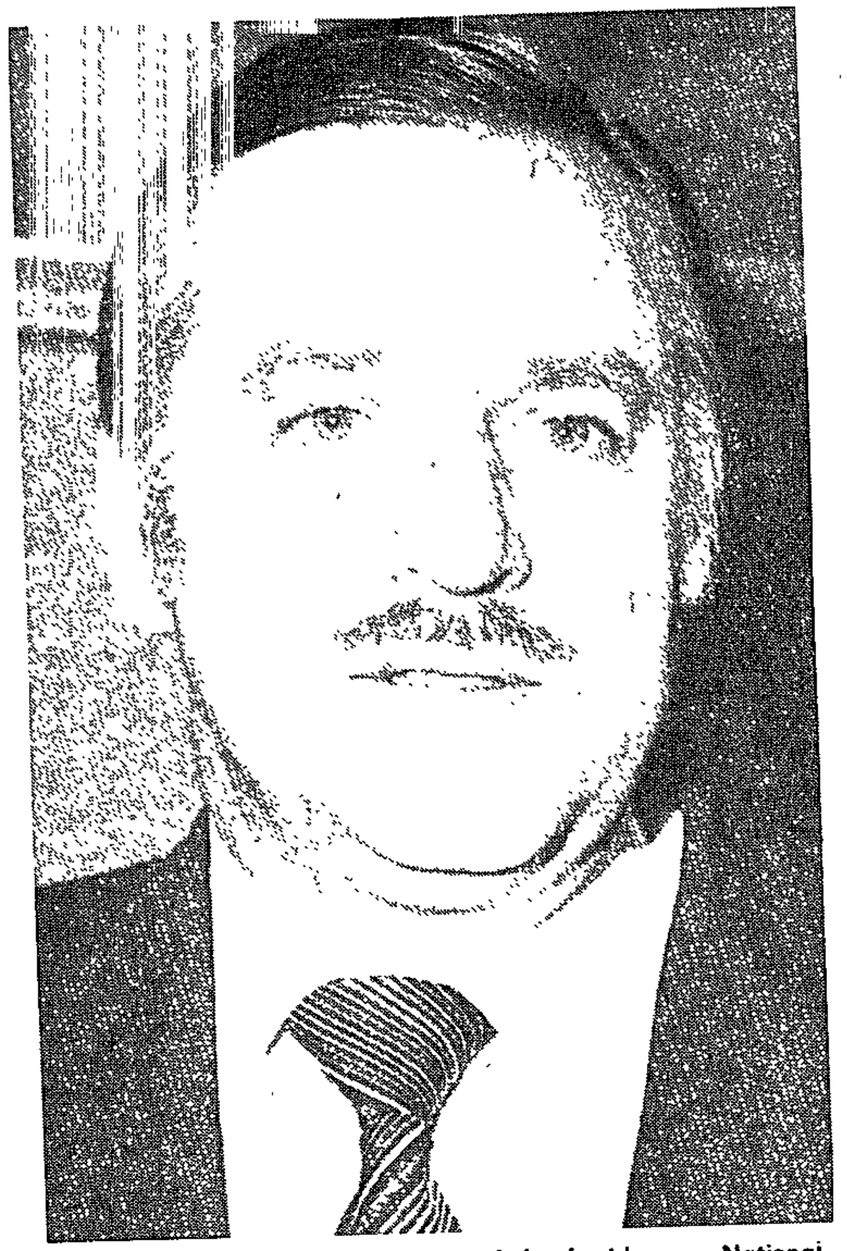
That does not mean that any continued adherence to violence by the ANC would be tolerated.

The liberal wing believes implicitly in the protection of minority groups and in this context it would have no problem with a black President. Of course, the presidency in the envisaged system of power-sharing would be a lot weaker than the present office.

The extent of the party's liberal wing is estimated to be between two and four dozen MPs. About half the Cabinet could be included in the broader definition of the group.

It is true that some MPs towards the fringes of the group have been more outspoken about the right wing of the party and of frustration at the slow pace of reform.

But at this stage there is no prospect of a split in the governing party, as both the left and the right realise only too well that little can be achieved from the benches of the Opposition.



Mr Pik Botha ... yesterday *Die Vaderland* said many National Party members agreed with the Foreign Minister's views on the ultimate consequences of power sharing in South Africa.

Pillay calls on all PFP MPs to resign

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A leading member of the Progressive Federal Party yesterday called on the party's remaining 26 MPs to resign their seats in solidarity with Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Mr Dinkie Pillay, a member of the PFP's federal council, the party's highest policy-making body after its congresses, said Dr Slabbert's decision to quit Parliament was a sign.

"This is one of those opportunities which happen once only. It could be an excellent sign for the entire membership of the PFP to show solidarity with Dr Slabbert.

"The party has been waiting for change all these years. We are fed up with promises and speeches which are later retracted.

"We are so fed up that we should all pull out once and for all. And we should call upon the National Peoples' Party, Solidarity, the Labour Party and the other opposition parties to do the same.

"We have had enough of consultation and negotiation. It doesn't work. By pulling out we will put the Government in a very serious situation. It will have to call a national convention," Mr Pillay said.

● The Federal Council of the PFP meets in Johannesburg on Saturday to elect an acting leader. The issue of whether to continue as a parliamentary party is likely to be discussed, but the decision will almost certainly be to stay in the House of Assembly.

● A former chairman of the Border branch of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Donald Card, has resigned from the party in support of the move by Dr Slabbert.

Mr Card confirmed that he had submitted his resignation. This was confirmed by the local office of the PFP.

The regional chairman of the party, Mr Sandy Stretton, issued a statement saying the party regretted the resignations.

Vaderland backs Pik's controversial statement

The controversial stand taken by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, on the issue of a future black State President, has received the backing of *Die Vaderland*.

In an editorial yesterday the Afrikaans afternoon newspaper said the Government's bid to sell its reform policies had been made more difficult by the State President's public attack on his Foreign Minister.

Mr P W Botha said on Friday that none of his Ministers had the right to compromise the National Party by speculating that the country could eventually have a black President.

Die Vaderland said there were a great many National Party members who agreed, correctly, with the Foreign Minister's views on the ultimate consequences of power sharing in South Africa.

INTERPRETATION

The editorial questioned the State President for finding it necessary to contradict Mr Botha so harshly.

The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport* smoothed over the row, saying the various conflicting statements made by Nationalists last week were a result of different interpretations on future reform.

In its editorial, the morning newspaper *Beeld* asked what Mr Pik Botha's critics would have done if they were asked the same question put to him in front of a corps of foreign journalists.

It said the Foreign Minister's mistake was to forget for the moment that politics was the "art of the possible". At this time the possibility of a black President was remote, *Beeld* said.

Buthelezi criticises attack on Pik

304A

PW's plan for new council in jeopardy

11/2/86 STAR

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The Government's proposed national statutory council to involve blacks at the highest executive level may have been shot on the ground.

Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu and the one black leader that the Government had pinned its hopes on to make the council a success, yesterday issued a stinging statement which put his participation in doubt.

Chief Buthelezi based his statement on President Botha's public repudiation of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last Friday.

President Botha's unprecedented attack on Mr Botha for saying that it was possible for the country to have a black President had left blacks aghast and made it much harder for their leaders to consider participating in the planned national statutory council, the chief said last night.

The President's outburst had turned the clock back to his address to the National Party in Durban last year (the Rubicon speech), Chief Buthelezi said in a statement released in Ulundi.

He had said that the President's address to Parliament represented a courageous break from the past.

Now, however, he was wondering whether there had been any break with the past.

He and black South Africa would now expect an unequivocal statement from Mr Botha to the effect that the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, the foundation laws of apartheid, would be scrapped.

Unacceptable

"The State President's outburst against Mr Pik Botha gives us reason to believe that he has not told South Africa where he is leading the country because, if he did, it would be totally unacceptable to blacks," Chief Buthelezi said.

President Botha was not immediately available for comment today.

However, the interim leader of the Progressive Federal Party Mr Colin Eglin, described Chief Buthelezi's statement as a major setback for whatever plans the Government may have had.

"It shows again that Mr P W [illegible] put the unity of the National Party before the interests of South Africa.

"As long as he continues to try to keep the two wings of the party together, real reform will never get on the road."

Eglin in with good chance to lead PFP

304A

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mr Colin Eglin is emerging as the front runner for the leadership of the Progressive Federal Party.

Two candidates who have been put forward by the respective wings of the party are apparently not going to make it.

Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville and former leader of the Reform Party, is understood to have indicated that he is not available for the leadership.

Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands and former President of the Methodist Church, appears to have damaged his chances with recent statements that he had not yet made up his mind about whether he was available for the leadership, or about whether he was staying on in the party.

Mr Colin Eglin, MP for Sea Point and the leader of the PFP before Dr Slabbert, has already been appointed interim leader.

He is expected to be appointed acting leader at a meeting of the party's Federal Council in Johannesburg on Saturday, and confirmed formally as national leader at the next PFP Federal Congress.

The two wings of the PFP gravitate naturally to the leadership of Mr Schwarz and Dr Boraine respectively.

But if either one is appointed party leader the opposing wing is likely to break away.

Dr Boraine is understood to have been [illegible] yesterday's emergency PFP caucus meeting on his remarks about possibly leaving the party.

Mr Eglin is generally seen to be the person best able to hold the party together.

Bitterness wrecks farewell for Slabbert

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Bitterness and unhappiness on both sides of the House of Assembly prevented many tributes being paid to Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert in Parliament yesterday.

The former leader of the Progressive Federal Party had agreed initially to take his seat for the last time in the Assembly so that, in the words of the Leader of the House, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, "we can say goodbye to you".

The State President's Office had indicated that the President would take the opportunity to comment on Dr Slabbert's decision during the tributes.

However, acrimony over the manner and timing of Dr Slabbert's resignation reached such a level within the PFP at the weekend that it became clear that the tributes might be boycotted by certain PFP MPs.

When Parliament resumed its work yesterday afternoon there were several senior PFP members absent.

Almost the entire front row on the Government side was empty.

Mr Colin Eglin, interim leader of the PFP, said yesterday that he and others had not been in the House for a variety of reasons, not related to Dr Slabbert's letter.

● A teaching post at one of a number of universities is one option Dr Slabbert is consider-

Over 30 private motions in Assembly

STAR 11/2/86.

30(1A

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT — More than 30 private members' motions have already been tabled in the House of Assembly.

Most such motions remain on the bottom of the Order Paper until they lapse and so do not come up for consideration.

Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton) has moved that the petition of two Moutse representatives for leave to be heard at the Bar of the House to urge the disapproval of the proclamation incorporating the area into Lebowa, be heard.

In a second motion she has asked the House to disapprove of the proclamation issued by the State President on December 31 last year.

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) has moved that a Select Committee be appointed to form part of a Joint Committee to consider all laws with a view to repealing all provisions that discriminate on grounds of race or colour.

However, **Mr Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg)** moved that the Assembly affirm that partition was the only policy that ensured political self-determination, financial stability, economic welfare and State and individual security.

SUPPORT

And **Mr Jan Hoon (CP, Kuruman)** asked that the House confirm the Government's inability to prevent the crowding-out of whites at public beaches and recreational facilities.

A motion asking the Assembly to record its unqualified support to the defence of the country was moved by **Mr Vause Raw (NRP, Durban Point)**.

A series of other motions thanking or criticising the Government for various measures have been tabled.

New plan on debt 'might not please SA'

STAR

12/2/86

The Star's Foreign News Service

30A

GENEVA — A new, and possibly final, set of proposals on South Africa's debt problem has been sent to Pretoria and its creditor banks by Swiss mediator Dr Fritz Leutwiler.

However, the proposals may be more acceptable to the banks than they are to South Africa.

There were reports in banking circles yesterday that Dr Leutwiler wanted South Africa to begin capital repayments within 18 months.

Dr Leutwiler's spokesman, Mr Erich Heini, said the proposals went out on Monday and were received yesterday by the South African Government and the banks concerned.

"It will not be easy for them to reject the proposals," Mr Heini said. But he added: "It may be less easy for the South African authorities to go along with Dr Leutwiler than for the banks."

Earlier, Pretoria proposed a moratorium on repayments until 1990.

That was rejected out of hand by the creditor banks.

"I am not saying that 18 months is wrong," said Mr Heini. "The mediator's proposals concern a time frame that is much shorter than the South African proposal," he said.

"It could be 18 months, it could be 16 months — that is still an issue for discussion at the next meeting in London on February 20."

Economy has been dealt 'fatal blow'

PARLIAMENT — The South African economy had been dealt a "fatal blow" because of events in Parliament, **Mr S P Barnard (CP, Langlaagte)**, said yesterday.

It appeared that in order to get trade, South Africa first had to have a policy of one man, one vote, he said.

Speaking in the second-reading debate on the Convention on Agency in the International Sale of Goods Bill, he referred to last week's speech by President P W Botha and remarks by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha and said the economy had taken a knock.

It was no good belonging to organisations such as GATT because South Africa had lost its credibility, he added.

Minister of Trade and Industry **Dr Dawie de Villiers** said South Africa was in the top 16 trading countries in the world, so it was important to belong to GATT. — Sapa.

WITS ENGINEERING CONFERENCE

12/12/80. BUSDAY

Education system 'to blame for lack of skills'

ECONOMIC development has been retarded by neglect of human resources, the conference was told yesterday.

In his keynote address, Andre Spier, executive director of Synergy and Communication (Syncom), castigated the education system which, he said, "pushed students through without skills and produced thousands of frustrated matriculants every year".

Industrial Staff

He said there were five rules for economic development — deregulate, privatise, beneficiate, educate and innovate.

"The SA economy is strangled by regulations and bureaucracy. For the past four years, SA has been deteriorating through gross economic and political mismanagement. We must deregulate and government must get out of all areas where it doesn't belong."

He said the first areas for privatisation should not necessarily be the Escoms and the Iscors. Privatisation could mean instead of LTA building townships, the people built them instead.

Education and health care should also be turned over to the private sector.

"It is cheaper for government to subsidise the individual than to support the bureaucratic structure around these areas."

Deregulation was not possible overnight, as drastic structural changes could force some companies to shut down, but it should be phased in over a given number of years.

The quality of education must be improved and, above all, SA must innovate.

New body seen as fraudulent

Cosatu rejects national council

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

THE 450 000-strong Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) has rejected government's move to establish a national statutory council as a "fraudulent attempt to perpetuate white minority rule".

Speaking at Cosatu's second official Press conference since its November launch, general secretary Jay Naidoo said those who served on the council would be party to the continued domination of most people.

The council is expected to be an advisory body composed of government and homeland representatives, black community leaders and "interest groups".

Naidoo said only the complete and immediate dismantling of apartheid, the release of authentic leaders and the unbanning of affected organisations would create a climate in which a democratic SA could emerge.

He said Gencor's dismissal of 23 000 striking Impala Platinum workers in Bophuthatswana last month showed how the bantustan system had become an agent of government and employers.

Cosatu had asked its 33 affiliates to take steps to ensure these workers were reinstated and that the National Union of Mineworkers should be allowed to organise in Bophuthatswana, he said.

The matter had been referred to Cosatu regional committees and affiliates would be pursuing an action programme of "intense pressure" on Gencor and mine bosses.

Asked whether Cosatu's threat to call for an anti-pass campaign would materialise, Naidoo said Cosatu was committed to a "campaign to abolish pass laws, influx control and other apartheid laws".

He said these issues were interlinked, and more specific details on the campaign were still being formulated by Cosatu's executive.

Naidoo said President P W Botha's move to replace passes with a uniform identification system was an attempt to avoid the reality that black movement would still be restricted.

Influx control had been institutionalised through the homeland system and the system of labour bureaux for recruiting workers.

● See Page 6

Paper boycott

COSATU yesterday recommended that its 200 000-strong Transvaal membership boycott the *Sowetan* in protest against the newspaper's "biased and essentially anti-Cosatu position".

A Congress of South African Trade Unions statement released after its first national executive meeting last weekend said the central executive committee had resolved that none of its affiliates would have "anything to do with the *Sowetan*".

The steps were taken because Cosatu had received reports from its affiliates and office-bearers alleging the newspaper was biased.

A resolution was passed recommending the strongest possible action, including a boycott.

The committee resolved "to mandate the Transvaal Regional Congress, which represents more than 200 000 paid-up members, to discuss and implement such a recommendation". — Sapa.

WHY I QUIT — BY ALEX BORAINE

Tricameral 'farce' finally tipped scale

3044

BD Day 12/2/86



● BORAINE

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

HAVING resigned from Parliament, Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands Alex Boraine intends taking steps to forge closer links with extra-parliamentary groups, including the United Democratic Front (UDF), he said at a Press conference yesterday.

Explaining the reasons for resigning his seat — which takes effect on February 28 — Boraine said the sudden resignation of former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert had helped crystalise his own decision.

He added, however, that he had begun to question seriously his own involvement in Parliament after the 1983 referendum.

What had finally convinced him to move was the "monstrous farce" represented by the tricamaral Parliament, that "is doing a big disservice to constitutional progress".

Boraine said he had been prepared to give the system a try, but had subsequently become dismayed at what was happening and not happening in the so-called coloured and Indian chambers.

"I would like to explore possibilities beyond Parliament without negating the role that even a flawed, undemocratic Parliament has to play in getting rid of apartheid," Boraine said.

Echoing Slabbert, Boraine added that the contempt shown by government for Parliament had become serious, making it difficult for those outside it to believe in the validity of the system.

Nevertheless, he still had no doubt about the importance of Parliament and the vital role demanded of the Opposition.

Saying he would continue to remain a PFP member and support its principles and policies, Boraine added he could not be specific about his future but would like to play the role of an "honest broker wearing no particular hat" to help resolve deep divisions within society.

"I am passionately committed to the politics of negotiation and am horrified at the deep divisions in SA society," he said.

"We desperately need to develop a climate of trust that will make negotiation a better proposition than it is now.

"I am under no illusion — I know it will be as tough, if not tougher, outside Parliament than within.

"But I would like to throw my weight behind bridging the awesome gaps which exist in SA."

Boraine said his leaving Parliament was, therefore, not to turn his back on constitutional change, nor to sit in judgment on those remaining, but to try and facilitate in whatever way possible an atmosphere which would bring the politics of negotiation to centre stage.

He denied suggestions of any formal plans to link up with Slabbert, but added their "paths were bound to cross at some stage".

Boraine remarked that the Convention Alliance had become a dead duck because so much suspicion existed as to the motives behind it.

"But I do not think the whole negotiation process is dead, and our concern is how to get it restarted," Boraine said, adding that he intended "forging closer links with the UDF" in order to pursue this goal more closely.

Boraine concluded by saying he doubted that his and Slabbert's departures were likely to be followed by a string of resignations by other disillusioned PFP members.

"I would be very surprised if any other members follow suit," he said.

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13 February 1986

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BUS DAY 12/2/86

London bankers say proposals are tough

New debt deal calls for early repayment

NEW proposals for rescheduling SA's foreign debt call for an initial capital repayment in the first quarter of this year — before the standstill expires.

Details of the compromise proposals drawn up by mediator Fritz Leutwiler surfaced in London yesterday after they were circulated among 32 foreign banks on Monday. SA authorities were given first sight of them on Sunday.

London bankers described the proposals as tough. Some suggested that SA might reject them.

But in view of SA's large current account surplus, the repayments are, said one banker, likely to involve "only a relatively small down-payment on the principal debts" to safeguard creditor-bank interests as far as their own national banking authorities are concerned.

The current account of the balance of payments was running at an annualised rate of R11bn in the fourth quarter of last year, suggesting there is some room for manoeuvre on the SA side. But such a large surplus also provides foreign bankers with ammunition for insisting on higher capital repayments.

The Leutwiler plan is more stringent than SA's original proposals. They called for a halt to capital repayments until 1990, when short-term debt would be repaid in eight equal *tranches* over a two-year period.



LEUTWILER: original SA proposals 'too negative'.

JOHN TILSTON
Economics Editor

Long-term debts would have had four years and four months added to original maturity dates. The proposals were rejected by major creditor banks in December. SA later conceded that they were only the first shots in the negotiating process.

Leutwiler believed the original proposals were too negative and tended to place SA in the same league as Mexico which, unlike SA, has a severe solvency problem. SA, he has stressed, faces a "classic liquidity crisis".

Another banker said Leutwiler had essentially made a positive assumption about the SA situation.

His proposal was initially short-term in nature and called for SA to make some early repayments this year as an act of good faith. The position will be reconsidered in 1987 and will depend on developments during the year.

SA repaid earlier this month the first part of the $774m (R1,6bn) International Monetary Fund three-year loan. This has apparently helped SA's cause among overseas bankers by overtly indicating the desire to play by the rules.

It also indicated a measure of confidence on SA's part. As an SA banker said: "If we were very negative and had our backs to the wall, we would not have started repaying the IMF loan."

AP-DJ reported sources in London as saying the relative stringency of the new proposals could make for tough negotiations with SA.

SA will probably accept the principle of phased repayment starting in the first quarter of this year, as contained in the new proposals, and negotiate on the specific proportions of the debt to be repaid at various stages, sources suggest. Some note, however, that SA could reject the plan outright.

Leutwiler's compromise proposals take into account both a revised offer from SA and the bankers' reactions to the recent speech by President P W Botha.

Some creditor banks are reported to have reservations about Botha's reform plans. They said they wanted to see government taking firm action before they concluded a formal rescheduling agreement. US banks have been under the greatest pressure not to reach a debt

● To Page 2

Early debt repayment called for

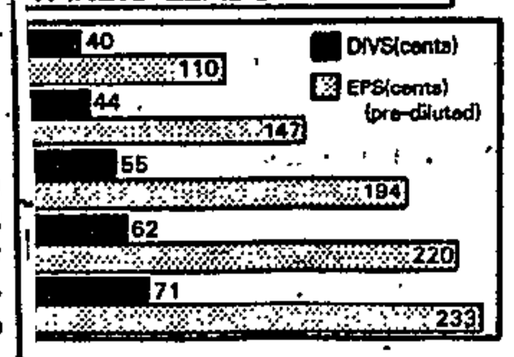
● From Page 1

agreement until suitable reforms have been made.

Leutwiler's spokesman had told *Business Day* that recent statements by SA politicians were "strictly internal politics" and that he had not noticed any change in attitude in the past few days.

A spokesman for the Standstill Co-ordinating Committee acknowledged that the new plan differed substantially from SA's original proposal.

But he said it was highly unlikely a public reaction to the new proposals would be available before the February 20 meeting, when Leutwiler was expected formally to present the proposals to foreign banks and SA and get their respective reactions.



The Star Thursday

'State has enhanced Mandela's stature'

STAR 12/2/88 (304A)

The Government had done more to increase the stature of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela than anyone else, Progressive Federal Party MPC Mr Brian Goodall said last night.

Speaking at the Bedfordview Civic Centre, Mr Goodall said that if Mandela were to be released he would lose the support he enjoys now "when he does not deliver the goods".

He said Mandela would, like Mr Andimba (Herman) Toivo ja Toivo, vanish into obscurity and his leadership force would be reduced.

Mr Goodall said the ANC was the most significant black political group in South Africa, but it was like the Conservative Party. "That they both have significant support is a factor in South African politics. Whether we like it or not, we have to get some sort of negotiation going."

CORNERSTONE OF APARTHEID REMAINS

Mr Goodall referred to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech in which he said President Botha "had not told South Africa where he is leading the country because, if he did, it would be unacceptable to blacks".

For South Africa to "get moderate blacks to come and sit down and negotiate with us was more important than the opionion of the Western world to the No-Confidence Debate speech of Mr Botha, when they realise that the cornerstone of apartheid still remains".

"When the State President said 'we have outgrown the outdated concept of apartheid', we were left to ask: Is there a more modern version of apartheid?

"Some of the things said by Mr Botha we have never heard from any National Party President before. It would be true to say it was never anticipated — and there was no finger-wagging. Words are cheap. The Government has actually got to show us the legislation which changes everything," he said.

Buthelezi turns his back on council

BUS DAY 12/2/88

PETER WALLINGTON

JUST 12 days after President P W Botha told Parliament of his plans to create a national statutory council, the most sought-after participant — KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — has effectively ruled himself out, at least for the time being.

Buthelezi charged that Botha's public repudiation of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, over whether it was possible for SA to have a black president, led him to believe that P W Botha had not told SA where he was leading the country. If he had, Buthelezi said, it would be unacceptable to the blacks.

The Pik Botha affair, coupled with the dramatic resignation of Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert from parliamentary politics, will make it increasingly difficult for black leaders to justify participation at present.

Buthelezi initially lauded P W Botha for his courage in "grasping the nettle of constitutional change so boldly with his own hands" and said that the fact Botha would chair the council put it at the top of government's priorities. But this week Buthelezi said the President's attack on Pik Botha had turned the clock back to last year's disastrous Rubicon speech, and had left blacks aghast.



☐ BUTHELEZI

Slabbert's criticisms of Parliament were blunt: he said it was ineffective, that government did not understand the principle of negotiation and had no intention of implementing fundamental changes and that there would be no peace until negotiations with the banned ANC took place.

It would appear from Buthelezi's comments this week that he has positioned himself along much the same lines. He all but agreed Parliament was ineffective, he has always said he cannot negotiate while ANC and other black leaders are in prison and has set certain preconditions that would commit the NP to the total abolition of apartheid.

However, he told *Business Day* that Slabbert's move would not affect his decision in any way. "While respecting Slabbert's position, I will not be influenced by his stand, but by what my people want me to do," he said. Buthelezi did say, however, that Slabbert must be respected for finally coming to the conclusion that Parliament was ineffective, although it had taken him 10 years to do so.

Buthelezi said that unless certain ingredients were added to the council he would not take part in it. "I doubt if the State President will add the ingredients, and whether he will give it a defined agenda is another question".

He and black SA would expect Botha to commit himself to scrapping the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, and Buthelezi said that all parties, including Nelson Mandela and other jailed leaders, must "be at large and free to decide whether they want to participate or not". These issues, he said, seemed far from being resolved by Botha in the immediate future.

These preconditions are known to trouble many within the NP who are anxious for negotiation forums to get off the ground. A source said yesterday that the more preconditions that were set, the less likely it was that negotiations would start. However, he said things were still at the "pre-negotiation" stage, and government was talking to a number of people in an effort to get the structures going. Yet the divisions within the NP between those who adhere to group identity as opposed to those who favour freedom of association make it unclear at present just how far the NP is prepared to move. It therefore seems unlikely that Buthelezi would seriously consider participation in a statutory council until some, if not all, his preconditions have been met and government's commitment to reform firms up. To do otherwise would surely amount to political suicide.

Botha's repudiation of Pik Botha, and his siding with the more conservative F W de Klerk, tend to justify Slabbert's claim that the NP is not interested in proper reform and negotiation.

Buthelezi's credibility would lie in tatters if he were to ignore this, but it seems unlikely that he will. He told the Vryburg Chamber of Commerce this week that if a statutory council was to be used as a "co-optation mechanism" to recruit those prepared to carry P W Botha's political bags for him; then he would have to be counted out.

Thus it would appear that the statutory council will be still-born.

But Buthelezi appears to have left the door open. He said when Slabbert participated in the tricameral parliament he did not criticise him as some had. "Has his participation in the tricameral parliament, in which 72% of the population was excluded, brought into question his own credibility?"

Row over bid to enforce race laws

PATRICK CULL

PARLIAMENT — Port Elizabeth MPs have condemned a decision by a Port Elizabeth City Council committee to instruct municipal officials to lay charges against people contravening the city's race laws.

And some MPs have warned that the City Councuil could be looking for confrontation with one MP already threatening civil disobedience.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, a member of the Cabinet, said the move as a "sad reflection on the city and its white councillors" while the MP for Walmer, Andrew Savage, said the decision had been taken by a small committee "dominated by unimaginative, ignorant bigots".

MP for Port Elizabeth John Malcomess said what the City Council was doing was to turn every single municipal employee into a "policeman for apartheid," adding that he had written to the town clerk asking him to request the city council to open the beach at Sardinia Bay.

While National Party MPs have reacted with more caution, both the MP for Algoa Park, James Kleynhans and Sakkie Louw, MP for Newton Park, have expressed regret at the furore over the beaches.

Pointing out that the beaches had been used by all people prior to the introduction of apartheid, Hendrickse said that swimming "where I wish is primarily the exercising of a human right.

"It is a sad reflection on the city of Port Elizabeth and its white councillors that they intend using money contributed by ratepayers — even those that are not white — to entrench white priviledge."

Varsities need more teeth, says Rogers

ORMANDE POLLOK

PARLIAMENT — Pat Rogers, New Republic Party MP for King William's Town, yesterday supported a measure to tighten discipline at black universities — the Universities and Technikons for Blacks, Tertiary Education Bill.

"It would appear that the powers of universities to take action in cases of the abuse of educational institutions are inadequate," said Mr Rogers.

He referred to a recent case at Medunsa where six white students left.

"I say this because I believe that those babies who are running around university campuses creating circumstances of the nature I mentioned are not always present on the campus so that action can be taken against them there," said Rogers.

Jumping to Pik's defence

ORMANDE POLLOK

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Nationalists were taken aback yesterday when, in a surprise attack on State President P W Botha, outspoken MP for Yeoville Harry Schwarz sprang to the defence of Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Schwarz described the President's attack on Botha as a "spectacle" and recalled that former Prime Minister and President, John Vorster, had conceded that in terms of the constitution being planned then, a black person could become president.

"Yet we now have the spectacle of the Foreign Minister being repudiated by the State President," said Schwarz.

He also wanted to know why no Nationalists had come to the Foreign Minister's defence.

If the constitutional structures to be evolved were based on power sharing, the choice of head of state had to be open if the concept of domination was to be rejected.

"The nature of the constitutional structure evolved and negotiated may result in a head of state which is ceremonial or executive, but if there is to be power sharing without domination, irrespective of the nature of the structure, how can the office of president be reserved for any particular group?

"It is not even reserved for a white under the present constitution, however flawed this may be," he added

Chief wants invitation from Botha

STAR

13/2/86

Pretoria Bureau

304A

kwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday said he was waiting for an official invitation to talks with the State President.

Chief Buthelezi was commenting on a statement by Mr P W Botha who, responding to criticism by the homeland leader of his handling of the 'Pik Botha Affair", said the chief was free to discuss with him any issues on which he wanted clarity, including the proposed national statutory council.

Mr Botha has said he is prepared to meet Chief Buthelezi to hold personal discussions instead of using public platforms and that Chief Buthelezi knows from experience his door is always open.

The future of the planned National Statutory Council is in the balance over the President's attack on Mr Pik Botha for his statement that it was possible there would be a black President in South Africa in the future.

Repayments will offset buoyant exports, drain reserves

Leutwiler's proposals will curb rand, say forex traders

STAR 13/2/86

By Neil Behrmann

LONDON — Foreign exchange traders believe that the new proposals of debt mediator Dr Fritz Leutwiler will prevent any further marked appreciation of the rand.

The loan repayments to creditor banks will offset buoyant exports and drain the foreign exchange reserves.

But London bankers also forecast that provided American bankers accept Dr Leutwiler's plan there will not be any dramatic setback in the currency. So if South Africa and its bank creditors fail to come to an agreement when they meet on February 20 sentiment could turn against the rand.

Yesterday the rand held firm, trading at about 47 US cents in London after Dr Leutwiler's proposals. The financial rand at 34 cents, however, remained at a wide discount of 28 percent to the commercial currency.

Dr Leutwiler called for an extention of the freeze on South Africa's debt until the end of March, 1987. But the former president of the Bank for International Settlements and Swiss National Bank also proposed that South Africa make a "token repayment" to help the country's trapped creditors save face with their central bankers and governments.

The plan states that South Africa should repay 5 percent of the $14 billion frozen bank debts this year. The payments will be in quarterly instalments starting March 31 this year.

London bankers said that South Africa had to repay about $3,6 billion on some $10 billion debts which were not frozen. A London banker said total repayments of about $4,3 billion would be a severe burden this year because they would exceed the surplus on the balance of payments current account.

But he thought the rand would not collapse because the lower oil price and firmer precious metals market would raise the current account surplus.

"In the end the rand's performance will depend on Johannesburg sentiment," said the banker. The currency is traded in a very thin market and it is volatile.

But a foreign exchange trader was very cautious. He said he would be a seller of rands, especially if the currency rose after a successful creditors' meeting next week. The Reserve Bank had had success in supporting the rand and "helping the currency upwards". It was aided by a reversal of leads and lags where exporters repatriated proceeds swiftly and importers delayed early payments for goods overseas.

"But while the bank succeeds when sentiment is favourable, it fails dismally when the market turns. In the end political events will determine the fortunes of the currency."

South Africa's debt repayment problem and capital outflows would negate the advantages of the trade surplus, he said. For this reason it is not clear whether SA's debt standstill committee will agree to accept Dr Leutwiler's proposals.

By the same token European bankers are hoping that American banks may agree to settle and receive at least some of the money which South Africa owes them.

Uncertainty surrounding the rand will remain until these problems are solved.

'No mandate' to serve on council

JOHANNESBURG. — The West Rand Urban Councils' Association (Weruca) will not participate in the State President's recently announced national statutory council "because we do not have the mandate from the people".

Weruca is made up of councillors from Soweto, Diepmeadow, Dobsonville, Alexandra, Bekkersdal, Mohlakeng, Kagiso and Munsieville.

The East Rand Urban Councils' Association (Eruca) said it had not taken a stand on whether or not to participate.

Eruca is made up of councillors from Katlehong, Daveyton, Tembisa, Tsakane, Kwa-Thema, Duduza, Thokoza and Wattville.

Eruca chairman Mr Tom Boya said Eruca would decide on whether or not to participate after it had been approached by the government.

Weruca said in a statement that councillors had been elected to serve in local authorities for the sole purpose of providing essential services and to represent residents' aspirations at local level.

"We refuse to allow ourselves to be seen to be competing with national political leaders and organizations.

"We reject and boycott the invitation extended to us for participation in the national statutory council as we do not have a mandate from the people.

"Political leaders are in jail, exile and detention and some are dead.

"The leaders of the people shall and will reserve the undisputed right of political participation." — Sapa

Does Van have something up his sleeve?

FOCUS

By Prof Herman Gillomee of the University of Stellenbosch

DR van Zyl Slabbert's dramatic departure from Parliament raises grave doubts over the future of that once-omnipotent institution. It confirms the impression that the future destiny of South Africa will be decided as much outside Parliament as inside it.

Over the last 25 years growing numbers of the public have come to fear that Government actions were turning our parliamentary system into a mere charade.

Since the early 1960s there has been a profound shift away from the legislative and judicial branch to the executive where power has become concentrated in ever fewer hands.

The draconian security laws of the 1960s did the first damage. The tendency to reform through exemption permits, rather than abolishing laws, further undermined Parliament.

Uprising

During the major uprisings of 1976 and 1985 the Government thought it unnecessary to reconvene Parliament in the second half of the year although many townships were in flames.

In 1975-76 the Government sent conscripts into a war on Angolan soil without informing Parliament.

Over the last four to five years South Africa has conducted a policy of destabilising neighbouring countries, but a proper parliamentary debate over the issue is still to be conducted.

The National Party caucus has suffered a corresponding decline of status.

On January 30 President Botha did not care to tell the caucus about the contents of his important speech the next day in Parliament.

Ordinary caucus members were as surprised as the ordinary citizen to read in advertisements three days later that the Government was committing itself in ringing terms to individual rights and power-sharing, which went considerably beyond anything previously discussed in caucus.

Debacle

Last week's reform debacle in Parliament confirms the impression that when it comes to political reform the decisions on new initiatives are taken by a small leadership coterie in the cabinet. It does not canvass any broad support and has an interest in in-depth parliamentary discussion.

This coterie in fact prefers to play a political variant of "up and under" rugby. It proceeds to kick a new concept — "black council", "cabinet committee", "statutory council" (what next?) — as high as possible in the air.

Every time the white South Africa stand cheers as deliriously as any Loftus Versfeld crowd — only to learn that the ball comes down on exactly the same place.

Public

With a straight face the coterie then informs the public the final responsibility lies with Parliament.

But if Dr Slabbert feels unable to participate any longer in this kind of "leaderist" politics, which has no public accountability, he faces an extra-parliamentary opposition movement which is in many ways as "leaderist" and with as little regard for the consequences over the longer run of its action.

There have been occasions when the extra-parliamentary opposition has displayed impressive solidarity, a sound sense of tactics and a shrewd understanding of what demands were attainable.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

Boycotts

The Witwatersrand stay-away and some of the Eastern Cape consumer boycotts are fine examples.

However, on many occasions leaders have not refrained from stoking up the emotions, making impossible demands and radicalising the situation until it was completely out of control.

The whole strategy of making the country "ungovernable" and "wearing the government out" has been an ill-conceived one against a formidable and determined state.

To tell schoolchildren and students that the state "is on the run", as some leaders have done, is indeed the height of political irresponsibility.

South Africa desperately needs a strong and disciplined extra-parliamentary movement to wage the battle for peaceful change. The gulf between the ANC and the National Party is so wide that no negotiations are possible, except if a peaceful extra-parliamentary movement succeeds in mobilising the middle ground.

Reform

Those who wax eloquently about Parliament as the only place where our burning political issues can be resolved forget the remarkable role the Chartist movement played in Britain in the 1830s and 1840s to carry the reform movement far beyond the Reform Act of 1832.

The Chartists never achieved political power but they channelled the energies and the demands of the disenfranchised masses so well that parliament felt compelled to extend the base of democracy.

An extra-parliamentary movement need not be feared as a potential revolutionary force. As the Chartists showed, a well organised mass movement can broaden the initial inadequate reforms emanating from parliament into a groundswell of popular democracy.

Could it be that Dr Slabbert's real destiny be in connecting Stellenbosch and Rondebosch to the Cape Flats?

organised farm labour. for farm workers. Staff.

Scrap racist health laws — Barnard

PARLIAMENT —The South African Medical Association would be kicked out of its world body "as sure as I am standing here" if the Government persisted with its division of the country's health services on racial lines, Dr Marius Barnard (PFP, Parktown) said yesterday. STAR 13/2/86 · 3 col in

Speaking in the Second Reading Debate on the Part Appropriation Bill, he said the "Own Affairs" policy as applied to health had caused members of the South African medical profession great difficulty overseas.

They were unable to "sell it" he said, and it was not in accordance with the Geneva Convention which was "totally against" racial discrimination.

Dr Barnard asked the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, to use his influence to ensure that the health services were united under one administration.

Dr Barnard said that with the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act, it was possible for a black man to marry a white woman. If she conceived, it was possible the wife would choose to go to the (white) Johannesburg General Hospital for the confinement.

It was accepted by the medical profession as desirable that the husband be present during the final stages of labour. Should this black husband faint during this process and get concussion, or cut his head, he would have to be taken to a black hospital for treatment.

And when the baby was born, as a coloured it would have to go to the Coronation Hospital.

"I ask the Minister, is apartheid outdated in South Africa?"

"Everyone" in the medical profession was against the separation of health care into own affairs, which was also very expensive.



'World body will bar SA' — Dr Marius Barnard.

Delegates laud Minister of Justice

STAR 12/2/86.

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, drew praise from both sides of the House of Delegates yesterday.

The leader of the ruling National People's Party, **Mr Amichand Rajbansi**, said he was proud to be part of the reformist Cabinet. Speaking during the second reading debate on the Special Courts for Blacks Abolition Bill, Mr Rajbansi said he was proud of being associated with Cabinet colleagues of the calibre of Mr Coetsee.

The actions of Mr Coetsee confirmed the independence of South Africa's judiciary, which had the greatest respect both nationally and internationally, he said.

Mr Coetsee was also praised by **Mr Pat Poovalingam (Solidarity, Reservoir Hills)** for the swift action he had taken following the controversial showing of a videotape depicting scenes of unrest to Durban magistrates.

Replying to the debate, Mr Coetsee said he wished to take the opportunity to thank those concerned with the videotape showing for their co-operation following the intervention of the Judge-President of Natal.

He also thanked the Press for their objective handling of the videotape issue.

Defence details misused — Malan

STAR 13/2/86

PARLIAMENT — Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan has refused to provide particulars of national servicemen who failed to report for duty.

In a written reply to a question by **Mr Philip Myburgh (PFP, Wynberg)**, the Minister said the information supplied last year had been "misused by a certain organisation which campaigns for the discontinuation of national service".

He could not answer the second part of the question, which requested the number of prosecutions and convictions of servicemen who had failed to report for the January 1985 and 1986 intakes as the information was not readily available.

In reply to another question, the Minister said 211 white women volunteers had been accepted for national service. Of the 4 010 coloured volunteers, 1 847 were accommodated while 297 of 667 Asian volunteers were accepted. There were no black volunteers. — Sapa.

Moolla to head Indian opposition

STAR 13/2/86.

PARLIAMENT —Solidarity's Chief Whip, **Mr Yunus Moolla (Stanga)**, has been named as the acting Leader of the Opposition in the House of Delegates.

Mr Moolla takes over from **Mr J N Reddy**, who was sworn in as the new Minister of the Budget on Monday.

Mr Ismael Kathrada (Verulam) took over the Health Services and Welfare portfolio.

Opposition demands debate in House

Govt challenged over black president affair

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The Government has been challenged on the issue of a future black president over which President P W Botha rebuked the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

The matter was raised by several opposition speakers during the mini-budget debate in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) asked: "If there is to be power-sharing without domination, how can the office of State President be reserved for any particular group?"

He said that even under the present constitution it was possible for a coloured or Indian person to become State President of South Africa.

The former Prime Minister and State President, Mr John Vorster, had said it was possible for a black man to become President. In spite of all this, there was now the "spectacle" of Foreign Minister Pik Botha being rebuked for saying just that.

Mr Schwarz said not one member on the Government side had been prepared to speak up in support of Mr Pik Botha.

"To me the colour of the president is of no importance," Mr Schwarz said. What really mattered was not the State President's race, but the nature of the constitution and whether there was freedom of association, freedom of religion and freedom of enterprise.

"I don't believe that impasse can continue. The matter must be debated in this House."

INVOLVED IN DEBATE

Earlier Mr Schwarz criticised the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, for saying he did not want to get involved in a debate on apartheid.

The Minister, like all other MPs, was in fact involved in a debate on apartheid. Mr Schwarz suggested that Mr du Plessis was likely to be questioned by overseas bankers about the rebuke received by Mr Pik Botha for his remarks on a black president.

Would Minister du Plessis's response be that he was not interested in the debate on apartheid?

The issue was also raised by the right-wing Herstigte Nasionale Party. **Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP, Sasolburg)** said Mr Pik Botha had been "built up" for years as the "the hero of the left.

He said that five months ago a National Party MP, Mr Wynand Malan (Randburg) had said there could be a black State President in South Africa. Quoting from a report in the *Sunday Star*, Mr Stofberg said nobody had repudiated Mr Malan.

Mr Stofberg claimed that the "movement to the left" in South African politics was grinding to a halt. This had been shown by the declining voter support for the PFP at by-election polls. This was the root cause of Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's "gloom" when he announced his resignation from Parliament.



Mr Harry Schwarz ... "impasse cannot continue".

South Africa's credibility, say CP

PARLIAMENT — The State President, Mr P W Botha, had repudiated Mr Pik Botha over his statement that a black person could become president because the Minister of Foreign Affairs had spoken the truth, **Mr Tom Langley (CP, Southpansberg)** said yesterday.

Mr Pik Botha's statement at a Press briefing had been a correct interpretation of the State President's earlier promise of full political rights for all citizens, Mr Langley said during the debate on the Second Reading of the mini-budget.

"If he's said that much to the Press, what has he said behind closed doors in foreign chanceries?" he asked.

Mr Pik Botha's statements were placing South Africa's credibility at stake. As long as he remained in office, the situation would not improve and the possibility of a black president remained, the CP Member said.

The State President's repudiation of Mr Botha was an example of latest NP policy: "You make bold steps to the left and then you give a smack or two to the left afterwards."

Mr Langley asked the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, and the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, to categorically deny in the House that it was NP policy to allow a black person to become State President.

The State President's remarks about Mr Pik Botha had been the "most destructive repudiation" of a Minister Mr Langley had ever seen.

"It was 10 times worse than that of the late Prime Minister, Mr (John) Vorster, of Dr Albert Herzog." — Sapa.

Schwarz not in leadership race

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) has squashed speculation that he aspired to succeed Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert as leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

Speaking in the mini-budget debate in the House of Assembly, Mr Schwarz said he was not a candidate for the leadership.

He also said: "We will have a new leader soon. He will lead us outside and inside this Parliament, but he will not lead us out of this Parliament."

However imperfect or flawed the system might be, Mr Scwarz said the only way to change the constitution peacefully was through Parliament.

"I believe we will carry out our task in this House in years to come."

Barend needs powers for 'emergencies'

PARLIAMENT — It was a "shocking state of affairs" that the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, did not have sufficient options to respond adequately to new sets of circumstances that developed during parliamentary recesses, **Mr Derrick Watterson (NRP, Umbilo)** said yesterday.

Speaking in the second-reading debate on the Part Appropriation Bill, he said that during the recess the country had been brought almost to its knees by perfidious banks which, against all precedent, had refused to roll over debts.

The rand had fallen to such an extent that it was sarcastically referred to as "Mickey Mouse money".

It was a shocking indictment of the present system of government.

"I accept the Minister's excuse that he did not have the options, but he must ensure this session that he has the options in future."

He said directors who let their companies get into such a state of affairs would have been accused of criminal negligence.

'Mark end to slavery'

PARLIAMENT — December 1 should be proclaimed a national holiday in honour of the emancipation from slavery, **Mr Thomas Abrahams, (LP, Wentworth)** said in the House of Representatives.

He said December 1, 1834 was the date when slavery was abolished in this country. — Political Staff.

Pik confers with Crocker in Geneva

Botha ready for deal on SWA

BUSDAY 13/2/86.



● BOTHA



● CROCKER

WASHINGTON — SA is prepared to name a date for implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 to help the US pressure Angola over Cuban troop withdrawals, diplomatic sources say.

The resolution relates to UN-supervised elections in South West Africa.

This offer was likely to be made during Foreign Minister Pik Botha's talks with Dr Chester Crocker in Geneva. They met yesterday.

State Department spokesman Robert Bruce declined to elaborate on the purpose of the meeting beyond saying it would deal with regional and bilateral issues.

It was learnt that Crocker left Washington on Tuesday night with an unusually large delegation.

"The talks are going to cover just about everything," a diplomat said.

He added that Angola and SWA would be at the top of the agenda.

UN Resolution 435 has for many years been one of the most contentious issues in the General Assembly with virtually the whole world ranged against SA for not implementing it and withdrawing from SWA.

Another pressing topic was understood to be Botswana.

US officials are deeply worried about SA potential strikes against the ANC in that country.

SIMON BARBER

The talks come as the Reagan administration embarks, under pressure from congressional conservatives, on a policy of psychological pressure on the Angolan government to send the Cubans home.

The policy has entailed publicly welcoming Unita's Jonas Savimbi and providing him with some military aid.

Bilateral talks

State Department officials say the administration has begun bilateral talks with the Soviet Union on an Angolan settlement.

By setting a specific date for implementation of the UN resolution, while still making it conditional on a Cuban withdrawal agreement, SA was probably hoping to add to the pressure on Luanda, diplomatic sources said.

"We're in a hurry. We want to demonstrate our willingness to be flexible," an SA official said.

Crocker has made it clear in recent weeks that, while both SA and Angola have been dragging their feet on the specifics of the US-sponsored Cuban withdrawal/SWA independence plan, Luanda seems to have been putting up more and bigger obstacles.

SA's foreign debt crisis and recent developments in Angola are believed to be the major purposes of the week-long visit to Europe by Botha, writes ANTHONY JOHNSON.

It is understood that Botha will be spending most of his time in Switzerland seeing officials about the debt standstill.

The Swiss government says Botha will be meeting his Swiss counterpart Pierre Aubert in Berne.

There has also been speculation that Botha will see Fritz Leutwiler, the Swiss mediator between SA and Western bankers.

The possible release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela is also likely to be raised in Botha's talks with Crocker.

A spokesman from the Department of Foreign Affairs said that Botha was abroad to discuss government's reform programme and matters relating to Southern Africa.

He said the trip had nothing to do with with the release earlier this week of Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed last night that Botha had already met Crocker in Geneva yesterday.

At the meeting were the South African Ambassador to the US Herbert Beukes and senior foreign affairs officials of both countries.

13/2/86

City cinema move praised

Staff Reporter

THE opening of 17 Cape Town cinemas to all races was last night welcomed by Mr Mike Goodall, general manager of Ster-Kinekor, who said the process to bring about desegregation had been a "great headache".

He said that after a series of applications had been lodged with the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, all Ster-Kinekor cinemas were now open to all races and that this had taken effect yesterday.

A spokesman for the regional office of the department confirmed yesterday that the concession to open cinemas to people of all races had been granted following applications from the cinemas themselves.

The Ster-Kinekor and UIP-Warner cinemas involved were informed by telephone and the news confirmed in writing.

Applications

Applications to grant the concession to the Goodwood Metro, the only main cinema still segregated, and to the Roxy cinema, are still being considered.

A spokesman for UIP-Warner could not be contacted last night.

The move follows the opening of six cinemas in November last year. The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning announced then that cinemas could apply to become desegregated if they made individual applications.

The cinemas now open are Sea Point Metro 1 and 2; Rondebosch Metro; Mitchells Plain Metro 1 and 2; Protea 1, 2 and 3 in Claremont; Constantia 1,2 and 3 in Rosebank; Tyger Valley 1 and 2 in Durbanville; Kine 1 and 2 in Parow; Elite in Sea Point and the Constantia in Wynberg.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	$336,45
Rand ..	$0,4690/$0,4700
FT index (close)	1208,60
BD 100	1190,90

Eglin set to lead the PFP again

Cape Times 13/2/86

30CA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN A dramatic comeback, Mr Colin Eglin, MP for Sea Point, is virtually certain to clinch the leadership of the Progressive Federal Party today.

Dr Alex Boraine, his main rival for the leadership spot left vacant by the shock resignation of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, is expected to tell a special caucus meeting of the PFP at 10am today that he has withdrawn from the leadership race.

Dr Boraine, who last night declined to say if he was still in the running, is also expected to disclose today whether he will follow the example of Dr Slabbert and abandon parliamentary politics.

The wave of support among fellow MPs for Mr Eglin is being ascribed in party circles to the need for shell-shocked members to rally around a man who can hold the party together in a time of crisis.

Another factor likely to be pivotal in getting Dr Boraine to step down is that although he appears to have significant support within the PFP's federal council, which meets in Johannesburg on Saturday to decide on an acting leader, he has been unable to muster sufficient support for his proposed radical new course for the party among his fellow MPs.

Dr Boraine, who met with Mr Eglin twice yesterday afternoon, will see the PFP's interim leader again today before the special caucus where he is expected to pave the way for Mr Eglin's unanimous election as party leader.

Mr Eglin, who led the PFP from 1971 to 1979 before he was displaced



Mr Colin Eglin



Dr Alex Boraine

by Dr Slabbert, is described by Dr Slabbert in his autobiography as "one of the most underrated politicians in Parliament. He is tough, principled and a brilliant negotiator".

According to Slabbert: "He (Eglin) is easily one of the most intelligent people I have met. He, unlike me, thrives on the traditions and activities of Parliament.

"In any normal democratic society, Eglin would have been an invaluable member of the government and such a government could have counted itself privileged to have him."

Mr Eglin, who is widely recognized as a skilled organizer, is expected to use his new leadership role to try to contain the polarization that is taking place between the government and extra-parliamentary forces.

Meanwhile, one of the dark horses in the leadership stakes, Mr Harry Schwarz, announced earlier yesterday to the House of Assembly that he was "definitely not" in the leadership race.

In making his announcement he used the occasion to plug Mr Colin Eglin for the leadership spot.

Mr Schwarz said it was "not a pleasant experience to be suddenly leaderless" but that an interim leader (Mr Eglin), who had the full confidence of the parliamentary caucus, had been appointed almost immediately and that the machinery to elect a permanent leader was in motion.

"We will have a new leader soon and he will not lead this party out of Parliament," he said in a reference to both Dr Slabbert and Dr Boraine, who said at the weekend that he was considering leaving parliamentary politics.

PFP MPs, however, feel that the MP for Pinelands is likely to remain in Parliament while continuing to build on the extensive extra-parliamentary contact he has built up over the years.

PARLIAMENT

Schwarz bows out of PFP leadership stakes



● SCHWARZ

ORMANDE POLLOK

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Harry Schwarz, fiery MP for Yeoville, yesterday formally declared that he was not in the running for the Progressive Federal Party leadership.

This means there are only two possible candidates to fill the power vacuum left by the dramatic resignation of former leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert last week.

Still in the running are acting leader, Colin Eglin, who was leader until 1979 when ousted by Slabbert, and Alex Boraine, one of Slabbert's closest confidants.

There is still some doubt about Boraine's candidacy as he said in an interview recently that he was still "seriously consdering" his future — whether or not to go for the leadership or follow Slabbert and leave Parliament altogether.

Eglin is now emerging as the favourite for the leadership when the party's Federal Council meets in Johannesburg at the weekend.

Some PFP MPs are believed to be considering walking out of the party if Boraine is appointed and, with the party already in turmoil, it is highly unlikely it would risk a split.

Schwarz made it clear that he was not a candidate when answering an interjection during the Part Appropriation debate in Parliament yesterday and seemed to indicate that he was supporting Eglin.

He was explaining that he intended to remain in Parliament, no matter how flawed the system, when he was asked if he was a candidate for the leadership.

"I am not a candidate," he said, and then, gesturing in Eglin's direction, added "And it is known for whom my support is".

Schwarz said he believed in peaceful change and the only way in which the laws of the country could be constitutionally changed were by Acts of Parliament.

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CAPE TIMES 13/2/86

'Open' City cinema move praised

Staff Reporter

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CAPE TIMES 13/2/86 3041

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PFP MPs, however, feel that the MP for Pinelands is likely to remain in Parliament while continuing to build on the extensive extra-parliamentary contact he has built up over the years.

● Dr Slabbert had left black moderates like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi "on a precarious limb" with his decision to quit, The Times in London said in an editorial yesterday

The Times rebuked the former opposition leader for his decision to "cut and run".

"It means that presented with a very real crisis in Government, he not only failed to exploit it, but created one in his own ranks.

"Dr Slabbert's frustrations are understandable South African moderates will find it harder to forgive his indulgence of them," The Times said

LEADERSHIP

The Stayer returns

ARGUS 14/2/86

COLIN EGLIN BACK ON THE LONG ROAD OF LEADERSHIP

TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

NEARLY seven years ago Mr Colin Eglin was ousted as leader of the Progressive Federal Party. Now, with the PFP in a major crisis, this stalwart is again being called upon to take over the leadership reins of the party he has served so devotedly through the years.

Tomorrow the party's federal council will elect him as the acting leader until later in the year when a federal congress will confirm this.

His fall seven years ago was partly the result of his own followers falling for a Nationalist propaganda blast on contacts Mr Eglin had with a black American diplomat, Mr Don McHenry.

His parliamentary performance as Leader of the Opposition at that stage in 1979 had also been unsatisfactory. He did not do well under pressure.

Among PFP supporters there was the feeling that the party needed to brush up its image and that the new political "wunderkind" Dr F van Zyl Slabbert should be given a chance.

Mr Eglin took his humiliation seven years ago well. He served loyally under Dr Slabbert. He devoted himself to his constituency and was also his party's chief spokesman on foreign affairs.

Now that Dr Slabbert has walked out on the PFP Mr Eglin has again shown that he has unequalled staying power in politics.

Also on the credit side there is his tremendous energy and his capacity for hard work.

Behind the rather solid exterior there is a very able man with a quick brain and a ready grasp of the crux of any problem he has to deal with.

His main fault is that he is often rather irritable and impatient and on occasions given to what some political journalists describe as "bouts of self-importance".

TOMORROW the party's federal council will elect him as the acting leader until later in the year when a federal congress will confirm this.



Colin Eglin — behind the rather solid exterior there is a very able man with a quick brain and a ready grasp of the crux of any problem he has to deal with.

For Mr Eglin it has been a long and hard road in politics.

In 1950, at the age of 24, he became a town councillor in Pinelands.

Four years later he became United Party MPC for Pinelands and in 1958 he became MP for the constituency.

With the split in the UP in 1959 he was one of 12 MPs who formed the Progressive Party. In the 1961 election all of them except Mrs Helen Suzman lost their seats. He was out of Parliament for 13 years, but continued working tirelessly for the party.

He became leader of the Progressive Party in 1971.

After two unsuccessful attempts he won Sea Point in the 1974 election.

In 1975 he became leader of the Progressive Reform Party following the merger between the Progressive Party and the Reform Party. In 1975 the party changed its name to the PFP. Since 1979 he has been national chairman of the party.

His special political interests has been foreign affairs, constitutional matters, housing and urban planning.

He has always been known as an excellent constituency MP and he has given special attention to the problems of the aged.

Apart from advice sessions at his Sea Point party offices his constituents can still regularly meet him at party tables out on the pavement in the area on Saturday mornings.

He has travelled extensively in Africa, Europe, North America and Australia and he has maintained regular contact with many African states.

Mr Eglin will be 61 on April 14. He matriculated first class from the De Villiers Graaff High School at Villiersdorp in 1939 and before he was 15 he was a student at UCT in the first course for quantity surveying. His studies were interrupted in 1943 when he joined the army but later he became the first B Sc (quantity surveying) at UCT.

Party's future is uncertain as leaders quit

Shaken PFP is at crossroads

STAR 14/2/86. 30 KA

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — What happens now to the PFP? Where is it going, will it succeed?

These are some of the many questions being asked within and outside the party after the resignations of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine in the last week.

The resignation of the PFP's leader and federal executive chairman is bad enough. But the manner and timing of their announcement has shaken the party badly.

Both Dr Slabbert and Dr Boraine were careful to point out that Parliament remained an effective institution and they continued to hold their colleagues who had decided to work within the system in high regard.

But their reasons for going have effectively put a question mark over the heads of the remaining 24 PFP MPs.

Dr Slabbert said the tricameral Parliament was a flawed constitutional experiment that compounded the problem of political domination.

Dr Boraine said to support the constitutional process did not mean everyone had to be in Parliament to play some part in bringing sanity, justice and healing to a country which had come close to being broken on the wheel of racism.

Flawed system

No matter how much they emphasised the importance of Parliament, the impression left was that it was frustrating and futile to be in Parliament. That after all, the party should have stayed out of the tricameral system.

That left the remaining MPs to explain why they too had not seen fit to withdraw from a flawed, undemocratic system.

When the PFP federal council meets in Johannesburg tomorrow this is going to be discussed in depth.

The decision, however, has already been made: the PFP is in Parliament to stay.

What is still to be decided is how the party can expand its effectiveness outside Parliament, and how it can build bridges between the franchised and the voteless.

A side issue at the federal council meeting will be the choosing of an acting leader. This will be little more than a formality as Mr Colin Eglin, the party's national chairman, is clearly going to be the unanimous choice.

Survived backstabbing

Lacking the charisma and facility to communicate that Dr Slabbert had, Mr Eglin nonetheless has tenacity, excellent organisational skills and a quick political intellect. He also survived the backstabbing and the humiliation of defeat when dumped by the party as its leader, staying on under a new leader to serve loyally.

Mr Eglin, as interim leader, this week answered the question hanging over the heads of his colleagues.

"We will fight here in Parliament where the apartheid laws have to be scrapped and a new non-racial constitution will have to be enacted," he said during the part appropriation debate.

But, he added, "we will take our message to the millions of South Africans outside of this Parliament".

The general feeling among Prog MPs is that the party has for some years already expanded its outside role.

Mr Eglin himself is credited with several initiatives during his first leadership, such as the launching of "Deurbraak", a publication to reach Afrikaner thinkers, and his much-publicised African safari with Mrs Helen Suzman at a time when it was unheard of for contact to be made between white South Africans and black African leaders.

Mr Eglin is credited with the party's decision to act speedily in investigating last year's Uitenhage shootings and in setting up complaints committees to monitor security force activities in the black townships.

His record in this regard answers the second question: the PFP will continue to explore and find ways to bridge the greater non-racial political arena with Parliament.

What Slabbert is saying

By his dramatic resignation last Friday, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert told South Africans in the most vivid way possible that he no longer believes apartheid can be ended by a process of constitutional reform.

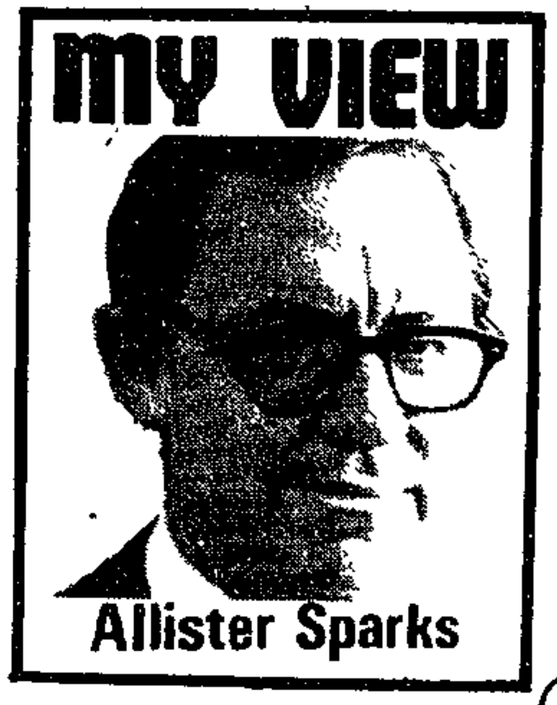
It is a judgment heavy with implications that many will find hard to accept, but it has to be taken seriously because no one has been closer to the rockface of reform negotiations than Dr Slabbert.

He knows his party cannot gain power through an election. He knows the only way apartheid can be abolished is for the Government to take a quantum leap that would lose it the whole of its right wing — and to do that it would need the support of the PFP, perhaps in a coalition, to stay in power and see the reforms through to a new constitution that would widen the electorate and remove forever the threat of a Conservative takeover.

He has been in there, deep behind the rhetoric of Rubicon speeches and advertising copywriters, talking to the Government about this. Talking face-to-face to the President and his lieutenants in a situation where there is no more public posturing and both sides speak frankly.

He is telling us now that he has come away from that experience convinced there is no chance of the Botha Government making such a leap. He is telling us that he has been staring for months at what we caught glimpses of last August and again last week — that when you scratch the glossy surface of reformist proclamations you find the bedrock essentials of apartheid underneath.

President Botha is adamant — the political system must remain on a basis of legally defined race groups. This means political apartheid remains. There can never be a black government with a black president.




Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

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This means no credible blacks are going to accept it and, further, that township violence and alienation will continue.

Nor is there any prospect of this changing when President Botha goes, for it is now clear that he will be succeeded by Mr F W de Klerk, who thinks the same way and will be shaping National Party policy for the next 20 years.

Wishful

So what Dr Slabbert is telling us is: stop your flights of wishful thinking at the sight of every new euphemism and face the hard reality. South Africa's crisis is not going to be solved by a process of constitutional reform. That is why he is off to see if he can find other ways.

There is only one other way. That is if the confrontation reaches a level, as it did in Rhodesia, where the whites decide that it is better to seek an agreement rather than continue their costly attempt to maintain the status quo by force.

We don't have much time. The continuing violence in the townships is traumatising the black community country-wide and sending thousands of angry young men into exile where they are putting increasing radical pressure on the old and still relatively moderate ANC leadership.

In another 10 years there will be a generational change in that leadership. If the confrontation is not defused by then, white South Africans, weakened by another decade of violence, isolation, brain drain and economic sanctions, will find themselves trying to do a deal with an ANC led by today's scarred and bitter young "comrades".

Given the urgency of the scenario as he sees it, critics who are denouncing Dr Slabbert for an act of betrayal and self-indulgence should rather note that he has placed himself in a unique position as a potential future mediator as the seemingly unavoidable confrontation between African and Afrikaner nationalisms intensifies.

Dr Slabbert has always been highly respected in Afrikaner circles, which is remarkable in a community that usually expels its political dissidents as ethnic traitors. When he ended his moving valediction in Parliament last Friday by saying he wanted to speak as an Afrikaner and hoped members of the Conservative Party accepted him as such, they nodded unhesitatingly.

But he has never had much of an image in the black community. Perhaps because of his Afrikaner image, perhaps because his style is a little academic and lacks the moral passion of a Helen Suzman or a Molly Blackburn, blacks have viewed him with indifference.

Now that has changed. Overnight, Dr Slabbert's reputation in the townships has rocketed. His dramatic resignation has been acclaimed by the ANC as an act of vision that deserves "a solemn salute of honour".

Credibility

Suddenly he has become the one person in South Africa with high credibility on both sides of the confrontation line, who can talk to everyone from Dr Andries Treurnicht to Mr Oliver Tambo.

This could become critically important. At the moment the two sides are locked into positions of mutual mistrust and blind hostility, where each responds to stereotyped images of the other and neither has any sense of what is really going on in the other's heart and mind.

There needs to be a mediator who can move between the two, a perceptive analyst who can convey to each a better understanding of what makes the other tick, of what the fears and internal political pressures and possible areas of compromise are.

There needs to be someone who can play a role like that which the Western contact group has tried to



Dr Alex Boraine . . . was a contender for PFP leadership.

New blow as Boraine follows Slabbert

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party suffered a second major blow in less than a week when the party's federal executive chairman, Dr Alex Boraine, announced his resignation from Parliament yesterday.

His move follows the shock resignation of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, apparently for similar reasons — frustration and disillusionment over the Government's professed commitment to genuine reform.

He also believes the sphere of negotiaton now lies outside Parliament.

Dr Boraine was a strong contender to take over the leadership of the party. His resignation comes as a crushing blow to the PFP, which has rallied to close its ranks after Dr Slabbert's decision to quit.

It is now a foregone conclusion that Mr Colin Eglin, a previous PFP leader, will be appointed acting leader at a meeting of the party's federal council on Saturday.

WHOLE TEAM

PFP MPs were furious at Dr Boraine's decision. One said it was because Dr Boraine realised he was not going to become leader.

However, it is understood Dr Slabbert and Dr Boraine were hoping that more MPs, if not the whole team, would resign from Parliament in protest at the failure of the tricameral system and the lack of Government commitment to real reform.

Reportedly, the plan was to resign and fight by-elections on the basis that they would not again enter Parliament until certain discriminatory legislation had been repealed.

However, this plan was dismissed by members of the PFP. The remaining MPs are adamant thay will not resign, that they have a commitment to the voters who put them in Parliament and that much more may be achieved by working within the system than by, for example, joining the UDF.

New blow for PFP

BORAINE QUITS AS MP



Dr Alex Boraine ... "entrenchment of racism".

ARGUS 13/2/86 30 AP

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

ANOTHER leading Progressive Federal Party MP, Dr Alex Boraine, is to leave Parliament.

He is MP for Pinelands and chairman of the party's federal council. The resignation takes effect on February 28.

The decision is another blow to the PFP. It follows less than a week after its leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, announced his resignation.

Dr Boraine told the PFP's parliamentary caucus about his decision today.

Yesterday and today he had talks with Mr Colin Eglin, interim leader of the PFP.

"Quite absurd"

Mr Eglin is now expected to be elected unanimously as the party's new leader at a federal council meeting in Johannesburg on Saturday.

At one stage Dr Boraine was considering standing for the leadership.

In an interview today Dr Boraine said it was "quite absurd" to say that in leaving Parliament one was turning one's back on the constitutional process.

"I have no doubt whatsoever that the parliamentary process is important, in particular that the PFP is the only worthwhile opposition in Parliament.

"It was the referendum which caused me to question whether I should continue in this role.

"I was persuaded to give the tricameral Parliament a chance. However, I have become even more sure that this entrenchment of racism can cause only greater division.

"It is almost impossible for someone who is a member of any of the Houses to try and bridge the gap between those inside and those outside.

On Dr Slabbert he said: "We are friends and have been colleagues. We will be close in future as well, but at this stage there is no formal linking."

Asked whether his decision was another blow to the PFP, he said: "I suppose it will be, but it is far better that it should come now than be dragged out."

No other MPs in the PFP are expected to resign.

"Resign call"

● Party sources claimed today that Dr Slabbert tried to get PFP MPs to resign their seats before he left.

They would then fight by-elections on the platform that if they won they would not resume their seats until laws such as that on race classification were repealed.

The plan never got past other senior members who refused to have anything to do with it, the sources claim.

Dr Slabbert said today that he had no prior knowledge of Dr Boraine's resignation and it was not pre-arranged.

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



Morale goes into orbit, but reform's grounded

Will the economic upswing match the euphoria upswing? Will the reformists do more than tinker? DUNCAN INNES reports

MANY South Africans, it seems, have short memories. Or at least that is what sections of the media would have us believe.

A few short months ago the doom and gloom merchants dominated the headlines. Now it is a different story: "Soaring exports bring promise of plenty" and (would you believe?) "Boom, boom after gloom".

But one can't just blame the newspapers for the recent bout of economic euphoria. In Rubicon Mark 11 PW Botha told us that "a new growth phase is now beginning". Last week Kent Durr, the Deputy Minister of Finance, had us all chugging off "into a new era to yet higher standards".

Even the normally staid Gerhard de Kock said recently that: "The time for another 'prepare to meet thy boom' statement may not be far off."

This concerted propaganda offensive seems to be achieving its initial aim, which is psychological lift-off. Whether we get actual economic lift-off and, if so, how much is, of course, a very different question.

It would, however, be churlish not to admit that there is a good deal of cheery economic news about at the moment.

It's been raining recently so the outlook for agriculture is less pessimistic than before; the rand has been battling its way up against other currencies and seems set to hit 50 US cents in the near future; the gold price in dollar terms is looking promising; interest rates are down; our balance of payments is in surplus; stodgy old Fritz Leutwiler seems to be doing his thing on the mediation front; and the oil price has collapsed.

Add to this the fact that PW Botha didn't goof up his speech this time round and that there is a lull of sorts on the unrest front and you have a recipe for economic recovery.

Ok, I'll go along with all this so far. But, unfortunately, whether or not we get recovery is not really the question. The real question is: how much of a recovery will we get?

Why is this so important? Because as Gavin Relly of Anglo American puts it: "We cannot have reform without growth, but we cannot have growth without significant reform." (I've been saying the same thing for the past year but somehow he puts it better.)

The question, then, is: will the economic upswing we are about to enter be sufficient to enable the state to embark upon significant reforms in education, housing, unemployment, etc? On this point I remain sceptical.

One of the crucial factors to look at here is the balance of payments. Usually our upswings get knocked on the head because we run up huge deficits on the current account of the balance of payments. What are the prospects this time around?

According to De Kock, the current account of the balance of payments showed an annualised surplus of R11-billion in the fourth quarter last year. How was this achieved?

Largely by the fall of the rand, which meant a dramatic improvement in our rand earnings from exports, and by the recession which, equally dramatically, curbed spending on imports. Other facts, such as the improvement in the dollar price of gold, platinum and other metals, played a subsidiary role. So presumably did the fall in the oil price.

(I say "presumably" because we don't know to what extent South Africa has benefited from the fall. Certainly consumers have not benefited: while world oil prices fell by 37 percent or $10 a barrel over a year, the South African consumer was hit first by a 40 percent price hike and then by a further six percent.)

The problem here is that the present balance of payments surplus is not derived from any substantial improvement in manufacturing capacity — which needs to be our main growth point. There is so far no significant expansion in existing factory production nor, for that matter, has there been any new production. Which is why, despite all the talk, unemployment levels remain at record highs.

Furthermore, during the recent recession many companies were forced to sell off capital assets, such as equipment and machinery, to raise cash to pay off debts. Such sales mainly to overseas buyers (involving heavy equipment such as graders, earthmovers, machine tools and even aircraft) could cost as much as six times their present value to replace.

Thus part of our improved export performance has in fact come from running down our own industries through physical asset-stripping.

What, then, is the scenario for the future?

As the rand recovers, some of the windfall earnings on our exports will evaporate. And then there is the little matter of the $24-billion foreign debt, repayment of which should trim the surplus back a bit.

But the real problem will come from imports. As the consumer-led upswing commences, imports of both consumer and capital goods will take off. Initially this will mean an increase in government revenue, expecially following the most recent surcharge on imports, but inevitably it will push the current account of the balance of payments back into deficit.

The fall in the value of the rand over the last year means that the value of imports is likely to rise much more rapidly than on previous occasions and therefore the deficit is likely to occur sooner rather than later.

When the deficit gets too high that will be the end of our boom, boom and it will be back to gloom, gloom.

It is a depressing scenario but, unfortunately, not an unlikely one. (Which is what makes it so depressing.) But it is also a familiar scenario in that our growth phases have tended to follow this pattern for some time now.

The problem is that this time it is occurring after a devastating recession which has left us with massive unemployment and an inflation rate pushing 20 percent. If all we manage in 1986 is a brief mini-boom, such as occurred in early 1984, then when we go into the inevitable downswing next year it's going to be an awfully long drop. Last year's recession will look like a picnic by comparison.

Of course, our economic planners are only too aware of this danger. So why are they still following the same old prescription? One can answer that question in one word: gold.

They are banking on the hope that the long bear trend in gold is at an end and that gold is entering a bull market. Should gold, for instance, rise just $60 to the $400 mark and stay there, it would add $1,2-billion annually to our exports.

Naturally, if the planners are correct and gold is set for a bull run, it will keep our balance of payments in surplus for a much longer period, thereby prolonging the boom.

But, quite frankly, even if they are right, it seems a helluva way to run an economy by basing one's growth strategy on what remains no more than a possibility. Especially when people's jobs, homes, and even in some cases lives, depend on it.

Anyone for the horses?

THE ECONOMY

BEN TEMKIN

Does honesty pay? If you can afford it

HIGH taxes for revenues to defend Western values in Southern Africa and create the illusion of democracy are turning many South Africans into cheats as they try desperately to maintain their standard of living. Others are cheating to get their money out before the ANC takes over. The crookery will grow.

It's costing a bomb to maintain our army, run our tricameral parliament and all those funny parliaments in the casino states and homelands. It's going to cost even more of a bomb to run the multitude of parliaments, the so-called regional assemblies, which are apparently destined to sate our desire for one man, one vote in a unitary state. To pay this bomb, we're going to have to pay economic rates for services which used to be free or heavily-subsidised.

We're also going to pay more in taxes. But not if some of us can help it.

Let's look at the way some people are already cheating — not us, of course — although we could learn a thing or two from their example.

Joint taxation which heavily penalises the working wife is avoided by the simple expedient of not getting married in the first place. More extreme, but far from rare, is the divorce of convenience. If both the divorced husband and wife are contributing to the support of minor children, they're both regarded as married for tax purposes, but taxed separately.

If a husband and wife are in partnership, or one spouse employs the other, the tax-exemption on the first R1 600 of the wife's earnings falls away. Simple answer? Have your friend put your wife on his payroll and you put his wife on yours. Getting divorced will save even more tax, of course.

Having your car repaired at a small garage — or any repair or service for that matter? You can get yourself a very substantial discount and save on GST by offering to pay cash. The business proprietor who pays tax at, say, 50 percent could well discount his profit margin by close to the tax-saving if he can pocket cash and not record it. And, if the transaction is not recorded, there is no GST, is there?

Then there are the barterers — swapping goods for services. Again they're saving on tax and GST.

Every time it's suggested to you that cash would be preferred to a cheque or credit card, you can suspect that there's a tax fiddle on the go. Exceptions are, of course, those shops which sell only for cash, such as cafes and greengrocers. But there is good reason to believe that some of the cash receipts in these stores go directly into pockets without being routed through the tills.

Notice all those YB numberplates on luxury cars? They are, of course, registered in Bophuthatswana and their purchase was exempt from GST. Would you believe that some of the owners of these cars live in South Africa proper and not quasi-independent Africa?

The addresses reflected in the registration papers are not South African. If they were, then the owners would have imported the cars to South Africa and would be liable for GST — even though there are no customs posts between YB territory and ours.

We all know how people get money overseas, don't we? Well, for those who may not know, the best way is to be an international trader. You simply then change your invoices — with the connivance of your overseas associates — to suit you. When importing, you ask the supplier to over-invoice, to charge you more than the normal price of the goods. The surplus, less a commission to the accommodating supplier, goes into your Swiss bank account. When exporting, you under-invoice the overseas buyer. This is the amount remitted. The difference between the undercharge and the normal price, less a commission, is again paid into your Swiss bank account.

If you're not an international trader, then it's somewhat harder to get your money out. Some people take it out in hard assets, diamonds, Krugerrands and, easiest of all, rare stamps. But, for some, crookery by fiddling financial papers is one thing, physical smuggling quite another; just a bit distasteful, perhaps.

Some people just look for reasonable loopholes. For example, a family unit emigrating from these sun-blessed shores is allowed to take out R100 000 of currency (in financial rands), up to R20 000 of personal effects and a motor car with a value of up to R20 000. A single person may take just R50 000 and the portables.

A family unit usually consists of husband, wife and minor children. If there are at least two minor children in your family unit, then you have the most favourable opportunity to cheat. You divorce and each parent takes custody of a child. Away you go with R200 000, two lots of household effects and two motor cars.

Even if there aren't any minor children, it pays to get divorced. This way you each take R50 000 but again, you can take two lots of effects and two cars.

Who says honesty pays?

We have been conditioned for almost 40 years by Natspeak. If government has little credibility, it is hardly surprising that many of us don't hesitate to cheat to better our lot. High taxes, made so mainly by government cheating us with inflation, have become one of the main reasons why the braindrain is accelerating.

Not everyone wants to cheat. Sometimes it pays to move, even if to a lower standard of living, for the sake of ethical comfort.



Van the Ripper tells how. On ~~new~~ he enraged his fellow frontbenchers,
see PAGE 14

304A WEEKLY M 14/2/86 Picture: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, Reuter

Boraine: We need honest brokers

DR Alex Boraine intends becoming involved in extra-parliamentary opposition following his announcement yesterday that he was resigning as an MP and federal chairman of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP).

His announcement, coming so soon after the resignation of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, was the second such body-blow to parliament and to the PFP in a week.

The PFP's damage control squad was out in full force as Boraine talked to the press soon after announcing his decision.

By JEAN LE MAY
in Cape Town

The atmosphere in the Prog corridors of power has not been easy these last few days, with recriminations flying over the abrupt departure of Van Zyl Slabbert.

And outside parliament, fundraisers and organisers, who have worked long hours to get MPs to parliament and keep them there, are feeling bitter and disillusioned.

In the event, senior Prog MPs say that Boraine's resignation "did not do all that much damage".

At his press conference Boraine indulged in some ducking and weaving, and there was some pretty aggressive questioning.

Resignation had been in his heart and mind for some time, he admitted.

"It is easy to be wise after the event, but I think we did right to take part in the tricameral parliament. It had to be put to the test. My departure doesn't mean I think the PFP should move out as a whole.

"I'll get involved in extra-parliamentary activity. I'm not prepared to sit back and watch my

● To PAGE 2

Boraine: An offer to UDF

14/2/86 RSI

●From PAGE 1

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country bleed. I want to try to help wherever an opportunity arises.

"There is a great need for some form of honest broker who hasn't any particular axe to grind."

Asked whether this would not duplicate the Convention Alliance "which is now a dead duck", Boraine said there was still a need for some sort of broker "because there is much suspicion and mistrust.

"But I don't believe the whole negotiating process is dead. There are many people on both sides of the house who are seeking a way to get it going."

He did not propose getting involved with the UDF "in the sense of joining it or becoming an office bearer in it — but certainly links I have tried to forge in the past may be easier to pursue now that I'll be outside parliament."

He was "looking towards a post-apartheid era".

The Argus, Frid

ARGUS 14/2/86 (10) 300A

Draft Bill on joint Natal/Kwazulu rule submitted

Political Staff

SWEEPING powers have been recommended for a joint Natal/Kwazulu executive which would enable the region to be governed as one unit.

A draft Bill has already been drawn up during the negotiations between Kwazulu and Natal and submitted to the Government.

Mr Frank Martin, Natal's senior MEC and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary general of Inkatha, announced yesterday that negotiations on the second phase, which included the agreement on a joint administration, had been completed.

This would now be followed by a conference to negotiate political structures.

It is understood however that the Bill, which has been submitted to the Ministry of Constitutional Development, is unlikely to go before Parliament in its current form but could be included in legislation establishing a new provincial system.

The Bill is still under wraps.

However, The Argus can reveal that it would give the adminsitrations of Kwazulu and Natal the power to establish a joint executive authority and administration.

The State President would be empowered to establish the executive, its powers and members.

Not only would the new authority be able to take over tasks at the moment administered individually by Natal and Kwazulu, but it is also anticipated that further duties and powers could be delegated by the central government.

However, the power that the Chief Minister of Kwazulu and the Administrator of Natal have to issue proclamations or make regulations would be retained.

It is clear from this measure that this would ensure no step would be taken without the agreement of both administrations.

The two senior executives would be empowered to make joint regulations .

The Act encompasses details on the appointment of staff and their general duties and functions.

The Bill constitutes empowering legislation to get the executive off the ground and does not deal in specifics.

Slabbert replies to Owen

Staff Reporter

DR VAN ZYL Slabbert has accused the government of contradicting the virtues of parliamentary democracy by the way they control it.

And he argues that the tricameral system has grievously damaged Parliament as an instrument of lawful constitutional change.

These points are made in a reply to an article in the Cape Times yesterday in which columnist Ken Owen dealt in forceful terms with Dr Slabbert and his resignation as MP and Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly.

Dr Slabbert said he had not abandoned parliamentary democracy, but had resigned because he was concerned about it and would "carry on as before" propagating his beliefs from outside Parliament.

"There are more people in South Africa outside of Parliament who would like to participate in democratic government than those inside.

"In fact the majority inside Parliament do not want the majority outside to come in at all," Dr Slabbert said.

● Why I could not go on, page 12

PFP 'rot stopped' leaders

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PFP leadership was confident last night that "the rot has stopped" after the party was rocked yesterday by the second shock defection in less than a week of a prominent leader to the ranks of extra-parliamentary politics.

The Official Opposition, still reeling from the effects of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's surprise exit from Parliament last week, was dealt another body blow yesterday when MP for Pinelands and chairman of the federal council, Dr Alex Boraine, announced that he was opting out of the PFP leadership race and abandoning parliamentary politics.

However, the PFP's interim leader, Mr Colin Eglin, was confident last night that there were "no more shocks imminent" and that the remaining 25 MPs would remain in the fold.

'Fall-out on the wane'

"The fall-out from the initial shock is now on the wane and I now sense an increasing resolve and a real determination to forge ahead," said Mr Eglin, who is a shoo-in for the party leadership.

Two PFP MPs who were understood to be considering leaving Parliament for professional reasons, last night said that the events of the last week had made them more determined than ever to stick with the party.

Mr Philip Myburgh (Wynberg) said last night: "I'm here to stay in Parliament — I'm not following anybody out anywhere."

Dr Marius Barnard (Parktown) said that he felt more commitment to staying in Parliament than ever before: "While apartheid is here and the government is here, I'm staying."

'Serious error of judgement'

And the Cape leader of the PFP, Mr Roger Hulley (Constantia) said that the party was determined to rally after its latest setback and that "anyone who believes that the PFP should be written off as a growth party in South African politics is making a serious error of judgement".

Dr Boraine, who told his parliamentary caucus that he would be resigning his Pinelands seat on February 28, said in an interview last night that he was keen on resuscitating the National Convention Movement.

He said that he hoped to operate as an "honest broker" in trying to bring together opposing factions inside and outside parliament in the hope of promoting negotiation in an increasing polarized South Africa.

"I am not at all sure as to where I am going but I am sure that if some people don't move beyond the familiar and defined into uncharted seas we are headed for disaster in this country."

Dr Boraine emphasized that in his new role outside of Parliament his approach would be that of a "facilitator rather than a commander".

"Blacks in this country have had enough of white saviours," he said.

At a press conference earlier, Dr Boraine stressed that he had no doubt about the importance of Parliament and the "vital role it demanded of the opposition".

As such he would continue to support the PFP's principles and policies and would remain a member of the party.

"But to support the constitutional process does not mean that everyone has to be in Parliament, or has to remain in Parliament in order to try and play some part in in bringing sanity and justice and healing to a country which has come close to being

To Page 4



Dr Alex Boraine leaves the Houses of Parliament after announcing his resignation yesterday. Cape Times Newscolour: Richard Bell

Inter-group dialogue encouraged

SOUTH AFRICANS have been called on to develop and use government's new relations committees "as instruments for dialogue among concerned individuals of all our communities".

Constitutional Development and Planning Deputy Minister Piet Badenhorst said yesterday critics of the relations-committees system implied it was an abnormal instrument, foisted upon the community because of an abnormal political and social system.

"However, results of the past have proved that the system of relations committees is all but window-dressing and that in South Africa, with its diverse population, the system is tailor-made to help usher in a new social and political system," Badenhorst said.

He was speaking in Worcester at a conference on the future of inter-group relations.

The committees were "probably unique" as voluntary organisations playing an active role in promoting understanding between different groups and cultures.

"No constitution and no political dispensation can guarantee good inter-group relations," Badenhorst added.

It should be the goal to establish a relations committee in every village and town.

Why I could not go on

CAPE TIMES 14/2/86 3064

By Dr VAN ZYL SLABBERT

IN TAKING up the pen to reply to Ken Owen's attack on me: "Slabbert had it too easy" (Cape Times, February 13) I was struck by curious but irrelevant coincidences: I am a leader without a party and Mr Owen is an editor without a newspaper. This could be an object lesson in two different concepts of failure.

One could dwell on qualities such as stamina, team work, staying on when others want you to go, going when others want you to stay and of course, other personal qualities that become a factor in any career. But as I said, this coincidence is irrelevant and to dwell on it would simply reduce one to the snivelling personal abuse which Mr Owen confuses with analysis.

I have to accept that he does not look on me with any favour and has not for a long time. After all, to regard me as a "self indulgent, undependable glamour boy", "an outsider grafted on to the taproot of politics by big business" is not an opinion developed by my resignation. The resignation simply confirmed what he thought of me in any case.

Provocative

I have written at length elsewhere on how and why I entered politics. Mr Owen has either not read this or prefers not to believe me. I can do nothing about either.

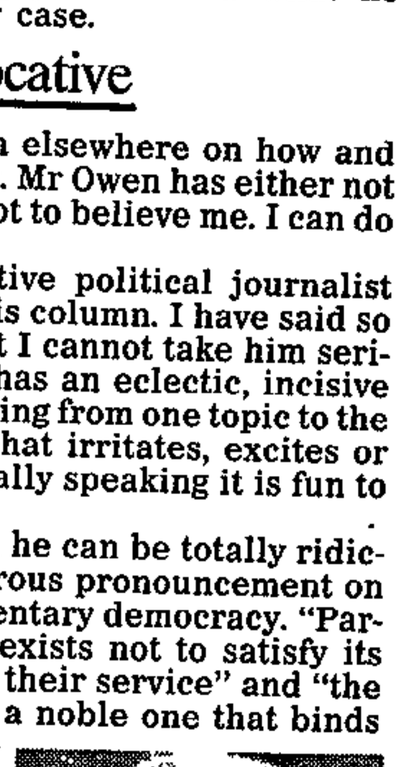
Mr Owen is a provocative political journalist and I enjoy reading his column. I have said so to him personally. But I cannot take him seriously. On politics he has an eclectic, incisive but shallow mind, flirting from one topic to the next, depending on what irritates, excites or thrills him. But generally speaking it is fun to read.

Except sometimes when he can be totally ridiculous. Like his ponderous pronouncement on the virtues of parliamentary democracy. "Parliament," he writes, "exists not to satisfy its members, but to exact their service" and "the parliamentary idea is a noble one that binds elected representatives from many countries into one brotherhood".

Sagely he pontificates: "It serves the idea of constitutionality, of lawful change." "It is the middle ground between totalitarianisms of left and right."

What on earth has all this got to do with South Africa?

Mr Owen knows that there are more people in SA outside of Parliament who would like to participate in democratic government than those inside. In fact the majority inside Parliament do not want the major ity outside to come in at all. The virtues of parliamentary democracy are contradicted by those who control it as an institution right at this moment.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

Mr Owen also knows that Parliament as an instrument of lawful constitutional change has been grievously damaged by this government introducing the tricameral system.

Nobody was more incisive and devastating in pulling this Parliament apart during the referendum than Mr Owen himself. He at least owes it to his readers to explain how the PFP can use this Parliament to promote "constitutional change" and be the "middle ground between totalitarianisms of left and right". Surely this is the political substance of my resignation.

This is where I failed as Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly. Mr Owen knows that this government has demonstrated its contempt for the parliamentary tradition and for accountable government. It is doing so more and more by the day.

What advice does he give those PFP members who battle on? "Don't worry, hang on, things will come right just because you are there!" Mr Owen knows this is nonsense. He has written countless articles stating that change is not going to come through Parliament.

Is it not possible for Mr Owen to even think that I could not carry on as before, not because I wished to abandon parliamentary democracy but because I was concerned about it?

The question of political substance he has yet to answer as far as my resignation is concerned is: "What should Slabbert have done, which he neglected, to promote constitutional lawful change so that we could get rid of apartheid?" Because this is the advice which my successor will bless him for.

The point is, of course, Mr Owen is completely indifferent to this question. This is something which comes out clearly in his column when analysing the quality and rate of change in South Africa.

Factual errors

Thus again, when trying to be profound about Parliament in the South African context, I cannot take Ken Owen seriously. He simply seizes upon the idea of Parliament — "a noble one" at that — to set up some assumptions which he proceeds to substantiate with his own prejudices about me, "big business", the PFP and white politics in general.

Some factual errors: I was not chosen by big business to stand for the old Progs. I was persuaded by Colin Eglin. I was not a professor of Stellenbosch at any time, but one at Wits when I stood in Rondebosch.

Max Borkum and Zach de Beer did not back me to become leader of the PFP — those backbenchers whom Mr Owen eulogizes did. Rondebosch may have been a safe English-speaking seat — it certainly was not a safe Progressive Party one.

But all this is too boringly factual. Good old Ken Owen! Always a bee in his bonnet.

A profitable parting for PFP MPs

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine have walked out of Parliament with pensions higher than the average person's salary.

On top of the generous pensions, they also receive substantial "golden handshakes".

Dr Slabbert receives an immediate payment of about R100 000 and a monthly pension for life of almost R3 600 a month.

Dr Boraine will receive a golden handshake of about R70 000 and a monthly pension of about R2 900.

All MPs are entitled to a pension and golden handshake after they have served either in two Parliaments or for seven years.

Dr Boraine and Dr Slabbert have both served 12 years and their pension is calculated on the basis of fifteenths.

Someone serving 15 years would receive a pension equal to the Parliamentary salary of about R43 000 a year while those serving less time receive proportionally less.

Dr Slabbert receives more because he received a higher salary as Leader of the Opposition.

Vital meeting for Progs

The Progressive Federal Party is to hold a vital meeting on its future in the Johannesburg tomorrow.

The meeting of the party's federal council has been primarily called to appoint an acting leader to succeed Dr van Zyl Slabbert, who resigned on Friday.

However, events of the past week, including the resignation of federal council chairman Dr Alex Boraine, have made it a foregone conclusion that Mr Colin Eglin will be appointed acting leader — a post he will hold until a federal congress votes on the party leadership.

More important issues which will be discussed at tomorrow's meeting will be the PFP's roles inside and outside Parliament. — Political Correspondent.

Parliament and Politics

Govt advert a 'mammoth con'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The State President's newspaper advertisment setting out the government's reform programme was "a mammoth confidence trick trying to create a reality that simply was not true", the Acting Leader of the Official Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

Speaking in the mini-budget debate, he also said that while the PFP might have had a "temporary setback", it was the government, and with it the whole country, that was in "deep deep trouble".

Rubicon

Once again the State President had taken the people of South Africa halfway across the Rubicon of power sharing, then tragically hesitated, looked over his shoulder at the right-wingers and turned back to the "old apartheid side".

In a brief 10 minutes in the House last Friday, Mr Botha had not only backed the "verkrampte" interpretations of the new-look National Party policy and publicly humiliated his Foreign Minister, but had also "ripped away the wrappings and the tinsel" that his public relations professionals had provided in an attempt to sell his new policy.

In those 10 minutes he had dealt a crushing blow to the prospects for negotiation in South Africa.

At first there had been genuine interest in his proposal for a National Statutory Council, but after his dressing-down of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, several black leaders had expressed doubts about whether the government had really abandoned apartheid.

"If this is the reaction of black leaders who are still prepared to operate from within the system, what black leaders with any significant constituency outside the system will touch the National Statutory Council even with the proverbial bargepole?"

For the sake of a few white schools and a few white residential areas and a theoretical argument about the possibility that one day there could be a black State President, Mr Botha was prepared to wreck the whole reform process and jeopardize the South African economy.

Separate

The reality of government policy was that, whatever was added to it in the future, the foundation was separate racial and ethnic structures based on compulsory group membership.

The "independent" states would remain outside of South Africa and the people living there would not get back their South African citizenship.

The ethnically based homelands would be given more separate powers and autonomy while outside the homelands, local government would be based on separate structures for each racial group.

The tricameral system would remain, with control over general affairs in the hands of the majority party in the white House, and the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts would stay.

The reality was that the government's plans were not to scrap the outdated concept of apartheid but to modernize it and build it into the very structure of South African society.

The PFP believed that civilized values, individual freedom, civil liberties, minority protections and real democracy could not survive in an apartheid society based on compulsory group membership. They could however flourish in an open society based on the freedom of choice.

Mr Eglin also said the PFP would continue its fight "here in Parliament where the apartheid laws have to be scrapped and where one day we will enact a new non-racial constitution".

"It is my conviction that for any party in this House to be able to play a meaningful and constructive role in the politics of tomorrow, it must not only be relevant to the white voter but it must also be relevant in the wider and bigger non-racial political arena where so much of the politics of tomorrow is going to take place." — Sapa

Reform 'crisis of confidence'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The government's reform policies had caused a "crisis of confidence" in South Africa, Mr S P Barnard (CP Langlaagte) said yesterday.

Speaking in the mini-budget second reading debate in the House of Assembly, he said that when apartheid was in its heyday the rand was worth 1,30 US dollars. But now that "these news ideas" had come about in which South Africa was expected to "fall in line with the rest of the world", the rand's value had dropped.

He said the coupling of economic growth to reform meant that South Africa's economy would not recover for at least 10 years because the country's political issues could not be solved in less time. — Sapa

Advertisement

PFP will survive, says Gibson

14/2/86 BUS DAY (3041A)

GERALD REILLY

FORMER Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's resignation had convinced SA that apartheid was alive and well, PFP leader in the Provincial Council Douglas Gibson said yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Part Appropriation Draft Ordinance, Gibson said: "There is no doubt his precipitate action has created a crisis for the PFP. There is also no doubt the PFP will survive."

"The hope is that Dr Slabbert's self-sacrifice will help alert South Africa to the con-job which the National Party and its advertising agents were about to perpetrate," Gibson added.

"Slabbert's unprecedented decision to resign was taken partly to shock whites into facing the fact that the Nats had not even begun to come to terms with the realities of South Africa."

Gibson said he regretted that Slabbert's extraordinary talents and abilities would be lost to Parliament and the PFP.

He said Slabbert and the PFP had played a pathfinder role in bringing the NP to a point where it conceded that apartheid was outdated.

"Instead of pressing a button to implode the whole sorry mess of discriminatory legislation, they tried to do the job by stealth. The result was that blacks were unimpressed and believed apartheid was still alive," Gibson added.

He said the NP now had a massive credibility problem because of its over-blown promises and the way in which SA was seen as a country which lied to its own people and to the world.

The PFP's Transvaal chairman added that a large part of the R159m voted in the province's additional appropriation was attributable directly to Botha's Rubicon speech in Durban last year.

Slabbert hits back at Owen

BUSDAY 30/A 14/2/86

Dr VAN ZYL SLABBERT



IN TAKING up the pen to reply to Ken Owen's attack on me ("Why Slabbert is yesterday's man," *Business Day*, February 13) I was struck by curious but irrelevant coincidences: I am a leader without a party and Owen is an editor without a newspaper. This could be an object lesson in two different concepts of failure.

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Confirmed

I have to accept that he does not look on me with any favour and has not for a long time. After all, to regard me as a "self indulgent, undependable glamour boy," "an outsider grafted on to the taproot of politics by big business" is not an opinion developed by my resignation. The resignation simply confirmed what he thought of me in any case.

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Damaged

In fact, the majority inside Parliament do not want the majority outside to come in at all. The virtues of parliamentary democracy are contradicted by those who control it as an institution right at this moment.

Owen also knows that Parliament as an instrument of lawful constitutional change has been grievously damaged by this government introducing the tri-cameral system.

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Persuaded

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PFP clears the decks after Boraine

14/2/86 Bus Day 304A

SENIOR Progressive Federal Party sources said yesterday no more MPs would resign their seats in Parliament after the resignation of the party's federal executive chairman, Dr Alex Boraine.

His departure came just six days after former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert quit Parliament.

The sources added that Colin Eglin was almost certain to be elected PFP leader in Johannesburg tomorrow. Eglin had overwhelming support within the caucus, MPs said, because he was considered strong enough to hold the party together at a time of crisis.



Van Zyl Slabbert strikes back!

● See Page 6.

The fact that Eglin had majority support in the caucus was an important factor in Boraine's decision to resign, it was claimed.

But Boraine denied this last night. He told *Business Day* his dilemma had not been whether he wanted to be leader of the PFP, but whether he wanted to remain in parliament.

GERALD REILLY, PETER WALLINGTON and Sapa

Had he remained in parliament, he would have actively sought the party leadership the minute Slabbert resigned, Boraine said.

He said he would remain a member of the party and was still committed to its principles and policies.

Business Day understands that the "bleeding" within the party has stopped and rumours that Dr Marius Barnard and Philip Myburgh would also resign may be discounted.

It is likely, too, that Zac de Beer will succeed Boraine as chairman of the party's federal executive tomorrow.

Boraine denied there was any disagreement between himself and acting leader Eglin over the direction the party should take.

Party sources said last night they did not expect any shift towards a more conservative policy. Boraine also discounted fears that youth league members — traditionally on the left wing of the party and particularly loyal to him — would leave the PFP.

Constitution has Govt 'in serious trouble'

PARLIAMENT — The new constitution had done a grave disservice to the constitutional process, **Dr Alex Boraine (PFP, Pinelands)** said in his farewell speech in Parliament.

He based this opinion on the reaction of hundreds of thousands of people outside Parliament.

Dr Boraine said he had written to the Speaker of Parliament informing him of his resignation from Parliament.

But this did not mean he was rejecting Parliament or the constitutional process.

"This is a spurious suggesion. I believe in the constitutional process and this Parliament's existence and especially in the Opposition.

"This party is greater that Van Zyl Slabbert or Alex Boraine, or Colin Eglin or Helen Suzman.

"The party is based on principles and policy and performance.

"But that doesn't mean that every person must be in Parliament.

"There are other ways and means of making changes and in the end you have to make a personal decision.

"I've enjoyed being in Parliament and I have no regrets for my time here But 12 years is a long time.

"And I am very excited at the prospect of extending what I have tried to do here, outside these walls.



Dr Boraine ... "it is a grave disservice".

"I hope that I will be backed by the people on these benches."

Dr Boraine said when he had first come to Parliament, Mr P W Botha, then Minister of Defence had vowed "to get my blood".

"He hasn't done that yet but I am moving out now and he may pursue me there. I hope not."

Dr Boraine said the racially-entrenched tricameral system was a disservice to Parliament.

"We can't imagine that we have forever to go on debating and arguing. The Government is wasting time we haven't got.

"There are people and organisations who would like to take part in the constitutional process but who can't be in this house, who can't participate in this debate.

"Until they are allowed to, this Government is in serious trouble."

Black President: Barend backs PW

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Minister of Finance **Mr Barend du Plessis** has backed President Botha's argument for repudiating Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha on the issue of a future black State President.

Mr du Plessis also said he supported President Botha's belief in "positive, constructive reform".

In a prepared statement read to the House of Assembly, Mr du Plessis entered the controversy about Cabinet interpretations of President Botha's opening speech to Parliament. He backed the President's criticism of opponents of the Government's reform programme.

Mr du Plessis read the statement when he began his reply to the second-reading debate on the Part Appropriation Bill.

He said the real issue in South Africa today was whether a group of radicals, greatly influenced by the South African Communist Party, should be allowed to seize power, or whether all communities should work together for a constitutional dispensation which would equitably meet their "reasonable aspirations".

"There are two kinds of people who are telling the world that apartheid is alive and well and that nothing is really changing in this country."

Firstly, as the President had said, there were those who wanted to seize power instead of sharing it.

Secondly, there were those who were "blinded by their own prejudice against this Government to such an extent that they do not want the reform programme to succeed, even if failure would harm their country".



Mr Barend du Plessis ... apartheid an outmoded idea.

But on the other hand there were more reasonable people who accepted that apartheid was an outmoded concept.

"I side with them. I side with those people who want to bring about a constitutional dispensation in which there will be no political domination of any one group over another."

Insolvencies are dropping off

PARLIAMENT — The insolvency rate could not be used as an accurate gauge of the country's economy, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said today.

Replying to the mini budget debate he pointed out that there had been a sudden drop-off of voluntary insolvencies at the beginning of last year.

"The fact is that we changed the Companies Act and these insolvencies were held over in anticipation and caused a bunching-up which gave the liquidation rate a warped reflection of the real economic state."

He quoted the insolvency rate fluctuations from 1974 when it rose by 45 per cent through minus 7,22 per cent in 1975 to around 10 per cent currently and said: "I want to argue that seen against our incredible economic problems this figure is not exceptional and cannot be used to gauge the state of the economy." — Sapa.

'Loss of apartheid root of SA's evils'

PARLIAMENT — The government's reform policies had caused a "crisis of confidence" in South Africa, **Mr S P Barnard (CP, Langlaagte)** said today.

Speaking in the mini-budget second reading debate in the House of Assembly, Mr Barnard said when apartheid was in its heyday the rand was worth 1,30 US dollars. But now that "these news ideas" had come about the value of the rand had dropped.

He said the coupling of economic growth to reform meant that South Africa's economy would not recover for at least 10 years because the country's political issues could not be solved in less time.

"Bankers should stick to economics and let the politicians take care of politics."

He said South Africa should pay her debts "when we can because we have always done so".

"We must forget about Dr Leutwiller. He is just going through our arteries to find the fatal pressure point." — Sapa.

14/2/86

304A

Govt owes taxpayers apology

Ad campaign a confidence trick - Eglin

STAR 14/2/87

304A

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT —The Government owed taxpayers an apology for using their money to pay for the completely misleading advertising campaign for its reform initiatives.

Mr Colin Eglin, acting Leader of the Opposition, said that in a brief 10 minutes in Parliament last Friday, the State President had ripped away the tinsel his public relations professionals had provided in an attempt to sell his new policy.



Mr Colin Eglin . . . advert was misleading.

"He showed Government policy was not reflected in the slick phrases of a copywriter but in the blunt words of a constituency politician whose first priority was to keep his party together.

"For the sake of a few white residential areas and a theoretical argument about the possibility of a black president at some stage in the future, he is prepared to wreck the whole reform process and jeopardise the South African economy," he said.

On Friday afternoon the State President showed the advertisement was a confidence trick trying to create a reality that simply was not true, Mr Eglin said.

"The reality of Government policy is that whatever is added in the future, the foundation is separate racial structures based on compulsory group membership," he said.

He also predicted:

- The people of the independent black states would not get back their SA citizenship;
- The ethnically-based homelands were to be given more separate powers and autonomy;
- Local government was to be based on separate structures for each race group;
- The tricameral system would remain with effective control over general affairs in white hands;
- Black participation in government was being negotiated but a black South African could never become the State President;
- The Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act would remain.

"The Government's plans are not to scrap the outdated concept of apartheid, but to modernise and build it into the very structure of our South African society," Mr Eglin said.

"The PFP will have no part in this."

'Off to join the Tutus and UDF'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Alex Boraine, the second PFP MP to resign in a week, was leaving Parliament to "take up his extra-parliamentary duties alongside the United Democratic Front and the Tutus," Andre Fourie (NP Turffontein) said yesterday.

Speaking in the mini-budget's second reading debate, he said he wondered how many more members of the PFP would resign.

"What about the members for Constantia (Mr Roger Hulley), Wynberg (Mr Phillip Myburgh), Gardens (Mr Ken Andrew) and Walmer (Mr Andrew Savage)?"

It appeared Parliament was getting too small for the radicals.

Referring to a call by the acting leader of the PFP, Colin Eglin, for apartheid to be scrapped, Fourie said it was obvious the official Opposition wanted to keep the concept of apartheid alive.

"Otherwise they would have no political platform," he concluded. — Sapa

Speak out against Cabinet doubletalk, urges Boraine

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Alex Boraine (PFP Pinelands) yesterday called on National Party MPs dissatisfied with the government to make their presence felt in Parliament and to take a stand against Cabinet "doubletalk".

Formally announcing his resignation during the second reading debate on the mini-budget, Boraine said he believed there was "a new stirring" in South Africa that could lead to enlightened change.

There were MPs in government ranks who believed in negotiation and he called on them to make a contribution.

This did not mean they had to join the PFP, but they should at least "take a stand against the doubletalk witnessed again only last week" during the State President's repudiation of Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, over his "black president" statement.



● BORAINE

Boraine said P W Botha's speech during the no confidence debate had been "a signal disservice" to constitutional reform.

He believed in the constitutional process and the importance of Parliament, but the government should not imagine it had forever to "go on speaking".

"Every time we turn our backs on real reform and negotiation, we make it more difficult for people to believe in the system.

Boraine said he had enjoyed his 12 years in Parliament and had no regrets about going.

"I am very excited at the prospect of carrying further the work I tried to do here, outside these walls."

He expressed his appreciation to the Speaker, officials of Parliament, his colleagues and to all members of the House. — Sapa

'New nation in SA'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — It was time the world realised it was pointless trying to persuade government to scrap apartheid through the use of "sweet, reasonable arguments", Roger Hulley (PFP Constantia) said yesterday in the Second Reading debate on the Part Appropriation Bill.

Hulley said Frederik van Zyl Slabbert had dedicated seven years to an attempt to persuade government to change direction. "But by his own admission he was beating his head against a brick wall"— Sapa

Top priority for economic growth

Red tape to be slashed for business

BY DAY 14/2/86

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

GOVERNMENT is giving top priority to legislation empowering President P W Botha to slash red tape hampering economic development, especially grassroots enterprise, and to foster competition.

In an interview yesterday, Trade and Industries Minister Dawie de Villiers identified this as the most important piece of legislation likely to come from his department this session.

Government was serious about deregulating the economy, said De Villiers. Other plans for the year included:

- ☐ Putting teeth into the Competitions Board by enhancing its status and giving it wider investigative powers;
- ☐ Introducing a more flexible system of incentives to boost export performance;
- ☐ Establishing a special section within the department to concentrate on barter-/counter trade deals.

Legislation empowering the President to bypass Parliament and suspend measures restricting entrepreneurial activity was first mooted by President P W Botha last year.

It was confirmed in his speech at the opening of Parliament last month.

De Villiers said the task of drafting the legislation was in the hands of Eli Louw, Minister for the Commission for Administration.

The Bill is to be brought before Parliament as a matter of some urgency so that an executive start can be made in cutting

● To Page 2

Govt moves to cut red tape

BY DAY 14/2/86

● From Page 1

through bureaucratic red tape to foster progress, competition and job creation.

Another important piece of legislation was that affecting the status of the Competition Board, said De Villiers.

Almost through its second reading in Parliament, the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Bill seeks to enhance the status of the board and strengthen its investigative powers.

The board's role in promoting competition and dismantling unhealthy power concentrations will be closely linked to deregulation efforts.

De Villiers reaffirmed government's resolve to provide the private sector with greater encouragement to improve on export performance.

Board of Trade and Industries former chairman Basie Kleu has been given responsibility for reviewing export incentives.

He is to report his findings and recommendations before the end of the year.

De Villiers said he hoped the report would offer suggestions for providing a more flexible system of incentives, the better to suit sectoral and commodity needs.

"The existing incentives are, perhaps, too even-handed and not as cost-effective as they could be."

Efforts in the international trading arena are likely to focus more closely on establishing bilateral agreements, though still within the parameters of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt).

"In the light of SA's international liquidity problems and those of some of its neighbours, more attention is to be given to developing more counter- trade situations.

"We would obviously prefer to maintain our traditional trading patterns, but it is equally important to recognise that counter-trade operations do have specific attractions, particularly in our Southern African situation," De Villiers said.

Eglin warns SA situation desperate

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Acting Opposition leader Colin Eglin said yesterday he would not mind the damage Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's resignation had done to the PFP if it drove home to government the "desperate seriousness" of the situation developing in SA.

Speaking in the Second Reading debate on the Part Appropriation Bill, Eglin said he wished to place on record the appreciation of his fellow PFP MPs to Slabbert for the contribution he made to debates in the House and to the wider political debate in SA during the time he was an MP and leader of the Opposition.

"I would not mind enduring the hurt done to me or my party if his dramatic move could drive home to this stubborn and short-sighted government the desperate seriousness of the situation developing in SA."

Eglin also said the PFP would continue its fight "here in Parliament where the apartheid laws have to be scrapped". — Sapa.

Barend is next verligte to toe PW's party line

ORMANDE POLLOK

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Verligte Nationalist MPs are being whipped into line to counter a white backlash against government's reform programme.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis yesterday became the second Cabinet member to toe the party line publicly.

During the Part Appropriation debate yesterday, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, a well known verligte and close confidant of Pik Botha, said he agreed with the President's statements concerning the possibility of a black president.

Du Plessis said if the repudiation had been done behind the scenes, nobody would have known about it and rank-and-file Nationalists would still have been disturbed.

He was replying to taunts by chief Opposition finance spokesman Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) that Pik Botha had only repeated what one-time Prime Minister and President John Vorster had said, and that some nationalist MPs should have defended the Foreign Minister.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha was the first verligte to be put in his place when President P W Botha openly repudiated him last week for suggesting a black president was inevitable in SA.

There was considerable speculation at the time as to why the President found it necessary to repudiate Pik Botha in the full glare of the no-confidence debate, when he could have done so in a Cabinet or caucus meeting.

However, it is now emerging that a white backlash to the reform programme could have been the real reason behind the public repudiation.

It is becoming clear that Nationalist MPs have been disturbed by a large number of letters complaining and inquiring about the reform programme and asking where government is heading.

Political observers suggest government has decided to put out the political veld fires.

Pension, gratuities for Boraine, Slabbert

Political Correspondent

ALTHOUGH Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine are out of a job for the moment, the two former PFP leaders will not be out of pocket.

They are entitled to both a generous gratuity and pension, thanks to the 12 years they served in Parliament.

Dr Slabbert will receive an immediate gratuity of between R80 000 and R100 000 and an annual pension of more than R40 000 for serving for his dozen years as an MP, seven of them as Leader of the Opposition.

Dr Boraine will get an immediate payout of about R70 000 and a pension of just over R34 000 a year.

The amounts are calculated according to a formula based on base salary and length of stay.

Someone serving 15 years would receive a salary equal to the parliamentary salary of R43 000 a year, while those serving less time receive proportionately less.

the facts

Slabbert takes the long way round

CAPE TIMES 15/2/86 PAGE 10

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE
By ANDRÉ DU TOIT





Dr Van Zyl Slabbert



Tielman Roos



J G N Strauss

IT IS only natural that the immediate political drama of such an event as the unexpected resignation of the Leader of the Opposition at the end of the no confidence debate will dominate reactions to Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's departure from Parliament.

Yet the crisis in which this has precipitated the PFP at the outset of the parliamentary session is likely to be resolved before long with the election of a new leader, and Parliament will carry on much as before.

Or will it?

There is a sense in which Dr Slabbert's resignation has questioned the continuing relevance of parliamentary politics as such. And this may well be the enduring significance of his action.

It is a much disputed matter how much difference the actions and choices of any specific individual can make to the course of political history. Viewed close up national politics appear a highly personalized affair. Yet few individuals, if any, prove to be really indispensable. In the longer run even a charismatic leader with the undisputed abilities of a Van Zyl Slabbert will probably make only minor differences to the parliamentary performance and electoral fortunes of a party like the PFP.

Outside Parliament

This might even have been a relevant and understandable consideration if Dr Slabbert had resigned for personal reasons. But this is not the case. Still in his early 40s, he has an undiminished zeal for politics and a total commitment to the cause which had brought him to Parliament in the first place. By any normal reckoning he should have the prime of his political career before him.

Evidently Dr Slabbert's decision to resign is due to a *political* assessment of his parliamentary role. If he is departing from Parliament, he clearly does not intend to leave politics. His resignation amounts to a dramatic declaration of his conclusion that the politics of negotiation is henceforth to be pursued outside Parliament rather than inside it.

He may, of course, be quite wrong. His resignation may prove to be a major miscalculation, leaving him stranded in the political desert with the shades of Tielman Roos and J G N Strauss. His critics have already labelled him a political dilettante, and worse. In anything like conventional parliamentary politics such precipitous and wayward action could, indeed, hardly be viewed otherwise.

But times are not normal. As the civil unrest continues and political violence flares up again and again in black townships throughout the country it is clear that for important sections of the black communities the very legitimacy of the state is at stake. And to the extent that some sort of turning point may have been reached in the prolonged school boycotts this has been due rather to the concerted actions of extra-parliamentary groupings than to the responses of the educational authorities or of the state's security forces. Parliament hardly comes into it at all.

Dr Slabbert's resignation should be seen in the context of this national crisis and the urgent need for negotiated political settlements. It is a blinkered vision which views it only within the context of conventional parliamentary politics.

But just what does Dr Slabbert's action say about parliamentary politics?

He has been at pains to confirm that he sees Parliament as the only legitimate instrument for the political and constitutional changes so urgently required in South Africa.

Why then leave Parliament?

The answer lies not in any special attractions of extra-parliamentary politics, but in what has happened to parliamentary politics itself.

Government spokesmen like to present the distinction between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics as an alternative between democracy and revolution. On this account they are of course the democrats who believe in constitutional procedures and the ballot box. And the extra-parliamentary groupings are those militants and revolutionaries who would rather seek to bring about political change by force and violence than avail themselves of the parliamentary forum.

The truth of the matter, of course, is that in South Africa the major extra-parliamentary movements do not reject Parliament at all. They are *excluded* from the parliamentary arena. As political organizations they have no choice but to operate in extra-parliamentary politics.

Until such time as the ANC and other black organizations are unbanned and blacks achieve the vote, they simply do not have the option of participating in parliamentary politics — except, of course, within the apartheid framework of the homeland governments and the national states.

It will be objected that this is only a partial account. For did the P W Botha government not extend the scope of parliamentary politics from a "whites only" base to other population groups as well with the introduction of the tricameral Parliament in 1984? And is this not the only way in which such reform can be effected constitutionally, by working within the existing parliamentary structures with a view to their eventual broadening?

It is in this sense that it might be said that the Labour Party has opted for parliamentary politics while the UDF prefers to boycott elections and thus to operate in the extra-parliamentary arena.

However, this would not be quite correct. The UDF does not reject parliamentary politics as such; it opposes participation in this tricameral Parliament.

This brings us to the heart of the matter, and that is the manner in which the NP government has gone about the process of constitutional reform.

A new constitution should be a framework for political competition and coalition agreed to by all participants. Instead, the NP government introduced its new tricameral constitution unilaterally, on the basis of a referendum among the white electorate only.

Moreover, this constitution not only specifically excluded the black majority of South Africans but actually incorporated such cardinal features of apartheid as race classification, group areas and the pervasive distinction of "own affairs" and "general affairs".

The constitution itself was thus dragged into the political arena: participation in this tricameral Parliament effectively amounts to co-optation, willingly or unwillingly, in the NP government's grand political designs.

By so making the parliamentary process itself into an instrument of its policy, the NP government effectively changed the nature of parliamentary politics. It is no longer a neutral forum where an opposition party can contest government policy and propose its own policy goals as a straightforward alternative. The mere fact of participation in this tricameral Parliament already implies a legitimation of its built-in structures of imposed group-based politics.

This is the inherent contradiction in the position of all would-be opposition parties under the current constitution. The Labour Party proposes to work within these structures of political apartheid in order to bring apartheid itself to an end. The PFP has used the abolition of the Political Interference Act to open its membership to all races but it must still comply with the racially defined electoral provisions of the new constitution. And so forth.

No illusion

Many have argued that this is but a necessary transitional stage and that the reformist ends will justify the defective means. As a key political agent caught up in this process, Dr Slabbert has now concluded that it debases the nature of parliamentary politics and that he cannot in good political conscience remain party to such an institutionalization of the apartheid structures he opposes.

It remains to be seen wheth-

Van Zyl wanted all Progs to quit Parliament

Chat with Botha drove Slabbert out

By Peter Sullivan

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the former PFP leader, decided to quit parliamentary politics after talking to President Botha on November 25.

He wanted the whole PFP to walk out of Parliament and his MPs to resign, stand in by-elections and then refuse to take their seats.

However, when support for this was lacking, he told key caucus members five weeks ago that he would leave Parliament.

Interviewed in Cape Town yesterday, he said he would now regroup, consolidate his options and search for common ground among people opposed to apartheid.

"I took the decision that I would not go through with this session when I walked out of P W Botha's office in the Union Buildings on November 25.

"I said to him — it was not acrimonious, it was an overwhelming sense of hopelessness that overcame me — 'Mr President, I've been to these people, Hawke (Australian PM) and Lange (New Zealand PM) and we can achieve something if we do something dramatic'.

"He said to me. 'What do you mean something dramatic? The first people who stab me in the back when I do something dramatic are those people.'

"I said to him 'Can I at least talk to your advisers?' And he said: 'Yes, go talk to them, go talk to Chris Heunis (Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning) and Niel Barnard (National Intelligence Service chief) But why should I listen to your advice? I have 80 percent of the whites behind me and you and Andries (Treurnicht) are fighting for the other 20 percent. And what's more, I have more than 50 percent of the blacks supporting me.'

"I sat there looking at the guy. Quiet, stunned. He said to me: 'Are you laughing at me?' I said: 'No, I think it incredible that there can be such divergent interpretations of data.'

"He said: 'That is because you don't want to help me. You just want to be a radical. I'll tell you right now, I'll listen to your advice on two conditions, you might as well get that straight right now.

Constitution

"'I will not give up self-determination for the whites and I am not going to tear up the constitution like you and the ANC want me to do.'

"I said to him 'What do you mean I want to tear up the constitution?'

"He said: 'The independent homelands will stay. National states will stay.'

"I asked about the urban blacks He said. 'No, we'll sort them out with decentralisation.'

"And the tricameral system? 'It's a good start, what's wrong with that?'

"And what do you mean by self-determination for whites?

"He said 'Own schools, own residential areas, and own way of life.'

To Page 2 Col 1

37 Swapo insurgents shot in skirmish

WINDHOEK — Security forces in northern Namibia shot and killed 37 Swapo insurgents in a skirmish yesterday, the SWA Territory Force said in Windhoek.

Six more insurgents were shot and killed in various skirmishes in the past two days, the SWATF said in a statement.

The SWATF said those shot dead were of a group of insurgents who wanted to infiltrate Namibia through the eastern section of the Ovambo-speaking region in the territory.

"From the incidents, it is clear that Swapo has now launched its belated infiltration effort for this year," the SWATF said.

The latest fatalities brought to 85 the number of Swapo insurgents killed to date this year, it said.

Security forces killed a total of 599 insurgents last year. — Sapa.



Father jailed for raping daughter

DURBAN — A 45-year-old man who sexually abused his young daughter for five years, was jailed for seven years today by a Durban Regional magistrate.

The man, who cannot be named because it would identify his daughter, pleaded guilty.

He admitted that he began indecently assaulting his daughter when she was five years old.

Ban tobacco, says Sandton mayor

The Mayor of Sandton, Mr Willem Hefer, wants tobacco banned in South Africa.

He says nicotine is a drug and South Africa should aim at making "the growing and importation of tobacco illegal".

Mr Hefer was reacting to claims by Dr Sarel van der Walt, research manager of Rembrandt International, who told a Press conference sponsored by the Tobacco Board last week that cigarettes were not nearly as harmful as the anti-smoking lobby suggested

Mr Hefer accused Dr van der Walt of "cynical disinformation typical of the international tobacco industry's approach".

He said there was substantial evidence of the costs to the individual smoker's health in terms of increased health costs, loss of earnings "due to morbidity and increased suffering".

He added. "Tobacco is occupying areas in the Western Cape which could otherwise be planted with wheat thereby reducing the cost of importation"

Discussing Dr van der Walt's view that cigarettes were not as harmful as the anti-smoking lobby suggested, Mr Hefer said a recent statement from the South African Medical Research Council conveyed a radically different approach This said no other social habit of man had been shown with greater certainty to cause as many deaths or as much suffering as the habit of smoking.

There were more than 30 000 studies pointing to a relationship between smoking, disease and/or death. Mr Hefer said.

Who's the admirer?

South Africa's No 1 sweetheart, Anneline Kriel, was not forgotten on St Valentine's Day. Not many girls are lucky enough to receive this kind of exotic bouquet. No one, of course, is saying who it's from.

Rabbi attacks Jews for 'racist' club vote

A Johannesburg rabbi, appalled that members of a Jewish country club could veto a black man's membership on racial grounds, has condemned the move as "unjewish and contrary to everything Judaism stands for".

Rabbi Norman Mendel was reacting to reports that Jewish members of the Reading Country Club in New Redruth, Alberton, had voted against the admission of a black golfer to the club.

Ironically, the club was formed just after World War 2 because Jewish golfers were not acceptable to other clubs.

Six of the seven members who voted against the motion were Jews. The motion was defeated by seven votes to four.

Addressing his congregation at the Temple Emanuel this week, Dr Mendel said, if it was true Jewish members had voted against a black man's admission to the club, they had succumbed to "the lowest common denominator".

He told *The Star*: "If my information is correct the club was born of discrimination against Jews, yet those are the people who have now voted to exclude a man on grounds of race.

"This goes against everything Judaism stands for and which bids us treat our fellowman with dignity.

"Historical experience should make Jews acutely sensitive to any form of discrimination and not place any man in a position in which he can be discriminated against."

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N15 ORIENTAL PLAZA JHB (011) 836-6821

Slabbert takes the long way round

15/2/86
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POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE
By ANDRÉ DU TOIT



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Dr Van Zyl Slabbert



Tielman Roos



J G N Strauss

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Evidently Dr Slabbert's decision to resign is due to a *political* assessment of his parliamentary role. If he is departing from Parliament, he clearly does not intend to leave politics. His resignation amounts to a dramatic declaration of his conclusion that the politics of negotiation is henceforth to be pursued outside Parliament rather than inside it.

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Moreover, this constitution not only specifically excluded the black majority of South Africans but actually incorporated such cardinal features of apartheid as race classification, group areas and the pervasive distinction of "own affairs" and "general affairs".

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No illusion

Many have argued that this is but a necessary transitional stage and that the reformist ends will justify the defective means. As a key political agent caught up in this process, Dr Slabbert has now concluded that it debases the nature of parliamentary politics and that he cannot in good political conscience remain party to such an institutionalization of the apartheid structures he opposes.

PW chat drove Slabbert out

● From Page 1

"Then he introduced a new one — and whites must have the right to maintain control of the money they built up with such difficulty over theyears'.

"I said to him 'it seems to me there's going to be a problem'. He said: 'Well, you must accept it. Nothing will change on those two things.'

"When he said it that way, I thought 'I am wasting my time, I am wasting my time'."

Dr Slabbert said he listened to President Botha's opening speech to Parliament with this in mind and realised nothing had changed.

"I interpreted it exactly the same way as Mr F W de Klerk."

Asked why he had not suggested the walk-out to his full caucus, Dr Slabbert said:

"Well, I'll be quite open with you, one of them would have been in P W's office before the caucus meeting was over. The caucus would have leaked — there would have been a lot of fighting and shouting and screaming at one another.

"I tested it with key guys. If they had accepted that strategy, then we could have started a selling process, calling the guys into the caucus room one by one. And if 20 of us resigned, that would be all right, then you would have had something to go on.

"But you must realise that for every guy who resigns, the guy who stays behind has to attack him.

"I never asked the caucus to come with me out of Parliament. I did test the strategy.

"I thought the strategy would grab the imagination," he said.

"If we had all resigned to stand again and then said we wanted a mandate from the voters to say 'Don't go back until that guy who is President gets rid of the Population Registration Act', then what could the Nationalists have done about it?"

Black councils are puppets, court told

By Estelle Trengove

Blacks in the Vaal Triangle rejected community councils as puppets of the white authorities, offered as a substitute for meaningful political rights, a Transvaal Supreme Court has heard.

A man, who may not be identified, yesterday gave evidence in the Delmas hearing of 22 men charged with high treason, including members and supporters of Azapo, the Vaal Civic Association and prominent members of the United Democratic Front.

The witness sketched the general perceptions of his community just before the unrest broke out in the Vaal Triangle in 1983.

During cross-examination by Mr George Bizos, counsel for the 22 accused, he agreed that his community regarded councillors as puppets of white men.

FEW PEOPLE VOTED

He said he was a member of Azapo and Azapo, as well as practically every other organised political group, opposed community councils.

Very few people voted for the Vaal Triangle community council, he said. "The people, including myself, felt they were not representing us."

If the people had political rights, however, they would not object to a local council running sewerage, road-building and refuse removal.

Vaal Triangle people also felt they were paying higher rents than those in other townships.

There were persistent rumours of corruption in the system, for example in house allocations. He himself had waited for years for a house

He said the clenched fist sign was not exclusive to the African National Congress. He agreed with Mr Bizos that it had become a symbol of black unity.

The hearing will continue on Monday.

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Funfinder Inside

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Slabbert replies to Owen

Staff Reporter

DR VAN ZYL Slabbert has accused the government of contradicting the virtues of parliamentary democracy by the way they control it.

And he argues that the tricameral system has grievously damaged Parliament as an instrument of lawful constitutional change.

These points are made in a reply to an article in the Cape Times yesterday in which columnist Ken Owen dealt in forceful terms with Dr Slabbert and his resignation as MP and Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly.

Dr Slabbert said he had not abandoned parliamentary democracy, but had resigned because he was concerned about it and would "carry on as before" propagating his beliefs from outside Parliament.

"There are more people in South Africa outside of Parliament who would like to participate in democratic government than those inside.

"In fact the majority inside Parliament do not want the majority outside to come in at all," Dr Slabbert said.

● Why I could not go on, page 12



Dr Alex Boraine leaves the Houses of Parliament after announcing his resignation yesterday. Cape Times Newscolour: Richard Bell

PFP 'rot — leaders stopped

Cape Times 14/2/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PFP leadership was confident last night that "the rot has stopped" after the party was rocked yesterday by the second shock defection in less than a week of a prominent leader to the ranks of extra-parliamentary politics.

The Official Opposition, still reeling from the effects of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's surprise exit from Parliament last week, was dealt another body blow yesterday when MP for Pinelands and chairman of the federal council, Dr Alex Boraine, announced that he was opting out of the PFP leadership race and abandoning parliamentary politics.

However, the PFP's interim leader, Mr Colin Eglin, was confident last night that there were "no more shocks imminent" and that the remaining 25 MPs would remain in the fold.

'Fall-out on the wane'

"The fall-out from the initial shock is now on the wane and I now sense an increasing resolve and a real determination to forge ahead," said Mr Eglin, who is a shoo-in for the party leadership.

Two PFP MPs who were understood to be considering leaving Parliament for professional reasons, last night said that the events of the last week had made them more determined than ever to stick with the party.

Mr Philip Myburgh (Wynberg) said last night: "I'm here to stay in Parliament — I'm not following anybody out anywhere."

Dr Marius Barnard (Parktown) said that he felt more commitment to staying in Parliament than ever before: "While apartheid is here and the government is here, I'm staying."

'Serious error of judgement'

And the Cape leader of the PFP, Mr Roger Hulley (Constantia) said that the party was determined to rally after its latest setback and that "anyone who believes that the PFP should be written off as a growth party in South African politics is making a serious error of judgement".

Dr Boraine, who told his parliamentary caucus that he would be resigning his Pinelands seat on February 28, said in an interview last night that he was keen on resuscitating the National Convention Movement.

He said that he hoped to operate as an "honest broker" in trying to bring together opposing factions inside and outside parliament in the hope of promoting negotiation in an increasing polarized South Africa.

"I am not at all sure as to where I am going but I am sure that if some people don't move beyond the familiar and defined into uncharted seas we are headed for disaster in this country."

Dr Boraine emphasized that in his new role outside of Parliament his approach would be that of a "facilitator rather than a commander".

"Blacks in this country have had enough of white saviours," he said

At a press conference earlier, Dr Boraine stressed that he had no doubt about the importance of Parliament and the "vital role it demanded of the opposition".

As such he would continue to support the PFP's principles and policies and would remain a member of the party.

"But to support the constitutional process does not mean that everyone has to be in Parliament, or has to remain in Parliament in order to try and play some part in in bringing sanity and justice and healing to a country which has come close to being

To Page 4 A

ebruary 15 1986

Count-down to by-elections

Nats facing a rift — not PFP, say local candidates

STAR
30th A
15/2/86

By Janine Simon

Progressive Federal Party candidates in the forthcoming Johannesburg and Randburg municipal by-elections remain confident despite two of the party's leaders having quit Parliament.

Mr Tony Leon (Johannesburg's Ward 30) and Mr Dick Muller (Randburg's Ward 6) say their party and its principles existed long before Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine became a force in the PFP.

Both also feel that the divisions in the National Party are more serious than any perceived splits in the PFP.

No dispute

"The PFP, in effect, is Mr and Mrs South Africa who are against the situation in the country — Dr Slabbert and Dr Boraine were figureheads," said Mr Muller, who faces an election for the Blairgowrie South seat on Wednesday.

"The electorate has reacted marginally, if at all, to the resignations," he added.

Mr Leon said Dr Boraine's decision to resign from Parliament was a personal one and had no bearing on the Bellevue constituency, where voting takes place on February 26.

"The resignations have not changed the party's principles."

"There is no dispute as to the direction or policy of the PFP as opposed to the NP — which, for example, gave Mr P W Botha's 'Rubicon 2' speech three different interpretations in one week, those of the State President, Mr Pik Botha and Mr F W de Klerk," Mr Leon said.

Pik's Swiss talkabout includes the Red Cross

324A STAR 15/2/86

The Star's Foreign News Service

GENEVA — South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, continuing his flurry of meetings in Switzerland, had talks yesterday with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and with Dutch Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek.

Mr Botha spent an hour with Mr Alexandre Hay, president of the ICRC, and a committee spokesman said later: "There were two main topics — one was the detention in Angola of Captain Wynand du Toit.

"Mr Hay reported to Mr Botha on the visit on February 5 to Captain du Toit by an ICRC delegate and an ICRC doctor.

"Mr Botha received a report on the prisoner's health and con ditions of detention."

The second major topic involved prisoners in South Africa.

The spokesman said: "At present our delegates are allowed to visit only those prisoners who have been tried and sentenced and we are currently seeing about 300 detainees.

"Mr Hay told Mr Botha that the ICRC wants to be able to visit all prisoners, including those awaiting trial.

"The Foreign Minister took note of the request and said it would be considered by the Government."

After speaking to Mr Hay, Mr Botha met Mr van den Broek, who flew to Geneva on Thursday in his capacity as current president of the ECC Council of Ministers.

Dutch officials said Mr van den Broek told Mr Botha that Community members were "holding off for the time being" on economic sanctions.

However, the officials added: "Mr Botha was also warned that the Community is watching closely for improvements in South Africa and that sanctions always remain a possibility."

South African officials said the main aim of Mr Botha's trip — which will include other unspecified European cities — was to explain planned reforms.

Namibia was discussed — especially with Dr Chester Crocker earlier this week. The main issue is still that withdrawal from the territory must be linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Slabbert replied: "I think it is incredible . . ."

What PW said

w/c ARGUS 15/2/86 30KA

Weekend Argus Correspondent

AS the Progressive Federal Party rallied around Mr Colin Eglin — elected acting leader at its Federal Council in Johannesburg today — Dr van Zyl Slabbert has disclosed that he decided to quit Parliament after a fateful interview with President P W Botha on November 25.

He told Peter Sullivan in Cape Town yesterday that he then decided he should lead the entire party in a defiant walk-out. He wanted his MPs to resign, stand in by-elections and refuse to take their seats.

But when support was lacking, he told key caucus members five weeks ago that he would leave.

In Johannesburg today, at the 62-man council meeting, Mr Peter Gastrow, the MP for Durban Central, was elected acting national chairman. Mr Ken Andrew, MP for Gardens, was elected chairman of the council.

Earlier Dr Slabbert disclosed he intended now to search for common ground among all people opposed to apartheid.

Federal Council confirms Eglin

blacks. He said: 'We'll sort them out with decentralisation.'

"And the tricameral system? — 'It's a good start, what's wrong with that?'

The President said self-determination for whites meant "own schools, own residential areas, an own way of life". Whites must have the right to maintain control of their

He said he walked out of President Botha's office in the Union Buildings on November 25.

"I said to him: 'Mr President, I've been to Hawke (Australian PM) and Lange (New Zealand PM) and we can achieve something if we do something dramatic.'"

The President said the first people to stab him in the back when he did something dramatic were "those people".

"Why should I listen to you? I have 80 percent of the whites behind me and you and Andries (Treurnicht) are fighting for the other 20 percent. And I have more than 50 percent of the blacks supporting me . . .'

Laughing?

"I sat there looking at the guy. Quiet, stunned. He said to me: 'Are you laughing at me?' I said: 'No, I think it incredible that there can be such divergent interpretations of data.'

"He said: 'You don't want to help me. You just want to be a radical. I'll listen to you on two conditions. I will not give up self-determination for whites and I'm not going to tear up the constitution like you and the ANC want me to do.'

"The independent homelands will stay.'

"I asked about urbanised

"I thought, I'm wasting my time," Dr Slabbert said.

No change

He said he listened to President Botha's speech to Parliament and realised nothing had changed. "I interpreted it exactly the same way as Mr F W de Klerk."

Asked why he had not suggested the walk-out to his full caucus, Dr Slabbert said: "One of them would have been in P W's office before the meeting was over. The caucus would have leaked.

He disclosed how a report of his being approached by a group of "25 to 30" National Party MPs probably occurred.

"I went to a meeting and a National Party MP, said to me: 'Van Zyl, we must talk.'

"I said ag, man ... but he said: 'I'm serious, we must talk.'

"He said: 'There are 30 of us realists that think like I do, and we want to talk to you.'

"I said okay. His was one of the first notes to me in Parliament after I spoke. I ended my speech by saying a new division would appear in politics, and his note said: 'If that comes I will be with you.'

Leadership crisis: PFP caucus meets

ARGUS 10/2/86 30 km

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party's parliamentary caucus and federal executive met in Cape Town today to discuss the crisis in the party and to plan parliamentary strategy.

Mr Colin Eglin, MP, interim leader of the party and chairman of the caucus and Dr Alex Boraine, MP, chairman of the executive, confirmed the meetings.

Party leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert today formally resigned as MP for Claremont after announcing his intention to do so in Parliament on Friday.

Among PFP members the state of the party was described as "bruised and bewildered" following Dr Slabbert's sudden resignation.

He said today that no attempts had been made to try to get him to change his mind because his colleagues knew that any decision he took would be final.

Regret

He expressed regret about the recriminations over his decision but said this was inevitable.

President P W Botha has sharply criticised Dr Slabbert. He said it was an strange way of going about things for a politician to turn his back on Parliament — the only instrument through which change could be brought about — when he did not like a speech by the head of state.

Mr Botha said he did not wish to comment on Dr Slabbert's step except to say that the status of Parliament must be increased and its standing maintained because it was the only means through which change could come.

Dr Slabbert strongly denied weekend reports that he had received a letter in which 35 Nationalist MPs had asked him not to leave as he could possibly become their leader.

All that had happened was that some Nationalists had suggested that they should get together with him to discuss the political situation.

Agonising

Referring to the recriminations, Dr Slabbert said these were understandable and inevitable when a leader resigned for reasons other than old age or infirmity and when there was no clear reason for the resignation in the minds of those who wanted him to stay.

"One could either have had a long, drawn-out crisis and a lot of public agonising and soul-searching or one could have it over as quickly as possible."

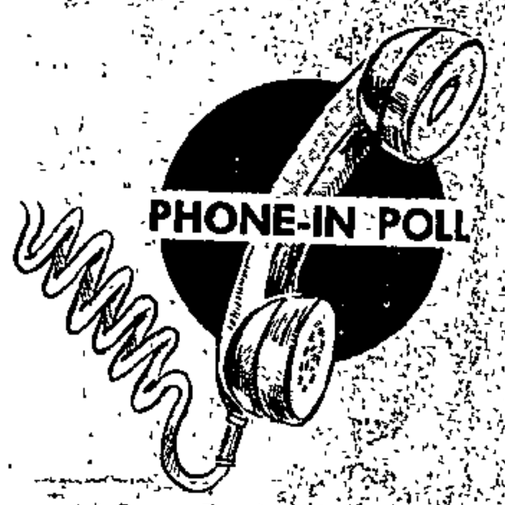
Dr Slabbert said he retained his interest in negotiation politics in South Africa but he had no firm plans for the future. He said on Friday that he would have to look for a job.

He said today that he would soon be going to London for the launching in Britain of his autobiography and he would then have a rest before deciding what he would do.

The names of Mr Eglin and Dr Boraine are being mentioned as possible new leaders, but Dr Boraine has not yet finally made up his mind.

He said he would have to give serious consideration to making himself available. He would consult with a number of close colleagues to reach a decision that would best serve the interests of the party.

WAS SLABBERT RIGHT TO RESIGN?



THE ARGUS is conducting a phone-in poll today to give readers the opportunity to air their views on the resignation of the Leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

Readers are asked: Should Dr Slabbert have resigned — yes or no?

The poll will be open until 9pm on the telephone numbers 23 9316 and 24 5560.

Europe now waiting for action, says Pik Botha

By Hannes de Wet

European Governments were now waiting for action on President P W Botha's pledges on political reform, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport after holding talks with European and American government representatives, Mr Botha said:

"The issue is not whether European governments recognise the positive elements of the President's speech, but — as they said to me — they would wait and see how it is implemented."

During his visit to Geneva, Mr Botha had met US Under Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker and representatives of the 12-nation European Economic Community and of the International Red Cross.

Remarks did not hinder talks

Mr Botha said his reception in Europe had been "very friendly". President Botha's repudiation of his remarks on a future black president had not hindered his talks "in the least", Mr Botha said.

"If anything, it assisted me because it proved that we were an open, democratic society."

Mr Botha said he explained to European representatives that President Botha's criticism was an "internal party political matter and everything the President said stands unrepudiated".

"We are going ahead as a team to implement reform," he said.

Asked if he had discussed the release of Captain Wynand du Toit, who was in an Angolan prison, Mr Botha said he could not disclose the substance of confidential talks with the Red Cross.

Regarding the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Mr Botha reiterated that Mandela had to renounce violence or Captain du Toit and Soviet dissident Dr Andrei Sakharov had to be released first.

On Dutch fugitive Mr Klaas de Jonge, Mr Botha said there was still a diplomatic impasse but there "may be further developments shortly".

● See Page 13.

7/2/86
BUSDAY (3044)

PFP set to move ahead under Eglin

THE PFP is putting out the message that ranks have closed and it is ready to move forwards again under the leadership of stalwart Colin Eglin.

It held a congress in Johannesburg at the weekend.

How effective can the party really be? Have the resignation of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine not drawn out the party's heart and switched attention to extra-Parliamentary opposition?



● SUZMAN

Veteran MP Helen Suzman, for whom political opposition has been a way of life for 33 years, speaks frankly on the PFP's future in a major *Business Day* interview with Managing Editor Neil Jacobsohn today.

She outlines why she believes the PFP must stay in Parliament — but stresses it has an increasing role outside the House of Assembly.

She looks at the part to be played by extra-Parliamentary bodies such as the UDF.

And what of the PFP and business? Opposition to government policies by the business sector may be "enlightened self-interest", she says, but business cannot go back now on its public pronouncements.

She speaks of her own role within the party and the conditions under which she would consider resigning.

Finally, she analyses government's reforms, and warns that South Africans must walk a long, hard road, because revolution is far from around the corner.

● See Page 4

Europe recognises reform moves — Botha

17/2/86 BUS DAY (3044)

REPRESENTATIVES of European governments, who met Foreign Minister Pik Botha last week for talks on SA's political situation, had "openly recognised and acknowledged" positive elements of reform in President's P W Botha's opening speech to Parliament.

He also said that, although there was still a diplomatic impasse with the Netherlands government over Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge — who has been hiding out in the former Dutch Embassy in Pretoria since July — there "may be further developments shortly".

Botha was speaking at a Jan Smuts Airport Press conference, after arriving from Geneva yesterday.

He also met US Under-Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker, representatives of the 12-nation European Economic Community and the International Red Cross during his week-long visit.

Asked if he had discussed the release of the SA commando Captain Wynand du Toit, who has been in an Angolan prison since May, Botha said reporters should understand he could not disclose the substance of confidential talks with the Red Cross.

Government was, however, "continuously considering actions and steps to get Du Toit released".

Asked about the possible release of imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, and his discussions with people he met on this matter; Botha said he could once again not disclose confidental talks "otherwise it would be impossible to make progress".

Botha said his reception in Europe had been "very friendly," and that government representatives had been interested in P W Botha's speech to Parliament last month.

Botha said he had also informed European governments of the large influx of foreign citizens to SA from neighbouring states, saying it was estimated there were at present some 2-million foreign black workers in the country.

These were displacing SA workers and aggravating the unemployment situation in the area, he said. — Sapa.

CAPE Times 17/12/86 (304A

New PFP leadership ready for action

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE new leadership of the Progressive Federal Party was young, aggressive and politically ambitious, and it would concentrate on action, the party's interim leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

In an interview, Mr Eglin said that whatever President P W Botha and the Government felt, the move away from apartheid was inevitable but the important question now was the pace of change.

"What worries one is the slowness of the rate of change," he said after his return to Cape Town following the meeting of the PFP's federal council in Johannesburg where his election as Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's successor was confirmed.

"The question is whether the government is moving fast enough to counteract destructive violence in the process.

"The pace of change must be fast enough to reduce the level of violence in South Africa," Mr Eglin said.

South Africa had moved further ahead in removing apartheid in social and economic fields but this process had not taken place in the area of political rights.

"I think the National Party is still flirting with the concept of power sharing. This is perhaps part of a process. Perhaps before you fall in love you have to flirt.

"P W Botha, because he at the moment holds the reins of power, has a key position, but he is clearly not the man of the future.

"I don't want to minimise his role in releasing his own people from Verwoerdian apartheid.

"He has opened some doors, but I don't think he is the man to lead South Africans through the doors into the future," Mr Eglin said.

Although he was not expecting a split in the National Party at this stage, it was clear, both from personal conversations and observations, that tensions and conflict in the NP were rising.

"Had Dr Slabbert remained in Parliament, it is possible that he could have been some kind of catalyst in the process, but frankly, if the split takes place it will not be because of some pull from the outside but from a push inside the NP about what getting rid of apartheid is all about."

Mr Eglin said politics was a process — and Parliament was part of this process, as were actions outside of Parliament.

"Politics inside Parliament and politics outside Parliament are part of the same process.

"The PFP must make maximum use of the major opportunity in Parliament but it has to be continually relevant to the other side of politics outside Parliament," he said.

He had found the lack of division and degree of cohesivness at the PFP's federal council "remarkable".

The newly elected leadership was "young, aggressive and politically ambitious in relative terms. I think that is very important".

It would concentrate on spheres of action and would be issue-orientated. It was possible this would lead to an adjustment of responsibilities within the caucus.

He said that everything Dr Slabbert said since his resignation as party leader had reflected personal frustration.

Dr Slabbert's meeting with President Botha last year had been critical while at the other end of the spectrum, the ANC, with the landmine blasts in the Northern Transvaal and the Amamzimtoti bomb explosion, showed that it was continuing as before.

"Dr Slabbert tried desparately to promote the politics of negotiation but the two major parties brushed him aside," Mr Eglin said.



Mr Colin Eglin and his wife, Joyce, relax on the balcony of their Clifton apartment yesterday afternoon after he was unanimously elected the new leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

Support for Colin Eglin

Political Staff

THE possibility of a challenge to Mr Colin Eglin's leadership of the Progressive Federal Party has been emphatically denied by Mr Peter Gastrow, who was named in weekend reports as a possible contender.

Mr Gastrow, MP for Durban Central, who was elected national chairman of the party, said yesterday he had never considered standing against Mr Eglin.

"There is no way that I intended to contest the leadership position at Saturday's meeting of the federal council, nor will I do so at the congress.

"There is no possibility of my doing that at all," he said.

"The other members of the executive and I intend supporting Colin Eglin to the hilt," Mr Gastrow said.

● In the other election at the meeting, the MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, got Dr Alex Boraine's position as head of the federal council.

Mr Andrew and Mr Gastrow defeated Transvaal provincial leader, Mr Douglas Gibson.

Mr Gibson was elected vice-chairman of the federal council.

Mr Gastrow had been acting chairman of the council in the absence of Dr Boraine who resigned on Thursday.

The federal council also appointed president's councillor, Mr Robin Carlisle, as the party's first secretary-general, while the MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, will be in charge of special projects — a role which will include extra-parlia-

Suzman: PFP is still political force

13/2/86 304/A BUSDAY

The turmoil that has shaken the Progressive Federal Party has focused new attention on opposition in SA, in and out of Parliament. HELEN SUZMAN, after 33 years in politics, many of them as the sole liberal voice in Parliament, is the very essence of opposition. In this interview with Managing Editor NEIL JACOBSOHN she spells out her vision of opposition politics in the years ahead



□ SUZMAN ... PFP's dual role

JACOBSOHN: the parliamentary role of the PFP has been severely questioned by the resignations of Van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine. What can the PFP really do in Parliament?

SUZMAN: Obviously, we cannot repeal the apartheid laws that we would like to. But what we can do is allow nothing to go by default, to highlight government's idiotic actions — such as the Moutse affair — and to hold government answerable for its sins and omissions.

Also important is that the parliamentary machine enables us to extract valuable information by means of questions. In this way we have built up a great fund of statistical information otherwise unavailable, such as the number of pass arrests, or people in detention, or people forcibly removed. This enables us to illustrate the awesome effects of various laws.

WHAT role does extra-parliamentary opposition have, and where does the PFP fit in?

I AM not even going to discuss the organisations using violence. In no way can I condone the anarchistic elements dominating the townships now. I can understand the rage of young blacks impatient for change, but by this means you are left in the end with a tyranny as bad as the one you have replaced.

Other organisations, such as the UDF, rely on protest meetings and other strategies, such as strikes and consumer boycotts. These will undoubtedly be increasingly potent, but, ironically enough, only so long as blacks are employed and have increasing consumer power.

As for the PFP, we have to keep the channels open, which has not been easy because of the rejection by many people and groups of anyone participating in the tricameral Parliament.

But we have a dual role — pressure in Parliament, and pressure outside Parliament, through the links that can be forged by the PFP's increasing participation in community projects.

Besides, if we all abdicated, the right wing would take over the opposition role in Parliament and that would have the effect of deterring government from the incremental reforms that it is contemplating. Pressure from us at least encourages progress.

WHO, then, is the PFP representing — affluent whites, big business, the silent majority?

IT'S VERY hard to identify, except to say that we got over a quarter of a million votes in the last election.

Many blacks were undoubtedly pleased to have increased representation of anti-apartheid views in Parliament. But clearly we don't profess to speak for the black people. It so happens that many of our aims coincide with those of a vast majority of unrepresented South Africans, insofar as all our efforts are focused on getting rid of the oppressive system under which we all live.

WHAT OF business? Should business support the PFP?

THERE HAVE been criticisms of business — indeed, I have been critical in the past about the deafening silence from business.

In recent times, however, the business community has become increasingly vocal in its opposition to government policy.

BECAUSE business is hurting?

YES, you could call it enlightened self-interest if you like. But I don't think business will back off if economic conditions improve. It has taken the plunge, and now I don't think it is likely to change its stance.

WHAT about Van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine? What role is left for them?

THAT remains to be seen. I am sure they will be given a rapturous welcome at the English-medium universities and by the UDF and similar organisations. But how do you proceed without a base such as Parliament? That for me is the $64 000 question.

WHAT about yourself, now that the "young lions" are in charge of the PFP?

I'M ALL for the young lions, providing you have experienced leadership. As for me, I stay where I am ... but not forever.

Dr Slabbert's first reaction was that we had to engage the system. He has changed his mind, but those of us still here are still doing that. We still believe that Parliament, despite its heavily flawed structure, has its uses.

FINALLY, what about President Botha's reform moves? Is government really changing?

GOVERNMENT will make incremental changes as it intended to do. It will not under the present circumstances remove the foundation stones of apartheid.

We are in for a long, hard hoe in this country. Young blacks who think that "liberation is around the corner" will learn that nothing is further from the truth. We are in for a long period of attrition, with increasing urban violence and a government which, if not displaced, will meet the situation with tougher police and military action. That to my mind is what we *really* have to do — to show the white electorate that this is the scenario unless we act to change it.

Leutwiler plan will take 75% of surplus

Debt repayments will hit earnings

SOUTH AFRICA could face repayment of foreign loans worth as much as 75% of its record current account surplus this year if it accepts the new-look Leutwiler repayment plan at Thursday's bankers' meeting.

Mediator Fritz Leutwiler has suggested that SA should repay 5% of its R13,4bn debt covered by the standstill in four quarterly installments, starting in April. That means that $525m (R1,1bn) will have to be repaid this year.



● LEUTWILER

No up-to-date official foreign debt statistics have been calculated, and the Standstill Co-ordinating Committee is apparently still using the figure produced in October of total debt worth R23,7bn, even though there have

John Tilston
Economics Editor

already been substantial repayments.

A senior State official would not comment last week on foreign debt repayments, saying only that the matter was being treated as *sub judice* until after Thursday's meeting.

However, statistics published over the past few months give a guide to what will have to be repaid this year.

Public Corporations such as Escom and the SA Transport Services, whose foreign loans are guaranteed by the State and are thus largely excluded from the standstill net, are due to repay loans totalling $1,28bn (R2,8bn) this year.

Central government debt totalling R179m was due to be repaid between September 1985 and the end of August this year. While some of this is likely to have been repaid already, another R184m is due to be repaid by August 1988. It seems likely that about $75m (R170m) was due this calendar year.

SA has to repay its International Monetary Fund loan of $800m (R1,68bn) in quarterly instalments over the next two years. Of the $400m (R842m) due this year, the first $100m (R210m) was repaid earlier this month.

These loans mean that at the very minimum $2,19bn (R4,6bn) must be repaid to foreign creditors this year.

But there are two other areas of potential concern.

Total government non-marketable debt — that which is not in the form of bonds — was R3,023bn at the end of September.

The Reserve Bank has not released the

● To Page 2

SA might repay R1,1bn

● From Page 1

maturity profile of this amount. However, of SA's total foreign debt, 63% is short-term.

On the other hand, one major bank was borrowing money on a short-term basis in offshore markets and lending it on a medium-term basis to clients, particularly, it is believed, to government.

This suggests that the maturity profile may be longer than the average figure. If, say, a quarter of this money is short-term the State will have to repay $358m (750m) this year.

The other concern is with trade finance and trade credit, which are excluded from the standstill net.

At the end of September there was $3,5bn (R7,36bn) in government guaranteed trade credits and a further $1,5bn (R3,15bn) in short-term trade credits. Much of this will have to be repaid, but one senior banker believes all of it will be replaced by further credits, on the basis that the business will be too lucrative to turn down.

He estimates there could even be a small gain.

Overall, SA could be looking to repay $2,55bn (R5,36bn) this year. If SA's current account surplus remains at the same level as last year's $3,325bn (7bn), these repayments will account for the major chunk of it.

Assuming no significant sanctions are imposed on SA, then the current account on the balance of payments will benefit from the lower oil price.

But the higher rand value of recent weeks will depress the buoyant rand price of gold and perhaps encourage further importing. On balance, it seems the current account balance will remain at last year's levels.

Reuter reports that bankers in London said the general idea behind Leutwiler's proposal was to reach an accord that would allow the standstill to expire on March 31.

Banks will be asked to roll over voluntarily, until March 1987, payments that were due on the debt covered by the standstill.

In addition, the proposal will give banks the option to convert the remaining short-term debt into notes with maturities of not less than three years, at interest rates they will negotiatiate with counterparts in SA.

The bankers said President P W Botha's recent proposal on political reforms were not seen as a major breakthrough but at least improved the climate for talks.

While the question of interest rates needs to be addressed, bankers said the proposals included many suggestions they offered Leutwiler in response to the proposal from SA in December.

IMC ultimatum on apartheid

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The whole of East London's Indian Management Committee would resign within the next week or two if the government did not scrap all apartheid, the chairman of the Indian Management Committee here, Mr Mike Williams, said during an interview.

Mr Williams said his committee wanted the removal of apartheid, the dismantling of all racist signs and the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

He emphasised that he was speaking on behalf of the whole committee, which wanted to demonstrate its allegiance to the black cause.

"We want the changes made that are being demanded by the boycott committee," he said.

His people wanted direct representation on the city council but there had been no sign that this would happen in the near future.

Had it not been for the Association of Management Committees (Assomac), which persuaded the committee to stay on, the Indian Management Committee would have resigned six months ago.

Assomac implored the IMC to stay on so it could see what the goverment was going to do, Mr Williams said.

If his people did not have direct representation by August this year, Indian management committees throughout the country would resign.

"But we now feel the government is dragging its feet and not enough is being done in this area.

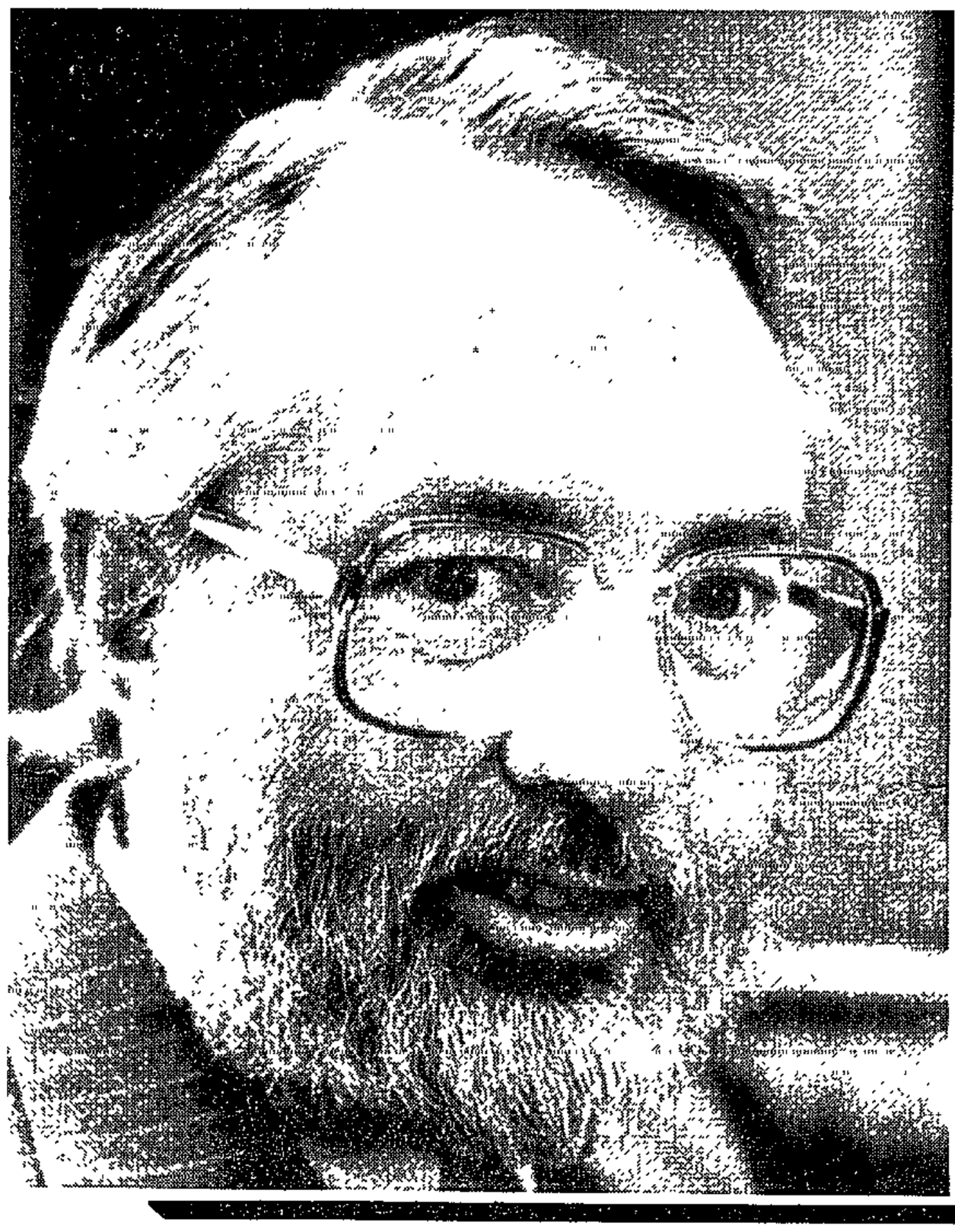
"We want the Government to meet the demands of the Duncan Village Residents Association."

Mr Williams said he had the backing of the Braelynn Residents' Association.

He denied any pressure having been brought upon his committee by the Oriental Plaza Traders' Association and said the traders had not spoken to his committee.

The IMC would welcome a meeting with the traders if they requested one, he said.

SA needs firing squad to get rid of apartheid



This is an edited version of the speech made during the no-confidence debate by Mr Horace van Rensburg (pictured), the Progressive Federal Party MP for Bryanston.

It is clear that the State President has pronounced the death sentence on apartheid. I hope that he will be resolute in not countenancing any last-minute appeals or petitions for mercy.

In fact, apartheid must be put to death as quickly as possible.

We must avoid a slow throttling process which is messy and unimpressive.

I suggest a firing squad at dawn, followed by a quick cremation.

In particular, I believe that every member of the Cabinet should be a member of the firing squad.

Some of them, like the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, is very excited and quite obviously can't wait to take his place in the firing squad.

Others, such as the Minister of Law and Order, are very reluctant and are wondering whether a water pistol, or a rubber bullet, would be acceptable.

Every Cabinet Minister must deliver a fatal shot to apartheid because every Cabinet Minister has some apartheid in his department that must be eliminated.

Education

We want no superficial wounds and we will not tolerate any Cabinet Minister who deliberately misses the target.

In line with what I have just said, I would now like to address myself to the Minister of National Education.

He has a fairly large chunk of the apartheid skeleton still rattling around in his cupboard.

This chunk of the apartheid skeleton is represented by the rigid apartheid structures for the provision of education for the separate race groups in line with the "own" affairs provisions of the Constitution.

At the time that the new Constitution was adopted and decided on, we warned the Government that this manifestation of apartheid would come back to haunt it again and again.

And it is now doing so with considerable ferocity.

The black, coloured and Indian communities simply will not accept that separate education can also be equal education.

It is accepted that the creation of the Department of National Education goes a long way towards achieving the objective of one central department of education in that this department will determine the general policy relating to:

Standards

- Norms and standards for the financing of running and capital costs of education for all population groups.
- Salaries and conditions of employment of staff.
- The professional registration of teachers.
- Norms and standards for syllabuses and examinations and for certification of qualifications within the framework of principles set out in the National Policy for General Education Affairs Act 1984.

It is also accepted that it is technically possible to provide schools of the same standard, equipped in the same way, staffed by teachers with the same qualifications, and in which the same syllabuses and standards of education, examinations and certification apply.

Education in such schools, although racially segregated, can be claimed to be technically equal.

However, it remains discriminatory because it denies the right, privilege, opportunity and advantage to children from different racial backgrounds who live in the same society, to meet and communicate during their formative years at school, in order to develop understanding, empathy and the ability to co-operate with one another, all values and experience which are vitally important for people who have to live together, play together and work together in the pursuit of common goals, throughout the rest of their lives.

The first principle set out in the National Policy for General Education Affairs Act 1984 reads as follows: "Equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education, for every inhabitant, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be the purposeful endeavour of the State."

Requirements

It follows that the Government will now be in a position to achieve the technical requirements embodied in this principle, but at the same time it must be pointed out pertinently that in terms of the principles set out by the State President in his speech, and in his 1985 statements, they cannot be fulfilled by the continued adherence to rigid separation between the children from various race groups at school level.

The principles set out by the State President unequivocally commit the Government to the removal of apartheid and all discrimination based on race, colour, creed or sex, as well as to equal citizenship.

Recognition

And, in their turn, these principles embody freedom of choice and freedom of association for the individual.

The third principle of the Act also clearly and unequivocally spells out the concept of freedom of choice for the individual.

"Education shall give positive recognition to the freedom of choice of the individual, parents and organisations in society."

It is very clear that the Government is committed to the principle of freedom of choice and, therefore, to the opening of our schools and other educational institutions to all race groups.

However, I am sufficiently realistic to understand that the Government is confronted in this case by a particularly "hot potato".

It would find it extremely difficult to open all schools to all races immediately, although I must emphasise that its commitment to the principles already enunciated, if strictly interpreted, means just that.

We in the PFP, while determined to consistently bring to the attention of the Government all matters which conflict with its enunciated intentions, and to pressurise it to give effect to the announced reforms, will also seek to assist the Government to find ways and means for achieving them without bringing about disruption and conflict and possibly injury to the reform process.

Decision

In this spirit, I suggest that in terms of the Government's stated principles and policies, it would be possible to bring about ways and means of achieving the objective of freedom of choice and freedom of association in education, while not causing increased racial tensions and more violence at the school level.

This can be achieved by creating a Department of Open Education to allow for the creation of open schools.

I believe that all existing schools could be given the right to choose by way of a decision of their parent bodies whether they wish to remain under their existing departments or fall under the Department of Open Education.

This would give effect to the principles of freedom of choice and freedom of association and would go a long way to defusing the highly emotional aspects relating to our present system of segregated education.

Two principles from the Act set out these freedoms:

- Principle No 6: "The provision of formal education shall be the responsibility of the State provided that the individual, parents and organised society shall have a shared responsibility, choice and voice in this matter."
- Principle No 8: "Provision shall be made for the establishment and State subsidisation of private education within the system of educational provision."

These principles allow a further dimension to the above suggestion, namely that parents can be granted a far greater participation in the establishment, policy determination and management of schools, which would both satisfy the desire of communities to have a larger say in the education of their children, as well as reduce the burden, both financially and administratively, on the State.

Equally, such a scheme could include all existing private schools and provide for the establishment of large numbers of additional schools funded and administered by the private sector.

Opportunity

Since such schools would all be open, it would mean that fairly large numbers of white, black, coloured and Indian children would have the opportunity of attending the same schools.

By providing for adequate State subsidising, it means that such open schools would be accessible to children from all communities and all socio-economic levels of society.

I would wish to respectfully suggest that if the Government finds it impossible to accept our urgent representations for the opening of all education, it should seriously consider my suggestion for an interim compromise arrangement based on the creation of a Department of Open Education.

STAN 17/2/88.

Reform moves noted - Pik

THE representatives of European governments who met the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, for talks on South Africa's political situation last week had "openly recognised and acknowledged" that there were positive elements of reform in the State President's opening speech to Parliament last month, Mr Botha said on his return to Johannesburg.



Mr PIK BOTHA . . . confidential talks.

SAPA

Speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport shortly after his arrival, Mr Botha also said that although there was still a diplomatic impasse with the Netherlands Government over Dutch fugitive Mr Klaas de Jonge, who has been hiding out in the former Dutch Embassy in Pretoria since July last year, there "may be further developments shortly."

Mr Botha met the American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, representatives of the 12-nation European Economic community and the International Red Cross during his week-long visit.

Release

Asked if he had discussed the release of the South African commando Captain Wynand du Toit, who has been in an Angolan prison since May last year, Mr Botha said reporters should understand he could not disclose the substance of confidential talks with the Red Cross.

The South African Government was, however, "continuously considering actions and steps to get Du Toit released."

Asked about the possible release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and his discussions with people he met on this matter, Mr Botha said he could once again not disclose confidential talks.

"Otherwise it would be impossible to make progress."

The Foreign Minister said his reception in Europe had been "very friendly" and that government representatives had been very interested in Mr P W Botha's speech to Parliament, in which he had outlined reform moves.

"They recognised and acknowledged, stating so openly, that there were indeed positive elements in the speech and that it was very important.

"They indicated they, however, wished to wait and see how the reform moves were implemented."

There were, however, elements who were trying to play down reform moves in South Africa and to dismiss the changes as cosmetic.

Mr Botha appealed to foreign media representatives in South Africa to report on the positive aspect of the situation and not only to concentrate on the negative.

"It is the plain truth that the State President announced reform measures of a far-reaching dramatic and historic nature . . . I can't understand why elements try to play this down," he said.

He said he had also informed European governments of the large influx of foreign citizens to South Africa from neighbouring states, saying it was estimated there were now about two million foreign black workers in the country.

These were displacing South African workers and increasing the unemployment in the country.

If Western governments wanted to contribute towards stability in southern Africa, they should get together to help in job creation projects, he had told them.

Also referring to the media's tendency to concentrate on negative aspects of South Africa, Mr Botha asked: "If South Africa is such a racist country and such a racial cauldron, why are these two million people here?"

Asked to clarify the situation surrounding the possible release of Nelson Mandela, the Foreign Minister said he had not, as reported from Europe last week, stated that the release of Soviet dissident Dr Andrei Sakharov was a precondition for the ANC leader's release.

He could elaborate on the statement by Mr P W Botha to Parliament last month on the basis for negotiations for a possible release of Mandela.

Mr Botha confirmed that he hoped to make more trips overseas soon to inform the governments of the political situation in South Africa and intended reform measures. — Sapa.

Pik returns to take on foreign media

By Hannes de Wet

When Mr Pik Botha flew into Jan Smuts Airport yesterday, he was ready for his "friends".

It was 11 days since his fateful Cape Town meeting with the regulars among the foreign correspondents stationed in South Africa. Mr Botha's answer on a possibility of a future black President and the subsequent repudiation by Mr P W Botha was still a fresh memory.

Yesterday the contingent of foreign correspondents again turned up in full force for Mr Botha's arrival from Zurich.

At a Press conference at the airport the Minister of Foreign Affairs appeared to be waiting for an opportunity.

The first sign was references to "elements" which sought to play down the President's opening of Parliament speech.

Mr Botha said: "What is important is the will of this Government and its announcements. It is my task and I hope the task of all responsible reporters not to try and hide the truth.

"Those who know South African conditions have a duty towards the public of the countries for whom they write. If they know anything about the history of this country then it is the plain truth that the President announced reform measures of a far-reaching, historic and dramatic nature on January 31."

RACIAL CAULDRON

Speaking on the "two million illegal foreign black workers in South Africa" Mr Botha again accused his foreign questioners of trying to hide the truth.

"I do not know why the foreign media are not interested in the plight of these unfortunate people. I do not know why the foreign media try to cover this up and hide the fact that over two million foreign citizens have now crossed our border.

"If this was such a hated country, such a racial cauldron, I wonder what the explanation of the European Governments would be."

Turning to the "flood of negative reporting from South Africa", Mr Botha went to the attack.

"It is clear there is a flood of negative reporting emanating from this country. And there is no way any of you representing the foreign media can deny this.

"You are not interested in good news. You're only interested in blood and bad news and that sort of thing.

"Why should the world be told that instances of violence are characteristic of South African life?

"There is a concerted effort by some, not the Press, to keep the pot boiling, to keep the violence going. And there are media representatives who know this. They know there are violence-orientated leaders in the country who don't want to talk," Mr Botha said.

Eglin chosen for PFP hot seat

The Progressive Federal Party caucus has elected Mr Colin Eglin to lead the party out of the "trauma" caused by the resignations of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine.

To fill the number two, three and four positions in the party, the caucus elected Mr Peter Gastrow, the Member of Parliament for Durban North, Mr Ken Andrew, the MP for Cape Town Gardens, and Mr Douglas Gibson, the former leader of the opposition in the Transvaal Provincial council.



Mr Colin Eglin (second from left) was elected leader of the Progressive Federal Party this weekend. With him are members of the party's new executive (from left) Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Ken Andrews and Mr Douglas Gibson.

304A STAR 17/2/84

IMPORTANT ROLE

At a Press conference on Saturday, Mr Eglin expressed his optimism about the future of the party with the "new blood" in leadership positions.

He made it clear he believed Parliament still played a very important role within the wider spectrum of South African politics.

He said he believed the PFP also had an important extra-parliamentary role to play in the broad arena of local politics, but in his view, Parliament remained the base for a political party to move into a wider arena.

The extra-parliamentary role the party was to play had, however, not been defined yet, he said.

Asked how he felt about being elected as leader for the second time, Mr Eglin said: "That does not worry me in the least." He said he did not think it counted against him, but rather, in the present circumstances in South Africa, a leader with experience could be valuable.

PARTY CONGRESS

Mr Gastrow was elected national chairman of the PFP. Mr Andrew was elected chairman of the Federal Council and Mr Gibson is the new vice-chairman.

The PFP Congress is to be held in August this year and, according to the party's constitution, it is possible a new leadership might be elected then.

PFP's young lions

30 CA

ARGUS 17/2/86

NOW, TALENTED TWO EMERGE AS LEADERS

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

TWO talented professionals have emerged as leaders in key positions in the Progressive Federal Party.

They are Mr Ken Andrew, 42, MP for Gardens, and Mr Peter Gastrow, 38, MP for Durban Central.

Mr Andrew is the new chairman of the party's federal council and Mr Gastrow is now chairman of the party. They were chosen at a meeting of the federal council in Johannesburg on Saturday and the decision will be confirmed at a party congress in August.

"Leftist" or "young lion" tags have been attached to them by some commentators but they shrug this off by explaining that they are political "realists" defying cliche-ridden classifications.

They have both been MPs since the 1981 election.

Mr Andrew has a BSc degree in chemistry and a master's degree in business administration. He has been involved in managing and marketing and is a partner in a publishing firm in Cape Town.



Mr Peter Gastrow

The spirit at Saturday's meeting had been encouraging and stimulating and PFP supporters realised the future of the party depended on everyone and not on a few leaders.

Mr Gastrow graduated from the University of Natal with a BCom LLB degree. After practising at the bar he withdrew to devote himself to politics. He represented the PFP at last year's inquiry into the Uitenhage shootings.

In the Assembly both have stood out among the backbenchers.

Mr Andrew said today he wanted to make sure the party knew exactly where it was going and what strategy would be most effective in bringing about peaceful change.

He said he was in no doubt the party's aim should be a just democracy based on free association.

work for the aggressive promotion of the party's aims and objectives inside and outside Parliament.

South Africa's future would not only be determined by a political party's parliamentary role but to a growing extent by its relevance outside Parliament and in community issues.

He preferred looking at Dr van Zyl Slabbert's departure as leader in a positive way.

It had identified weaknesses in the party organisation and structure after a period in which all the party's eggs had been in one basket without the involvement of others in leadership.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I think that should be left to the discretion of the House to decide.

*33. Mr P G SOAL—Law and Order [Reply standing over.]

Trout

*34. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism:

(1) Whether his Department has a policy in regard to the (a) breeding, (b) development and (c) propagation of trout in inland streams; if not, why not; if so, what is the policy.

(2) whether he will make a statement on his Department's attitude in regard to the sport of trout fishing as a tourist attraction?

The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS AND TOURISM:

(1)(a), (b) and (c). No. The responsiblity rests with the respective Provincial Administrations.

(2) No, but I draw the attention of the hon member to the statement made by the Administrator of the Cape Province a few days ago.

Louis Botha Airport

*35. Mr B W B PAGE asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(1) What is the latest target date for the completion of the current programme for the upgrading of passenger and baggage facilities at Louis Botha Airport;

(2) whether he will take steps to expedite the upgrading of these facilities; if so, what steps;

(3) what is the estimated total final cost of all the phases of the above-mentioned programme?

HoA

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) July 1987.

(2) No.

(3) R16,12 million.

La Mercy International Airport

*36. Mr B W B PAGE asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 45 on 5 March 1985, the completion date for the La Mercy International Airport is still 1995; if not, (a) why not and (b) what is the amended date;

(2) whether the latest estimate of the amount required to complete this airport is still R168 million; if not, (a) why not and (b) what is the latest estimate?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) No.

(a) The need to develop an international airport a La Mercy without undue delay remains an urgent objective. However, circumstances presently necessitates that development be postponed for economic reasons. Apart from financial considerations it is pointed out that the latest statistics in respect of Louis Botha Airport namely those for the period 1 April 1985 to 31 October 1985 show a decline of 18,67 per cent in—

— domestic and foreign passengers;

— domestic and foreign freight carriage; and

— the number of aircraft using the airport.

(b) In view of the aforementioned it will be misleading to predict a completion date for La Mercy Airport at this stage but the situation is being monitored constantly and will be reviewed if circumstances so demand.

(2) No.

(a) and (b) In view of the uncertainty with regard to the completion date of the airport estimates which are directly dependent on unknowns such as the inflation rate over a prolonged period will be mere speculation.

Letter of State President

HANSARD 3614

37. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Deputy Minister of Information:†

GCQ 113.18/2/86

(1) Whether the Bureau for Information is concerned with a letter by the State President which recently appeared in South African publications; if so, (a) in what publications did this letter appear and (b) what was the total cost of the planning, preparation and publication of this letter;

(2) whether the Bureau for Information is bearing the full cost in this connection; if not, (a) which agencies are making financial contributions in this connection and (b) what is the total amount of these contributions;

(3) whether this letter has appeared or will appear in foreign publications; if so, (a) in what publications and (b) what agencies will bear the cost involved?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

(1) If the question refers to the advertisement in the form of a statement, signed by the State President, the answer is "Yes".

(a) The advertisement appeared in the following publications: *Vaderland, Transvaler, The Star, Sunday Star, Business Day, Pretoria News, The Citizen, Beeld, Die Volksblad, Diamond Fields Advertiser, The Natal Witness, The Daily News, The Natal Mercury, Oosterlig, Eastern Province Herald, Evening Post, Daily Dispatch, The Cape Times, Die Burger, The Argus, Sowetan, O Seculo de Joanesburgo, Post Natal, The Plainsman, Cape Herald, Echo, Roodepoort Records, Randfontein Herald, Krugersdorp News, Highveld Ridge, Rapport, Sunday Times, Carltonville Herald, De Echo, District Mail, Eastern Transvaal Advertiser, Eikestadnuus, Escourt Gazette, Gemsbok, Graaff-Reinet Advertiser, Grocotts Mail, Highveld Herald, Kokstad Advertiser, Ladysmith Gazette, Lebowa Gazankulu Venda Times, Lentswe, The Mercury Kingwilliamstown, Middleburg Observer, Newcastle Advertiser, Die Noord Transvaler, Noordvrystaatse Herald, Die Noordwester, Northern Natal Courier, Northern Times, Paarl Post, Potchefstroom Herald, The Representative, South Coast Herald, Springs African Reporter, Stellalander, Swartland Monitor, Uitenhage Despatch, Vista, Vryheid Gazette, Western Transvaal Record, Witbank News, Worcester Standard, Zululand Observer, Brakpan Herald, Brits Pos, Rustenburg Herald, Benoni City Times, Boksburg Advertiser, Vaal Ster, Noordkaap, George Herald, Knysna/Plett. Herald, Goldfields Forum, Die Bosvelder, Imvo Zulu, Indaba, Ilanga, City Press, Die Daller, Gemsbok Courier, Die Lowvelder.*

(b) R268 358.

(2) Yes.

(a) and (b): Fall away.

HoA

(3) The Bureau for Information does not handle the dissemination of information or the placing of advertisements overseas. That is the responsibility of the Department of Foreign Affairs, to whom this question, including sections (a) and (b) of the question, should consequently be referred.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I would like to ask him whether he foresees that more such advertisements will follow on the speeches which the State President has already delivered or may deliver?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it is possible that such promotion campaigns may be undertaken from time to time. No specific decision has been taken on a specific promotion campaign.

Maj R SIVE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I should like to know whether it is the policy of his department only to give information with regard to Cabinet Ministers and the State President or also to give out information about the various opposition parties?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the Bureau for Information will not in any way advertise the policies of any of the political parties, but the Bureau of Information has a duty as far as the Government is concerned. The public has a right to know. [Interjections.]

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, would he tell the House whether, now that the policy of the Government has changed since that advertisement appeared, it is the intention of the Bureau of Information to place further advertisements correcting the situation?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the policy of the Government has not changed; it is the same.

HoA

Letter of State President

*38. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Deputy Minister of Information:†

Whether the Bureau for Information was concerned with the reading of a letter by the State President during a news review programme of the South African television service on 2 February 1986; if so, (a) what was the cost involved and (b) who paid the cost?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

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

Own Affairs:

Provincial councils

*1. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether his Department has (a) undertaken a study and (b) drafted a report on the effect of the proposed abolition of the provincial councils on White provincial education; if so,

(2) whether this report is available to members of the public; if not, why not; if so, when was it published;

(3) whether a date has been set for the takeover of provincial education by his Department; if not, (a) why not and (b) when will a date be set; if so, what is the date that has been set;

(4) whether teacher and parent bodies have been consulted in preparation for the takeover; if not, why not; if so, which bodies?

†The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) (a) and (b). Investigations have been undertaken and a report on various facets of the proposed abolition of the provincial councils on White provincial education has been compiled;

(2) no, because it will be considered further when certain political decisions on structures at the second level of government, which are still being awaited, have been finalised;

(3) no, this is also a constitutional matter which is not determined by the Department of Education and Culture; and

(4) yes, the officially recognized teachers' associations, the SATC and the parents' body already enjoying official recognition. The structures for consultation which include parents' and teachers' associations, have also been investigated, and recommendations thereon are included in a further report.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is he aware that certain directors of education as well as the media are advertising the fact that 31 March will be the take-over date of provincial education by his department? Can he confirm this?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, if certain directors of education held certain views on the matter, it is their own right to do so.

Pupils admitted to White schools

HANSARD 18/2/86
Q-COL 117.

*2. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether any English-medium private primary or high schools falling under his Department or any of the provincial education departments have admitted pupils who are not White; if so, how many of these schools (a) did and (b) did not admit such pupils in 1985 or as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

Yes, at schools falling under the provincial education departments.

(a) 143 and (b) 27.

HoA

The Department of Education and Culture does not administer private primary or high schools.

Maj R SIVE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, does his Department of Education and Culture falling under the House of Assembly intend following the same policy as has been adopted by the House of Representatives in opening its schools to pupils of all races? [Interjections.]

Pupils admitted to White schools

*3. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether he or his Department has investigated the establishment of bases for the deviation from the principle of own educational institutions; if not, why not; if so, what are the bases;

(2) whether it is possible for schools falling under his Department or provincial education departments to admit pupils who are not White; if so, what categories of pupils;

(3) whether any preconditions are laid down for admitting these pupils; if so, what are these preconditions;

(4) whether any pupils have been admitted to White schools in terms of item 14 of Schedule 1 to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No 110 of 1983; if not, why not;

(5) whether his Department or any other authority laid down race quotas for the admission of pupils to private and State-aided schools; if so, (a) which authority and (b) what are these quotas;

(6) whether statutory recognition has been granted in respect of the quotas referred to above; if so, what are the relevant particulars?

†The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) Yes. Bases for the rendering of ser-

BUS DAY 18/2/86

Labour Party, NPP join forces on Moutse

304A

THE Labour Party and the National People's Party have joined forces to oppose the recently-published government proclamation transferring the Moutse area of Lebowa to KwaNdebele.

At a Press conference in Cape Town, the chairmen of the Select Committees for Education and Development Aid in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates, Tommy Abrahams and Somaroo Pachai, said the two parties were "against consolidation of homelands".

"It is a white initiative and we didn't come to Parliament to support relics of the past," Pachai said.

The parties were looking into the possibility of blocking the proclamation, which was published in December, by withholding approval of their respective houses from it.

"We are not playing games. This is serious business," said Pachai.

He said representatives of the parties were making arrangements to visit the area.

Pachai appealed to government, if it were going to treat their two Houses "with any respect", to suspend the incorporation "while we talk".

Abrahams said the two parties also demanded the release of detained Moutse community leader Godfrey Mathebe.

He said the two parties did not have a mandate from people in the Moutse area to act on their behalf.

Abrahams said this was because their participation in the tricameral Parliament was seen in an unfavourable light.

There was, however, recognition of the Progressive Federal Party.

The people had "approached us via Mrs (Helen) Suzman with a petition", said Abrahams.

This was the first time there had been a joint effort of this nature between the ruling parties of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

He said they had agreed to the holding of joint caucuses on matters like this. — Sapa.

● See Page 4

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● See Page 4

PARLIAMENT

Threatened people feature in three petitions

Suspend transfer of Moutse area — Suzman

PARLIAMENT — The controversial transfer of the Moutse area into the KwaNdebele homeland should be suspended, Helen Suzman said yesterday.

She said this after the ruling parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates introduced measures to oppose the move.

Government has so far refused to reconsider the decision to incorporate Moutse into KwaNdebele and has refused to hold a poll among residents about the issue.

But opposition to the move is mounting and last week the Lebowa broke off diplomatic relations with South Africa over the matter.

Yesterday, the Labour Party and the National People's Party introduced motions opposing the Moutse deal. Petitions that the two former MPs for Moutse in the Lebowa Legislative Assembly be heard at the Bar of the House have been submitted to the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.



● SUZMAN

BARRY STREEK

Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, has already submitted a similar petition in the House of Assembly.

No decision has yet been taken on whether the petition will be heard at the Bar of the House of Assembly, but with the backing of the Labour Party and the NPP it is likely that the petitions will have majority support in those two Houses.

Suzman said yesterday that the removal of people from Moutse should be suspended until the matter had been debated in Parliament.

Suzman said that totally conflicting reports had been received about the removal of people from Uitvlugt, in Mouste.

"Among them are allegations of intimidation from both sides and of inducements of sums of money being offered as compensation for moving.

"It is obvious that these amounts will never be paid.

"In view of the petition I presented from Mouste people praying to be heard at the Bar of the House, and in view of the motion disapproving of the incorporation of Moutse into KwaNdebele, I believe the whole Moutse affair should be, at least, left in abeyance," Suzman said.

Why Slabbert is yesterday's man

THE ABDICATION of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has opened the entire question of the leadership and direction of the Progressive Federal Party.

The various accounts of the psychic hungers that caused Slabbert to abandon his party make one thing clear: the pleasure principle is not a proper guide to political life. Parliament exists not to satisfy its members, but to exact their service.

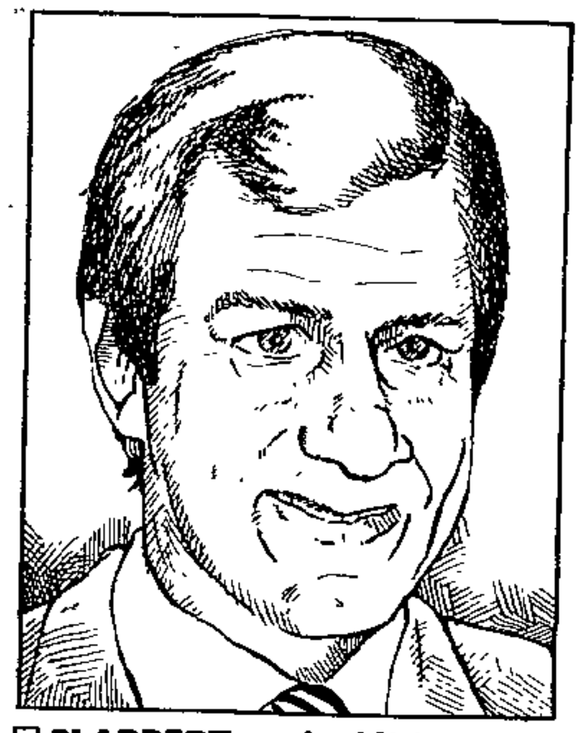
Slabbert's apologists blame a failure of support from the Afrikaner verligtes and the business community for his own loss of heart.

This is an astonishing but revealing defence. He was above all the political creature of Big Business. He was helped into politics by Big Business, sustained in it, supported and sponsored by Big Business. Behind him stood such unflinching backers as Max Borkum, Gordon Waddell and Zach de Beer.

Nor did the verligte Afrikaners owe him anything. He left them years ago to go to Parliament from Rondebosch, a safe English-speaking constituency. Though he was an immensely popular professor at Stellenbosch, he did not, at the start of his political career, dare to ask even that enlightened Afrikaner constituency to give him its support. Why does he expect it now?

The fact is Slabbert had it too easy. He brought no constituency with him, no political dowry except a fine mind, a handsome face and a trim figure.

He was, of course, not to blame if that was precisely the sort of Afrikaner the party was looking



☐ SLABBERT . . . had it too easy

for. The party itself was at fault, and for two reasons.

Firstly, there is an assumption in the higher WASP ranks of the PFP (as there was in the higher ranks of the old UP) that politics can be won on the basis of a quick fix. It is quintessentially Johannesburg corporate thinking: get a new MD, a new fixer, pay him well, let him get on with the job — and the board of directors can go comfortably back to golf.

In politics, the quick fix is assumed to be a clever Afrikaner — a Botha or a Smuts or a Strauss or a Jan Steytler or a Slabbert; at a pinch a De Villiers Graaff comes close enough — who will relieve the hierarchy of the tedious business of dealing with those incomprehensible "other ranks" of Afrikanerdom.

Secondly, the leaders of the PFP — even Colin Eglin is not exempt on this count — have been seduced ever since the long-ago days of Jack Kennedy by the politics of glamour. They often imagine that to win in politics requires a pretty face, a quick tongue, a sense of style and a huge dollop of media hype.

There is no need to elaborate on the intellectual and social arrogance which, especially in the US, underlies this view of politics. It is sufficient to say that, in fixing on Slabbert, it ignored the reality that the PFP caucus is packed with a different kind of creature.

It is not just that Eglin himself served many years in the wilderness before he got to Parliament and that he tends his constituency assiduously, or that Helen Suzman has found her way so deep into the hearts of her constituents in Houghton, or that Harry Schwarz is so closely identified with his Yeoville voters that he speaks with their idiom and intonation.

The younger members have similarly earned their spurs. Roger Hulley fought a hopeless battle against Lapa Munnik before he was permitted to win Constantia. Ken Andrews laboured long in Gardens before unseating Dawie de Villiers, a feat that Slabbert might have envied. Brian Goodall, between his defeat in Edenvale and his victory there, convassed 3 000 voters individually.

Peter Soal tended other people's canvass cards and posters for years before he got a crack at Parliament. Graham MacIntosh won, lost, and won again. Andrew Savage took a number of beatings before he won. Roger Burrows has, according to one of his senior colleagues, come into Parliament by "honest hard work," becoming the latest of these young men. These are the people who can truly claim to represent the PFP voters. Their roots go deep into the constituencies, and they know their people. Slabbert, an outsider grafted on to that taproot, depended for political sustenance on a smaller circle, and it lacked the sustenance.



KEN OWEN

Slabbert is yesterday's man. The backbenchers, most of them having spent a decade or more in active grass-roots politics, represent a huge investment in the future. There are many more behind them in provincial and local government. They all have a right to demand protection of their future.

The duty falls firstly on the senior members of the caucus: Eglin, Dr Alex Boraine, Ray Swart of Natal, Helen Suzman, Schwarz and those two unpretentious workhorses, Brian Bamford and Nic Olivier (who, lacking a dowry, has tried to make up for it by a huge intellectual investment in the party).

The task is possible. The pieces can be picked up and put together again. But there is one proviso.

The parliamentary idea is a noble one that binds elected representatives from many countries into one brotherhood. It is greater than its servants. Parliamentary associations pay each other respect, not because MPs (or Congressmen, or whatever they call themselves) are estimable creatures, but because they serve the idea of constitutionality, of lawful change.

Parliament, as Slabbert argued eloquently at the party's congress in Durban last September, is the necessary instrument of constitutional change. Whatever its weaknesses, Parliament is the middle ground between revolutionary attack and military counter-revolution, between the totalitarianisms of left and right.

Any member of the PFP who, like Slabbert, has come to doubt the relevance of Parliament, or anybody who thinks it a lesser institution than the church or the university or the revolutionary conspiracy, has no right to claim leadership of a parliamentary party. Those who flirt with unconstitutional change are in Parliament under false pretences.

The party has been grievously wounded by Slabbert; it must not suffer another such blow. It is up to the party on Saturday to choose as its leader a man who can stay the course and, if he must, selflessly prepare the way for another man's triumph.

Feb. 1986

'God gave Afrikaner minerals

Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — God bestowed the world's richest minerals upon the Afrikaner nation and nobody was going to take these from them, the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, said at the weekend.

Addressing more than 700 cheering supporters, he said: "When our forefathers fought the bitter wars of the past they never realised the wealth beneath the ground they offered their lives for.

"All they wanted was a country to live in and govern as they wished to.

"Whoever realised the mighty atom would be invented and entrusted to the small 'boere nasie'?

"The Transvaal, the Free State and Northern Natal — the original Boere Republic — belong to the Afrikaner and we intend taking them back," Mr Terre'blanche said.

18/2/86

Reform has taken knock — Dalling

MP for Sandton DAVID DALLING last night addressed two urgent issues: the turmoil in the PFP and the Alexandra unrest. He was speaking at a meeting in his constituency, which borders on the troubled township. This is an extract from Dalling's speech.



● DALLING

THE situation in SA is too serious and too urgent for PFP members and supporters to become involved in recriminations.

Slabbert and Boraine have gone. They let us down, but we who remain in Parliament have a job to do.

Van Zyl Slabbert's dramatic departure was, of course, in itself a political statement — the strongest possible condemnation of the only-partially democratic system which operates in our country, and of the government who manipulate it to suit their ends.

In truth, however, it is a political statement which has damaged the cause of reform, and not aided it.

Who has gained?

☐ Firstly, the National Party. The government is not about to split, and its leadership are laughing at Van Zyl, for they feared him and welcome his leaving the battlefield.

☐ Secondly, the far right has gained. The Conservative Party see in Slabbert's departure a weakening of the official Opposition, and hope to take advantage while the going is good.

☐ Thirdly, the far left has gained. The ANC have welcomed his resignation, for they believe it detracts from the legitimacy of the SA parliamentary system and weakens the very structure in the eyes of all — both internally and externally.

Who has lost as a result of these two resignations?

☐ Parliament has lost. Already a flawed forum, its credibility as a medium for democratic change has taken a knock.

☐ The PFP is the second loser, for if active parliamentary opposition is not relevant to Van Zyl and Boraine, where does that leave 25 other Members of Parliament?

All in all it was a gesture, sincere in intent, destructive in result.

Be that as it may, the tribulations of our tortured country do not abate. And it touches us who live in Sandton.

While we live reasonably at peace, Alexandra and its people are in agony.

The causes of violence and unrest are several. But one of the causes is what I call the Ghetto Syndrome.

Apartheid decrees that no matter how successful, no matter how rich or educated a black man may become, he is condemned for life to live in a dusty, run-down black ghetto, demarcated and enforced by white laws and white soldiers and police. For him there is *no* freedom of choice.

No matter how much money he has, he may not buy a home in Sandton, his child may not attend a properly-equipped, decently-staffed school. He and his family are stuck — forever.

That is apartheid.

But how can we expect to get the police and the army out of the town if shops are not safe, if some people live in fear of their lives?

Alexandra has in its own community representatives of all the major political, student and labour organisations.

The UDF, ANC, Cosatu, Azapo, Cosas, have an established presence, with known representations.

Between these organisations, and the Save Alexandra Party, headed by mayor Sam Buti and the Alexandra Civic Association, not one Alexandra resident is a stranger.

The time has come that these people come together.

Apartheid should unite us all in opposition to it. Methods and strategies may differ, but our goals should be the same.

As a brother South African, one who will live here, whether our president is black or white, one who with every fibre, hates apartheid and the Nationalist-created misery for our country, I call upon all the leaders of Alexandra to bury their differences and to work out a common strategy to bring peace to the town, to achieve the departure of the police and the army, and to work together to bring down apartheid and this racist government.

Challenge for P W

CAPE TOWN — Former Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert yesterday challenged President P W Botha to publish the full text of their conversation at their meeting in November.

Slabbert said he had presumed that everything said in the President's office had been recorded.

A President's office spokesman hinted yesterday that Slabbert had not given the full story in an interview published by newspapers. — Sapa.

Conditions 'for new constitution'

TUESDAY 18/2/86 (3 of 4)

ORMANDE POLLOK

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Government was still fully committed to giving all groups a say in the decision-making processes of government right to the highest level, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said yesterday.

However, he said during a private members motion debate on regional services councils yesterday he was not prepared to dismantle the present parliamentary system until a new constitution had been negotiated, as Parliament had to approve it.

This could not be done in a vacuum, he said.

He had never argued that the current constitution was the final answer to SA's problems, but nobody could contest its legality.

He slated former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert who in effect called for the dismantling of Parliament by calling for the repeal of all laws which differentiated between groups.

BUSDAY 18/2/86

What did P W tell Slabbert?

EBRAHIM MOOSA

LABOUR MP Desmond Lockey, in the House of Representatives, yesterday challenged President P W Botha to disclose the contents of his conversation with former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Speaking during the Third Reading of the mini-budget, Lockey said weekend reports quoting Slabbert had disclosed that Botha was not prepared to reform beyond the tricameral Constitution, dismantle homelands nor relinquish white control over the economy.

"What happens to Mr Botha's promises of one citizenship and one nation?" Lockey asked.

If there was any untruth about these statements, Botha must disclose the contents of his discussions with Slabbert on November 25, he said.

Febr. 1986

Door is always open to Buthelezi, says PW

ORMANDE POLLOK

PARLIAMENT — President P W Botha has virtually invited Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, for talks about the black statutory council he is planning to set up.

He said in a statement yesterday that his door was "always open" if Buthelezi wanted to discuss any matter on which he wanted clarification or to express an opinion.

Botha was reacting to press reports that Buthelezi was reconsidering his initial receptive attitude towards the council, which is being seen as an interim measure to give blacks some say in the legislative process while a new constitution is being worked out.

Buthelezi is regarded as a key figure in setting up the council as his participation would give it much needed credibility.

Buthelezi has said the President's slapping down of Foreign Minister Pik Botha last week and his explanation of his speech to Parliament had made him reconsider.

President Botha said in a statement yesterday that he did not know if Buthelezi had been correctly reported.

However, Buthelezi knew from experience that his door was always open to him.

Rajbansi launches stinging attack on Solidarity 'loyalists'

3044 STAR 18/2/86.

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The simmering acrimony between the ruling National People's Party leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi and the four Solidarity loyalists reached boiling-point yesterday.

The 'loyalists' are those members of Solidarity opposed to the proposed NPP-Solidarity coalition.

In a biting attack on **Mr Pat Poovalingam (Solidarity, Reservoir Hills)**, one of the four loyalists, Mr Rajbansi read out excerpts from the 10-year-old Wilson Commission, to which Mr Poovalingam was a signatory, saying the commission had recommended the continued racial division of Stanger.

Mr Rajbansi claimed this was evidence that the loyalists were loyal only to separate development and other forms of apartheid.

"It stinks," Mr Rajbansi said.

"You do," interjected Mr Poovalingam. He was later forced to withdraw the remark.

Mr Poovalingam accused Mr Rajbansi of distorting the truth to create a false impression.

Earlier in the afternoon another loyalist, **Mr Mamoo Rajab (Solidarity, Springfield)**, attacked Mr Rajbansi for saying last week that Mahatma Gandhi would have been proud been had he been alive to witness the scrapping of the ban on Indians living in the Free State and Northern Natal.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Admission to and Residence in the Republic Amendment Bill, Mr Rajab said Gandhi's name name was being used to buttress support for the removal of a measure which discriminated against a small section of the South African community, while the masses were still burdened.

Mr Somaroo Pachai (NPP, Natal Midlands) warned against waxing lyrical about a technical adjustment that did not address itself to the real problem facing the country.

"There is just no way our people can go into these areas and find land and business premises," he said.

There were no objections to the Bill, and it was read a second time.

PW quiet on Slabbert's challenge

304A

STAR

18/2/86

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — There was still no response today from President P W Botha's office over the possible release of a transcript of a controversial meeting between the President and former PFP leader, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert, who revealed some details of the converstaion at the weekend, said yesterday he would be delighted if the full transcript were published.

Dr Slabbert challenged President Botha to publish the full text of the meeting.

He said he had presumed everything said in the President's office had been tape recorded, although he was never told as much.

There was no response from the President's office on queries about the taping of conversations.

● See Page 4.

'Eminent persons' to meet Eglin

18/2/86 Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The three members of the Commonwealth "eminent persons group" are to hold talks with Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin and other opposition groups today.

The three are in South Africa on a low-profile mission to promote dialogue. They held talks yesterday with senior Government Ministers.

The three members of the EPG, as it is known, are the former Australian Prime Minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser; the former head of state in Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo; and the president of the World Council of Churches, Dame Nita Barrow.

MINIMAL PUBLICITY

They have refused to grant any Press interviews since their arrival in South Africa on Sunday, on the grounds that minimal publicity is in the interests of dialogue.

No request has been made yet by the group to see imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Before the arrival of three members of the group at the weekend, the EPG said it would be requesting an interview with him.

At this stage, there is also no indication that they will see President P W Botha.

PW asked to divulge text of interview

PARLIAMENT — A House of Representatives MP has called on the State President to divulge the text of his controversial interview with the former Leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

Mr Desmond Lockey (LP, Nominated) said Mr Botha should do this for those "who had put their heads on the block" for his reform initiative.

Mr Lockey quoted extensively from a newspaper article about the interview on November 25 last year which precipitated Dr Slabbert's resignation.

He said South Africa was the world's "political football" because of statements like the ones reportedly made by the State President.

"The Minister of Finance has told us that the Government's political policies have got nothing to do with the state of the economy. But remarks like this obviously have a drastic effect."

He was speaking during the third reading debate of the mini-budget.

Mr Barend du Plessis said he was glad Mr Lockey had called for the full text of the interview to be released. "I was worried he actually believed the State President had made those remarks attributed to him in quotation marks." — Political Staff.

Revolutionary climate persists, says Minister

STAR 19/2/86 3 col 29

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, told the President's Council yesterday that, while the number of unrest incidents had levelled off, it was doubtful whether the revolutionary climate in the country had decreased.

Mr le Grange he said that the present unrest situation could be traced back to two factors — the creation and exploitation of a spirit of dissatisfaction and the obstruction of the Government's initiatives.

The mobilisation of coloured and black groups by resistance groups was made easier by dissatisfaction about bottlenecks in political, economic and social areas, especially among urban blacks.

Other relevant factors were:

- The legitimacy and credibility crisis of black local authorities as a result of their inability to come up to the expectations of moderates — council members had become visible targets for radicals to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the system.
- Price increases over a wide front amid increasing unemployment in the present recession.
- Grievances about influx control which curbed movement in the labour market, critical squatter conditions and resettlement.
- School boycotts which led to other boycott actions.
- Emotionally exploitable occasions such as remembrance days and funerals which led to confrontations with the security forces.
- Individuals and organisations which, through utterances and publications, increased the black community resistance combined with negative reporting by some local and overseas media.
- The lack of a say in the political decision-taking process.
- Inequality in education.

For years, South Africa had faced a communist onslaught supported not only by the banned SA Communist Party and the ANC but also by many internal and external organisations, Mr le Grange said.

A criminal element was also exploiting the unrest situation for its own ends.

The extent of the riots had reached ghastly proportions and it had to be noted that more than a third of the deaths or injuries were caused by civilians to other civilians.

The Slabbert conversation: transcript is released

19/2/86

STAR

804A



Dr van Zyl Slabbert



President P W Botha

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President P W Botha has accused the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, of giving an "erroneous" reflection of a confidential conversation they had in Pretoria on November 25 after Dr Slabbert had returned from a world trip.

A statement from the Office of the President, issued with a transcript of the conversation, refers to an interview with Dr Slabbert which was published in *The Sunrise Star*.

The statement said that in the interview Dr Slabbert created an erroneous reflection of his viewpoints, as well as those of the President, during the conversation.

As a result of the interview, a spokesman for the Office of the President had pointed out that a correct record of the conversation existed.

The confidentiality of private and personal conversations was honoured throughout by the President, he said. Dr Slabbert had one-sidedly made known his version of parts of the content of the conversation. In this way he had violated its confidentiality.

When approached, Dr Slabbert had personally confirmed to the Office of the President that he had no objection to the release of the full transcript.

The statement points out that a few sentences of the conversation had not been recorded, but says this does not detract from the corrections which follow.

It says the reported statements attributed to Dr Slabbert in the interview are being put into perspective in the following way:

Newspaper report:

Dr Slabbert: "I decided I would not go through with this session when I walked out of P W Botha's office in the Union Buildings on November 25."

The Office of the President's statement says this quoted remark cannot be accepted. According to the transcript, Dr Slabbert told the President:

"I have an idea, as I see it from my angle, an idea about some of the things I think can be done, and I don't know, Mr President, if you think it is worth the trouble. I am prepared to have a, let us say, have a group conversation with Dr Barnard (head of the National Intelligence Service), or whoever else, so that I can also give my ideas to them."

President: "But I have already invited you to talk to the chairman of the Cabinet Committee ..."

Dr Slabbert: "No, no I will do that as well. I have already been there twice, but I will again go and talk to Minister Heunis. I am only asking you whom you think the people would be ..."

President: "That invitation still stands. You must talk to this Cabinet Committee ...

Dr Slabbert: "So I can go and talk to them as well. You would see them as the group whom I should contact."

President: "Yes."

Dr Slabbert: "I will gladly do this."

Another part of the transcript reads:

Dr Slabbert: "President, I think, I honestly think, and this I say with my experience of the thing, I still think you can pull the teeth of the whole ANC story, but this is not a matter I can discuss with the Cabinet Committee. This affects the security situation, it affects the security situation. This is perhaps why I mentioned the name of Dr Barnard."

President: "You know I have given you the right to speak to them."

Dr Slabbert: "What I would, however, like to say to Minister Heunis and perhaps to Dr Barnard is how I see a programme, I know they can pull my evidence to pieces because they have expert evidence and background."

President: "We will not do this if you, Doctor, can make a positive contribution"

Dr Slabbert: "I would gladly like to do that ..."

President: "We will look at it on merit. I promise you that, and it will reach me."

Dr Slabbert: "I would be very thankful."

Towards the end of the interview:

President: "Come with proposals, Doctor."

Dr Slabbert: "No. I will."

President: "I again invite you today. Come To Mr Heunis's committee with your proposals, and if it is necessary I can come along on occasions."

Dr Slabbert: "I would very much like to do that and would rather then ring Minister Heunis and find out ..."

President: "Yes, I am seeing him later this afternoon and I will also tell him ..."

Dr Slabbert: "I will contact his office tomorrow and see if an occasion can be arranged, otherwise the whole Cabinet should perhaps take it up just with him. And also Dr Barnard."

President: "Yes."

Dr Slabbert: "President, thank you very much."

The statement says that these remarks were made at the end of the conversation by Dr Slabbert. It apparently indicates a positive attitude at the moment when he left the office, which conflicts with the negative impression he at present tries to create of his attitude at the end of the conversation.

Newspaper report:

Dr Slabbert: "I said to him: 'Can I at least talk to your advisers?' And he said 'Yes, go talk to Chris Heunis and Neil Barnard But why should I listen to you? I have 80 percent of the whites behind me and Andries Treurnicht is fighting for the other 20 percent. And I have more than 50 percent of the blacks supporting me'."

The statement says the fact that this remark was taken out of context was clear from the transcript. Three aspects, touched upon at different times during the conversation, were put together in the newspaper report as one statement.

At no stage did Dr Slabbert say: "Can I at least talk to your advisers". The conversation round the advisers showed clearly from the passages already quoted.

The words "but why should I listen to you" were never used. The correct perspective to the reference to the support among whites appeared from the transcript:

Dr Slabbert: "Oh, let me ask you, President. When you talk of self-determination then I must honestly tell you, I instinctively feel that what you say, but mean it, that the, what it precisely means in terms of a political ..."

President: "This means that his cultural rights, his way of life, his languages ..."

Dr Slabbert: "Absolutely."

President: "... and his right to have his children educated in his way, must not be implicated."

Dr Slabbert: "Yes, no, I have no problem."

President: "I name only a few of the elements. This is what I mean by that. I do not mean that the white on his own wants to do with South Africa as he wishes. He does not. The whites have accepted a lot under my leadership. In South Africa; and I think 80 percent of the whites are with me and the other 20 percent is shared between Andries Treurnicht and Jaap Marais. But 80 percent is with me."

The statement said that with regard to the 50 percent of support of the blacks, it emerged from the transcript that the President pointed out that he had the support of more than 50 percent of the blacks in South Africa who did not want to throw the rights they had gained together in one pot and did not want to give up these rights.

It then again quoted the newspaper report:

Dr Slabbert: "I sat there looking at the guy, quiet, stunned. He said to me: 'Are you laughing at me?' I said: 'No. I think it is incredible that there can be such divergent interpretations of data.'

Immediately after the reference to the 50 percent support of the blacks, the transcript reads as follows:

President: "Yes, you are now sitting and laughing at me."

Dr Slabbert: "No, no I am not laughing. I am not laughing. I am just trying to think how it is possible that such a divergency of concepts can exist."

President: "I will tell you why. The black people come here to me in the Union Building as they did in the past week and what do they say to me? Sir, do not take your troops and your police out of the residential areas. Keep them to protect us, we beg you, continue to protect us, because the people who make our life unpleasant there are the minority groups, they are small minorities of intimidators, of victimisers".

The statement quoted another part of the newspaper report:

Dr Slabbert: "He said 'that's because you don't want to help me. I'll listen to you on two conditions. I will not give up self-determination for whites and I'm not going to tear up the constitution like you and the ANC want me to do.'

"I said to him: 'What do you mean I want to tear up the constitution?' He said: 'The independent homelands will stay. The national states will stay'."

The statement says Dr Slabbert's version is out of context and erroneous. What was really said showed from the following quotations:

President: "But, then you must promise me two things on which I cannot agree with you, I cannot agree with you that the whites must surrender their right to self-determination."

Dr Slabbert: "Yes."

President: "Then we must fight the thing out."

Dr Slabbert: "No. No, I suppose so."

President: "The second thing is, I cannot agree with you that this constitution must be destroyed in order to get another one. I think we must first understand each other on these two fundamental matters."

Dr Slabbert: "I do not have problems with the first one. On the second one we will have to see how things go further on because I think that here there is a political difference between us."

President: "Yes, you had better go and think through the implications of what you are preaching. The ANC a so says

Dr Slabbert: "But for different reasons."

President: "... this constitution must be destroyed, to enable them to take over, and I say that if you create a vacuum with what you are saying they will not accept it. In other words, you create a point of contention South Africa will not accept, because I will tell you how.

"Doctor, the TBVC countries can use you and me, our whole Defence Force, but we will not get them to renounce their independence. I am telling you now, they are not prepared to have their independence taken away, and why should we? The second is that that the self-governing states, of which Buthelezi's is one, are not prepared to give up their autonomy. Must we not use these things as a basis from where we can move forward? We have already achieved so much as regards stability."

Dr Slabbert: "I have no problems, Mr President, to draw these states into a negotiation process. Honestly, I talk to these people in my way. I do not have problems there."

The statement says that from the foregoing it showed that Dr Slabbert agreed that the self-determination for whites should not be abandoned and that he in fact accepted that the self-governing and independent states must be drawn into the negotiation process.

In the transcript, Dr Slabbert continued as follows:

"If you talk about constitution, I spoke about the three-chamber system mean the total constitution of the Republic of South Africa must be destroyed. I am talking about the three-chamber system I believe ..."

President: "But we have said this was the starting point."

Dr Slabbert: "This is the point of departure."

President: "The point of departure."

In the newspaper report, Dr Slabbert said:

"I asked about urbanised blacks. He said: 'We'll sort them out with decentralisation'."

The statement says this is a misrepresentation. What was really said was the following:

President: "Now there is the unsolved part, the metropolitan areas, because it is mainly our four, five metropolitan areas where we have problems.

"The Government has started with this and we have made progress to where we now have a better system with our regional services councils which will next year, I think, get off the ground and we can provide them with the necessary finances and we must simply convince the private sector that they must make contributions, so that we can improve these people's lives in their own societies ...

"All these things are possible. We come next year with the second-tier government which we want to start on new basis and I have said that the first-tier government can supply structures for the future.

"In other words, I have spelled out things. I have committed myself, but you do not help me."

The statement says that from this it emerges clearly that the President had not used the words 'we'll sort them out with decentralisation' with regard to the urban blacks. The words do not occur anywhere.

Oher parts of the transcript show that Dr Slabert agreed with the value of decentralisation and the development of agricultural areas.

Another quote from the newspaper report in the statement is the following:

Dr Slabbert: "And the tricameral system?"

President: " It's a good start. What's wrong with that?"

The statement says that the transcript shows that Dr Slabbert quoted the President wrongly.

In the newspaper interview Dr Slabbert also said:

"And what do you mean by self-determination for whites? 'Own schools, own residential areas, an own way of life' — and then he introduced a new one — 'and whites must have the right to maintain control of the money they built up with such difficulty over the years'

"He said, 'You must accept it. Nothing will change on those two things.' I thought I'm wasting my time"

The statement says that this quotation from the transcript is relevant:

President: "I do not want to have the sole say for the white in South Africa, because this is not practical politics. And this I say from the stage.

"But what I do say is that if the white's way of life is affected, if the right to educate his child as he prefers, if his language is implicated, if his residential areas, these things, if the riches he has had gathered for himself, if this is taken away from him, then I must tell you we are looking for trouble. You have conceded this to me in previous conversations."

jury, in each case in respect of each of the above years;

(3) whether any persons were (a) killed and (b) injured by national servicemen in unrest stitutions during that period; if so, (i) how many, (ii) where, and (iii) what was the cause of death or injury, in each case in respect of each of the above years?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) As this information can be misused by an organisation which campaigns for the discontinuation of National Service, I am not prepared to furnish the figures.

(2) 1984.

(ii)	(iii)	
Elsies River	Assault	—1 member
Mitchells Plain	Shooting incident	—1 member
Mitchells Plain	Vehicle accident	—4 members
Komga, Fort Beaufort	Stone throwing	—1 member
Soweto, PE	Stone throwing	—3 members
Fort Beaufort	Stone throwing	—1 member
Zwide	Stone throwing	—1 member
Langa, PE	Stone throwing	—1 member
Port Eliabeth	Petrol bomb	—1 member
Soweto, PE	Petrol bomb	—2 members
Aliwal North	Vehicle accident	—4 members
Grahamstown	Vehicle accident	—5 members
New Brighton	Vehicle accident	—1 member
Algoa Bay	Vehicle accident	—2 members
New Brighton	Shooting incident	—1 member
Clermont, Natal	Stone throwing	—2 members
Sakani, Duduza	Assault	—1 member
Molakeng	Stone throwing	—1 member
Daveytown	Stone throwing	—4 members
Sakani, Duduza	Vehicle accident	—1 member
Vanderbijlpark	Shooting incident	—1 member
Doornkop	Shooting incident	—1 member

(3) (a) and (b) It can only be stated with certainty that a death or injury was the result of Defence Force action after the appropriate military and/or civil legal process has been finalised and a finding to that effect has been reached. To date no National Serviceman has been found guilty of such conduct.

HoA

(a) No.

(b) Available statistics for 1984 do not indicate National Servicemen as a separate group.

1985.

(a) Yes.

(i) 1.

(ii) Mitchells Plain.

(iii) Vehicle accident.

(b) Yes.

(i) 40.

Extensions to Parliament: tenders

52. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Public Works:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 826 on 22 May 1985, tenders have been called for Phase 2 of the erection of the extensions to Parliament; if not, (a) why not and (b) when will they be called for; if so, (i) when, (ii) who submitted tenders, (iii) what was the amount of each of the tenders and (iv) who was the successful tenderer?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS:

Yes.

(a) and (b) falls away.

(i) 24 May 1985.

(ii)

	(iii)
Murray and Roberts Buildings Cape Town (Pty) Ltd	R19 971 786,00
Ovcon (Pty) Ltd	R20 729 611,00
Stocks Group Holdings (Pty) Ltd	R20 935 800,00
LTA Construction Ltd	R20 958 634,00
Dura Construction Co	R21 297 340,00

(iv) Murray and Roberts Buildings Cape Town (Pty) Ltd.

Advertisements

HANSARD 19/2/86 QOL125

132. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) What was the total amount spent by the South African Defence Force in 1985 on placing advertisements for any purpose in newspapers in the Republic;

(2) what amount was paid to each specified newspaper in the above regard in that year?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1)	Total Amount	R19 081,69
(2)	*Sunday Times*	R 4 909,44
	Rapport	R 5 420,16
	Beeld	R 1 100,18
	Die Burger	R 380,16
	Heraut	R 89,10
	Jewish Times	R 633,00
	The Lowvelder	R 46,33
	Engineer's Employment News	R 924,00
	Civvy Street	R 3 067,93
	Pretoria News	R 840,34
	Cape Argus	R 24,19
	Die Republikein	R 142,80
	Appointments Parade	R 572,86

HoA

RAU Information		
Brochure	R	244,40
De Rebus	R	380,80
South Coast Sun	R	306,00

WEDNESDAY, 19 FEBRUARY 1986

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Advertisements

HANSARD 19/2/86.

107. Mr D J DALLING asked the State President:

QOL126. 3044

(1) What was the total amount spent by his Office in 1985, excluding amounts spent in respect of services falling under the Minister of Administration of Economic Advisory Services and the Deputy Minister of Information, on placing advertisements for any purpose in newspapers in the Republic;

(2) what amount was paid to each specified newspaper in the above regard in that year?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) Nil.

(2) Falls away.

Advertisements

113. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Water Affairs:

(1) What was the total amount spent by his Department in 1985 on placing advertisements for any purpose in newspapers in the Republic;

(2) what amount was paid to each specified newspaper in the above regard in that year?

The MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS:

The required information is only available in respect of a book year and not a calendar year. The information furnished hereunder therefore relates to the 1985/86 book year.

(1) R1 112,95

(2)

Nasionale koerante	R	112,30
The Argus	R	100,45
Estcourt Gazette	R	11,48
Protea	R	57,12
Natal Mercury	R	554,40
The Highway Mail	R	277,20
TOTAL	R1	112,95

HoA

Advertisements

133. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Agricultural Economics:

(1) What was the total amount spent by his Department in 1985 on placing advertisements for any purpose in newspapers in the Republic;

(2) what amount was paid to each specified newspaper in the above regard in that year?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS:

(1) None.

(2) Falls away.

THURSDAY, 20 FEBRUARY 1986

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

HANSARD 20/2/86

Buses

27. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Q. col 128.

(1) Whether buses belonging to the South African Transport Services are tested for road-worthiness and mechanical soundness; if not, why not; if so, (a) how often are they so tested and (b) what is the nature of these tests;

(2) (a) how many (i) buses are owned by the South African Transport Services and (ii) staff are employed to repair and service these buses and (b) what are the minimum qualifications such staff are required to possess;

(3) whether any of these persons are under-qualified; if so, (a) how many and (b) why;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

(a) and (b) A pre-trip inspection is carried out to ensure that vehicles are at all times in a roadworthy condition. Furthermore, vehicles are subjected to a six-monthly scheduled maintenance programme as required by the respective road traffic ordinances of the various Provinces.

(2) (a) (i) 873 buses and semi-trailer combinations.

(ii) The services of 173 artisans, 49 trade hands and 2 242 drivers are utilised to maintain Transport Services' total motor vehicle fleet.

(b) Except scholastic qualifications, artisans are required to have undergone an acknowledged apprenticeship, or have obtained a trade certificate, certificate of proficiency, or a trade diploma whilst trade hands and drivers are required to pass an appropriate aptitude test.

(3) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(4) No.

Heavy vehicle drivers' licences

28. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(1) (a) How many employees of the South African Transport Services were in possession of heavy vehicle drivers' licences as at the latest specified date for which figures are available, (b) when did each employee pass the requisite driving test for heavy vehicles, (c) what were the results in each case and (d) what pass-mark is required in respect of this test;

(2) whether such employees are retested on a regular basis; if not, why not; if so, at what intervals;

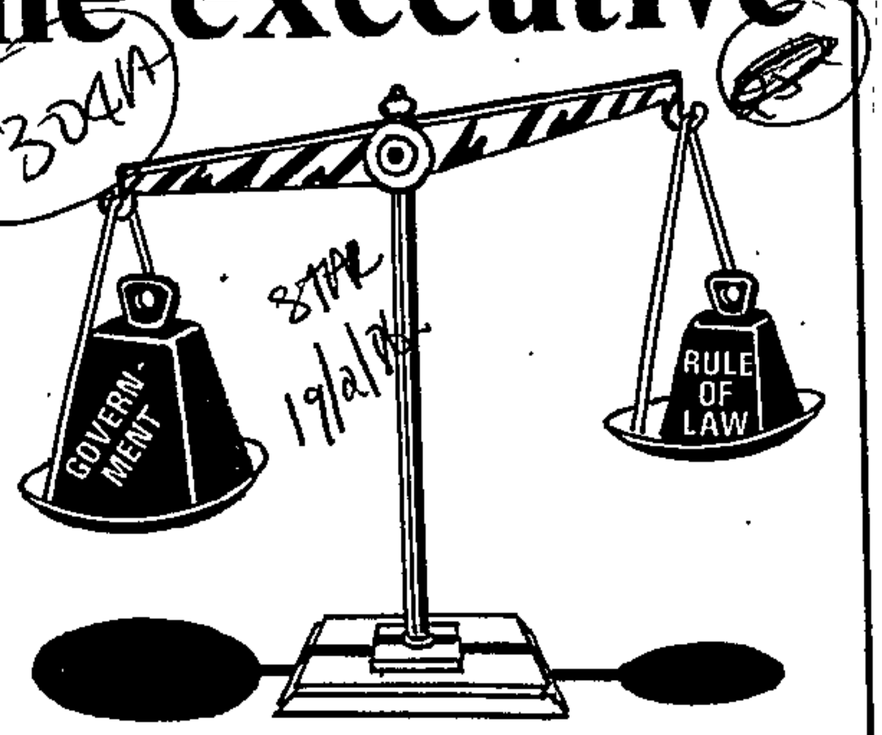
(3) whether any employees holding heavy vehicle licences failed their drivers' tests; if so, how many as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(4) whether any of these employees failed their tests more than once; if so, (a) how many, and (b) how many times had each failed these tests, as at the above-mentioned date;

HoA

Courts and the executive

In this article, the first of two, GERALD GORDON QC and DENNIS DAVIS, Associate Professor in the UCT Law Faculty, outline how since 1948 the whole trend of government policy was towards the widening of executive power at the expense of the judiciary and even of the legislature.



It is claimed by some and denied by others that South Africa is undergoing a process of revolution. By this is meant a revolution in government.

Whichever view is correct, what is incontrovertible is that since 1948 South Africa has been undergoing a revolution of a different kind — a revolution in the quality of, and attitude of the Government to, the law of the country.

As long as the courts are required to serve in the battle for legitimacy which the South African Government is waging with the African National Congress and other opposition groups, so long will the courts be tolerated.

Should the battle be lost, the courts will be in danger of losing all their independence and becoming direct instruments of government.

We have only to recall the attempt made by the Government in the early '50s when, unable to get the required two-thirds majority to remove the coloured voters from the common roll, they endeavoured to set up a "High Court of Parliament" which was no more than the legislature disguised in judicial garb and to which an appeal would have lain from the Appellate Division's decisions adverse to the Government.

Though this attack on the judiciary failed, it did not curb the executive appetite.

The tendency to executive expansion is typical of authoritarian regimes, be they communist or fascist. Article 112 of the Soviet constitution provides: "The judges are independent and shall be subordinate only to the law," but it does not say how this independence is achieved. More correctly, they are independent of everything except the supreme party organs.

Judicial administration thus becomes a mere aspect of the general policy of the day and no judge dare give a decision against the demands of the regime.

In Germany, Hitler empowered the Reich's Minister of Justice "to build up the Nationalist-Socialist administration of justice in accordance with my instructions ... in so doing he may depart from the existing law".

In 1934 hundreds of men in Germany, suspected by Hitler of an attempted coup, were shot without charge or trial. None of the gummen was punished.

In the Reichstag shortly afterwards, Hitler said: "For 24 hours I constituted myself the Supreme Court of Germany." He was more than that; he was investigating officer, prosecutor, judge, executioner.

Under our present state of emergency, declared on July 31 1985 and extended to the Cape on October 26, anyone can be arrested without trial and indefinitely detained on, as Mr Justice Kannemeyer said in a recent Eastern Districts judgment, the action of a "raw recruit" in the army or police.

This, of course, sets the power of the courts to protect the rule of law and civil liberties at nought. And there is no power to punish the member of a force who does the arresting because the emergency regulations indemnify his actions unless committed in bad faith.

The powers of the police are enormous. They are investigating officers, prosecutors, judges and executioners, and they make their own laws (regulations).

They can detain a person without charge or trial, keep him locked up for as long as they like and then release him, often without even telling him the reason for his detention, except to quote some section of their regulations.

And an example of "laws" made by the police is the absurd decree, unparalleled save behind the Iron Curtain or in Nazi Germany, issued recently by a Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier C Swart, under the emergency regulations.

He banned visual protest such as "Troops out of the Townships" T-shirts and car-stickers like "Apartheid is the Emergency", "Equal Education" and "End Conscription"; offenders faced a fine of up to R20 000 or imprisonment for 10 years. Happily, the Minister withdrew the decree almost immediately.

The attitude of the Government towards the courts and the laws they apply is one which is regrettably contagious, and rubs off from the higher ranks on to lesser figures in the hierarchy.

Thus when Mr Carter Ebrahim, the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, defeated the recent teachers' application in the Supreme Court for pupils and students to write supplementary examinations, he boasted that the decision proved that "I have authority" and "we will put an end to this kind of thing where they (the teachers) believe they have authority to challenge the Minister".

In fact, so far from being "a vindication of policy" (also claimed), the judgment included expressions of "great regret" on the part of the judges at the situation and of "genuine sympathy for innocent victims of the circumstances".

Before 1948, the separation of powers — legislature, executive and judiciary — inherited as it was from the English Act of Settlement of 1707 — was strictly enshrined in the South African constitution, which guaranteed to judges their independence of the executive.

This achievement in England was perhaps the greatest triumph over tyranny and it was carried across the Atlantic by the founding fathers of the United States, who were astute enough to ensure that this division of labour was as perfect as possible and to prevent one branch of the system from gathering in its hands all the important prerogatives of sovereignty

But in South Africa, in statute after statute — as to citizenship, group areas, population registration, suppression of communism, Bantu authorities, native law consolidation and so on — administrative powers were widened at the expense of the judicature.

It was a tendency seen elsewhere, for example in the England of the '30s where Lord Justice Hewart was provoked into writing his "The New Despotism". But nowhere in the Western community has this leaning to "despotism" been as forceful as in South Africa, and all in the cause of consolidating and promoting apartheid

The culmination of the process was the Public Safety Act of 1953, preparing for the declaration of emergencies in which the three powers could be concentrated as now in the hands of the executive, and particularly of the police.

Meanwhile, the onus of proof in criminal trials of political content was shifted in many statutes to the accused to establish his innocence.

Then, after many invasions of private rights and civil liberties, there came on to the permanent statute book between the two emergencies, 1960 and 1985, the greatest invasion of them all — detention without charge or trial, first for 90 days, then for 180 days and finally without limit

In step with the legislative changes restricting the functions and powers of the courts, the attitude of many in and around the Government towards the role of the judges and the rule of law became increasingly antagonistic.

For example, when in the early '50s the Appellate Division rejected the implementation of a policy of racially separate amenities which were "unequal", many members of the National Party, incensed at this blow to apartheid, condemned the decisions

Thus Mr G F van L Froneman MP (later the Administrator of the Free State) said. "If the Appeal Court wanted to be treated with respect, it should give decisions interpreting the sentiments of the people who stood supreme in the country" (House of Assembly Debates Vol 82, col 2044, 20/8/1953.)

In other words, the courts are to be the vocal organs of the people, representing and vindicating the policy of the ruling party. This is in effect what Mr Ebrahim has stated in 1986

A threat of another kind to the administration of justice should be mentioned. It involves the recent giving by the police of lectures to a number of magistrates on certain aspects of the unrest combined with a video presentation.

The Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Milne, appointed three of his judges to examine the material presented at the lectures.

They were unanimous in the view that no magistrate who attended the gathering should preside at the trial of a political offence arising out of the unrest or involving the ANC, the UDF or any organisation identified in the lecture notes as being responsible for such alleged offences.

They said it was "objectionable" that special arrangements were made for the police to present the material. Mr Justice Milne endorsed their views and recommended to Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice, that none of these magistrates should preside at any such trial. Nearly two-thirds of the magistrates in the Durban area — about 30 out of 46 — were affected.

Here was a clear case of a segment of the executive, the police, making a real attempt to influence the course of justice in the courts To his credit the Minister firmly accepted the recommendation and his Department of Justice on January 15 issued a statement accordingly, adding that Mr Coetsee had "on various occasions" expressed disapproval of briefing of magistrates in circumstances such as occurred in Durban.

In their endeavours, therefore, to sway the views of magistrates, the police have been blocked by another segment of the executive. This is to the good. However, what is bad is that there have been various occasions when the Minister's disapproval of such improper behaviour has been provoked.

It is well recognised by legal commentators that judicial proceedings serve to authenticate political action by the State. (See Otto Kirchheimer's "Political Justice" 1961) However, at the same time courts can perform the vital role of being a bulwark between the rights of the individual and the excesses of the executive For this reason the courts become the site of struggle

● TOMORROW: The authors examine the role of the South African courts as a bulwark between the executive and civil liberties.

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In Germany, Hitler empowered the Reich's Minister of Justice "to build up the Nationalist-Socialist administration of justice in accordance with my instructions ... in so doing he may depart from the existing law".

to introduce legislation at the council's May sitting.

Council rules keep MPCs in the dark about game farm

Pretoria Bureau

Both opposition parties in the Transvaal Provincial Council tried yesterday to tackle the provincial administration on its recent purchase of a prime game farm near Ellisras — but ran foul of the council's standing rules.

Mr Alan Gadd (PFP, Yeoville) and Mr Dries Bruwer (CP, Lydenburg) had both tabled questions about the province's reasons for purchasing the hunter's paradise "Dnjala" at a cost of R3,2-million.

Both homed in on speculation that the farm was bought as a private hunting retreat for use by Cabinet Ministers and senior provincial officials.

However, questions are only allowed on Wednesdays and the council ended its February sitting last night.

MEC for nature conservation Mr Fanie Schoeman has said the province wanted to build a road on the land, and use the balance for a nature reserve.

'Hospitals must deal with staff grievances'

Pretoria Bureau

The Transvaal's hospital services needed to develop a long-term personnel strategy in order to respond immediately to legitimate staff grievances, said PFP provincial spokesman on health Mrs Irene Menell.

Mrs Menell attacked the hospital services during the Provincial Council session yesterday, criticising particularly such "bungles" as the strike at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital, which crippled the institution for weeks last year.

Mrs Menell said although the strike had ended months ago, representatives had only arranged to meet staff today.

Salaries of hospital staff were unrealistically low — with some general assistants earning R362 after 10 years' service, she said.

STRATEGY

Black nurses' salaries in some categories were 30 percent lower than those of whites and this had been a reason for the nurses' strike.

"What is needed is a long-term personnel strategy, with trained personnel management staff who are sensitive to the political climate and to the needs of workers," she said.

The MEC for hospitals, Mr Daan Kirstein, said he was looking at the matter of salary parity. He denied that the Baragwanath incident had been a disgrace.

P W releases taped Slabbert transcripts

BUS DAY 3 Col A. 19/2/88.

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

STATE President P W Botha released a statement in Parliament yesterday slamming former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert for giving a slanted and one-sided picture of the discussions they had last November.

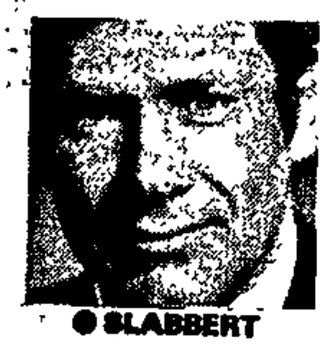
To back up his own view of what took place at the meeting he released a full 30-page transcript of the recorded discussions.

In a 12-page rebuttal referring to extracts of the transcript, Botha said it illustrated Slabbert had falsely represented what was said.

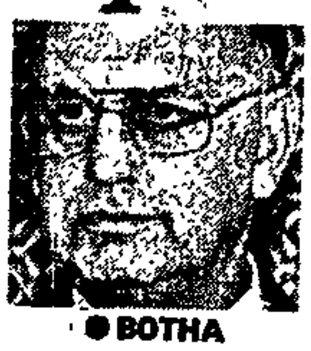
Botha said he could not accept Slabbert's reported statement that he (Slabbert) had decided after the meeting that he had decided he could not go through with the current parliamentary session.

He declared extracts from the transcript suggested Slabbert had reacted positively to his comments.

Botha's rebuttal focused on the contention that Slabbert had quoted aspects of the meeting incorrectly and out of context.



● SLABBERT



● BOTHA

Of more significance than the apparent differences in the versions of the meeting are the views expressed by both men on a number of contentious issues, ostensibly in private, but revealed in the transcript.

They reveal dramatically how differently both view these issues.

These include:

- ☐ The release of Mandela and perceptions of the African National Congress;
- ☐ Buthelezi and what is perceived to be the Black leader's dilemma over talking to the Government;
- ☐ The disinvestment campaign and perceptions of what changes the outside world would want in SA;
- ☐ The unrest situation within SA and how best it should be handled.

ISE to investigate Scope returns

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Now Slabbert wants Barnard tape released

STAR 19/2/86

By David Breier
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, has called on the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard, to release the transcript of the conversation he had with him following a meeting last month with the State President, Mr P W Botha.

President Botha's release of a transcript of his confidential discussion last November with Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has sparked a row about secret taping of presidential conversations.

Mr Botha released the transcript made of his talk with Dr Slabbert in his Pretoria office on November 25 last year after Dr Slabbert gave an account of the conversation in a recent Press interview.

Now Dr Slabbert is asking that a recording of another confidential conversation he had, with the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard, also be released so as to give a more complete background to the frustration and disappointment he experienced as a result of his November 25 conversation with the President.

Political leaders are now asking whether all discussions with the President, even confidential interviews, are taped; whether the other parties are informed; whether transcripts are made available to the other parties for their perusal; and whether other Ministers also tape their discussions.

Dr Slabbert confirmed he had not been informed that his comments were being taped, but that he would not have minded if he had been told.

Mr Botha said in a Press statement last night that he normally respected confidential discussions. Dr Slabbert said in response that recording a conversation was a strange concept of confidentiality.

Sources close to the presidency say Dr Slabbert broke the confidentiality first, by talking to a newspaper. The President then merely released the correct version.

● See Page 21

Council rules keep MPCs in the dark about game farm

Pretoria Bureau

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However, questions are only allowed on Wednesdays and the council ended its February sitting last night.

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Bill 'will lead to scrapping Group Areas Act'

Right wing slams removal of Liquor Act race clauses

STAR 12/2/86

30(1)A

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The right-wing parties in the House of Assembly have clashed with the Government on the issue of opening hotels and restaurants to people of all races.

Speakers of the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party accused the Government of being illogical in still adhering to its policy of racial separation in schools and residential areas.

They predicted that the removal of racial provisions in the Liquor Act would lead to further pressures on the Government for scrapping laws such as the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

The clashes occurred during yesterday's second-reading debate on the Liquor Amendment Bill.

Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP, Sasolburg) reacted sharply to an argument from **Mr G J Malherbe (NP, Wellington)** that discriminatory laws could stir up hatred among black people against the whites.

"How does he explain the fact that schools remain closed to other races? Will this not also cause hatred among the black people?" Mr Stofberg asked.

Both the CP and the HNP opposed the second reading of the Bill. The other opposition parties (the PFP and the NRP) voted on the side of the Government in a division.

Earlier, **Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point)** said the Bill brought to an end a "painful" episode in South African history.

Racism in the Liquor Act had caused "endless international embarrassment" for South Africa and had damaged race relations.

Replying to the debate, the Minister of Trade and Industry, **Dr Dawie de Villiers**, said the existing Liquor Act was being reviewed in its entirety.

"Times have changed, circumstances have changed, and a general revision has become necessary."

Dr de Villiers said the "enemy" of South Africa was not contact between people, but a lack of contact.

"If absolute separation is enforced and contact is avoided, it leads to suspicion and resentment."

The Afrikaner was strong enough to maintain himself in his own community life without laws "around every corner" for his protection.

The Bill would promote good group relations in South Africa.

Govt could draw teeth of romantic ANC — Slabbert

STAR. 19/2/84. 3 col 4A

By Bruce Cameron, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress could be defeated and President P W Botha could draw its teeth, according to Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, former PFP leader.

Dr Slabbert said the ANC was a romantic picture for people overseas.

He told the President he wanted to tell the Cabinet Committee why he thought the teeth of the ANC could be drawn. One reason was because the ANC could not handle the current unrest.

He had told the ANC when he met them in Lusaka that they should show they were in control by calling for a six-week moratorium on the unrest. They know they cannot do it, he said.

As a result it was important that the ANC should not be built up into the only organisation which could control the unrest.

Secondly the ANC would be in deep water if it did attempt to control the militant young blacks in the urban areas.

Dr Slabbert started saying something about the future of the ANC in two to three years but was cut off by the President.

Dr Slabbert told the President the freeing of ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be welcomed internationally but it would not solve a political problem.

What Slabbert and President Botha said

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha believes he has the support of the majority of blacks and 80 percent of whites in South Africa.

This emerges from transcripts of a controversial recorded conversation between the President and the former Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, on November 25.

The State President's office yesterday released the 30-page transcript of the conversation, together with a 12-page rebuttal of Dr Slabbert's interpretation of it.

'80 percent are with me'

Also disclosed was that Mr Botha said the trouble with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu was that he did not want to speak jointly with other blacks. Mr Botha told Dr Slabbert that what the Zulu people needed was not political rights — these they already had.

During the interview, Mr Botha also said: "Under my leadership whites have accepted a great deal in South Africa and I think that 80 percent of whites are with me and I think that the other 20 percent are shared by you (Slabbert) and Andries Treurnicht and Jaap Marais.

"But 80 percent of whites are with me. This is shown by our by-elections."

Later Mr Botha said that although both the 1983 referendum and last year's by-elections turned in his favour, he also represented the vote of more than 50 percent of blacks in South Africa.

In the interview, Mr Botha said anyone who threatened the right of whites to separate residential areas, the wealth accumulated by whites, or the white "way of life" was looking for trouble.

In the statement Mr Botha slated Dr Slabbert for giving a slanted and one-sided picture of the discussions they had last November.

In a 12-page rebuttal referring to extracts of the transcript, Mr Botha said it illustrated that Dr Slabbert had falsely represented what was said.

Mr Botha said he could not accept Dr Slabbert's reported statement that Dr Slabbert had decided after the meeting that he could not go through with the current parliamentary session.

He declared that extracts from the transcript suggested Dr Slabbert had reacted positively to his comments.

Mr Botha's rebuttal focused on the contention that Dr Slabbert had quoted aspects of the meeting incorrectly and out of context.

Differences in views

Of more significance than the apparent differences in the versions of the meeting are the views expressed by both men on a number of contentious issues, ostensibly in private, but revealed in the transcript.

They reveal dramatically how differently both view these issues.

These include:

- The release of Mr Nelson Mandela and perceptions of the African National Congress.
- Chief Buthelezi and what is perceived to be his dilemma in talking to the government.
- The disinvestment campaign and perceptions of what changes the outside world would want in South Africa.
- The unrest situation and how it should be handled.

Slabbert tapes row: now Botha's spy boss is threatened

FORMER PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert threatened last night to divulge the contents of his conversation with National Intelligence Service head Dr Neil Barnard if Barnard did not do so.

Slabbert said it was imperative the tape be released because it detailed his plans for defusing the political tension in SA — and would indicate why he was so disillusioned and took the dramatic decision to quit parliamentary politics.

He said if Barnard did not release the transcript, he would call a Press conference and reveal what he had suggested.

Slabbert said that, among other matters, he had discussed ways of getting the banned ANC to renounce violence.

LATEST

BARNARD last night ducked Slabbert's challenge, arguing that it was not government policy to release confidential information.

He also said the increasing tension between groups in SA — such as the ANC and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — would have to be resolved, and one way to do so was through a convention alliance.

In his interview with Botha, Slabbert indicated he would approach Barnard and Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis with ways of solving SA's political problems.

There is a view that his resignation soon after these discussions indicated a lack of commitment on his part.

Slabbert described this as "nonsense".

"On the contrary I am exploring other avenues, have spoken to a number of people and done a lot of thinking on what I can do."

He said he had not made any decisions yet, but would remain active in extra-parliamentary politics.

He said his interview with Botha had indicated that the President was not prepared to initiate the type of reform SA needed.

"There are certain non-negotiables for him. He said he has 80% of the white electorate behind him, so the right-wing threat is not slowing him up — he himself is dragging his heels."

He said it was plain for the whole world to see just how far Botha was prepared to go — and it was not far enough.

On the question of whether his resignation would remove him from a high-profile political stage and thus weaken his influence, Slabbert said time would tell.

PETER WALLINGTON

The sixteen steps . . .

22/2/86 BUS DAY

COMMUNISTS used 16 steps to take over a country, Fanie Herman (CP) told the President's Council yesterday. (30(A)

Holding up a diagram of a "pyramid" to demonstrate his theory, Herman said Steps 1 to 14 involved escalating acts of political violence, terror and sabotage.

"That is where we are today," he said.

The 15th step was "small-scale" guerrilla action, which faced SA in the immediate future, he said.

The last step was "full-scale" guerrilla action.

Herman said Communism would fail in SA if everyone opposed it. But SA Council of Churches secretary-general, Dr Beyers Naude, was one of those "helping the Communists", he added. — Sapa.

Spokesman defends PW's 'tape'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President Botha's taping of conversations with people who come to see him has been strongly defended by a spokesman at his office.

Controversy has built up around the dislosure this week that Mr Botha had a confidential conversation with Dr F van Zyl Slabbert tape-recorded.

The spokesman said Mr Botha had hundreds of interviews every year on a wide variety of subjects with a great number of foreign as well as local individuals and groups.

He said it was obvious, and a normal and accepted international practice, that there had to be a record of important conversations at times, so that the President could ascertain again later what the other parties had said.

This was also necessary to ascertain follow-up actions flowing from such conversations.

● See Page 17.

General Motors decries segregation

PE council, car company clash looms

PORT ELIZABETH — A confrontation over racially-segregated beaches looms between the giant US carmaker General Motors and the Port Elizabeth City Council.

Mayor Ben Olivier said last week he was in favour of beach apartheid and a council committee recently voted to prosecute blacks "trespassing" on white beaches.

General Motors South Africa (Pty) Limited said yesterday it would give legal and financial support to any of its black employees who defied the council by using the beaches.

In a letter to a local newspapers, Managing Director Mr Robert White said General Motors found the law segregating beaches "abhorrent".

He said the council of Port Elizabeth, a resort and industrial centre in the eastern Cape Province, had the power to open beaches to all races, but "collectively, it seems the council has neither the courage to do so nor the integrity to deal with the issue urgently and openly.

"Should any of our employees be challenged for using the beach of his or her choice, General Motors will support legally and financially their inalienable right to do so," Mr White said.

3 500 workers

General Motors is Port Elizabeth's biggest private employer with 3 500 workers, 60 percent of whom are blacks. The city is heavily dependent on its car industry. — Reuter.

Transkei President sworn in

UMTATA — Transkei's new State President, Paramount Chief Tutor Nyangilizwe Ndamase, will be sworn in at Umtata today.

Guests from South Africa, Bophuthatswana and Venda will attend the ceremony.

Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were also invited to the ceremony but turned down invitations. No invitation was sent to Ciskei. — Sapa.

Czech mine blamed

PRETORIA — Forensic tests have shown the explosive device triggered by a police Casspir near Mamelodi on Sunday was a Czech anti-tank mine.

The SAP's public relations office added: "There is little doubt that the device was specifically aimed against the police."

The incident is still being investigated. — Sapa.



Randburg's victorious PFP candidate Mr Dick Muller shares his celebratory champagne with his wife, Mrs Wendy Muller.

PFP wins by-election by increased margin

By Janine Simon

The Progressive Federal Party has won the Randburg Ward Six by-election by 58 votes.

The victory for candidate Mr Dick Muller (40), was hailed by supporters as a vote of confidence in the PFP and its newly-elected leader, Mr Colin Eglin.

Mr Muller defeated his National Party opponent Mr Jan Serfontein (49), by 58 votes to win the Blairgowrie South seat on the 13-member, NP-controlled town council.

It was the first time he had stood for public office.

The 40,2 percent-poll election follows the resignation last month of the leader of the PFP caucus in the council, Mrs Del Kevan, who won the Ward Six seat from Mr Serfontein by 36 votes in the 1982 general municipal election.

A delighted Mr Muller said the result effectively disproved speculation that the PFP had been affected by the recent turmoil in its ranks.

He said he would focus on immediate problems of the town's annual budget and the "unacceptable error factor" of the voters roll when he attended his first council meeting next week.

The final results of the election were: Mr Muller 495; Mr Serfontein 437; Spoilt ballot papers 4. Percentage poll 40,2 percent. In 1982 the percentage-poll was 51 percent.

Growth in NGK membership census

By Estelle Trengove

A census conducted by the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) has shown that church membership is growing in spite of a drop in the number of young people being confirmed.

The increase was due to the number of people who came over to the NGK from other churches, said the Rev. Mike Smuts (Jr), who worked with the census figures.

This year the NGK has 14 492 members more than last year — even though the number of youths who were confirmed as members dropped by 384. There was also a decrease in the number of children that were baptised.

ADULT MEMBERS

The increase in the number of adult members could be ascribed largely to a sustained effort to trace people who had become estranged from the church, said Dr Pierre Rossouw, the chief ecumenical affairs and information officer of the NGK.

"For years we have kept up a very intensive campaign to find the lost sheep and we have succeeded to a large extent.

"The NGK is not a dead church — we do not just ignore the people we don't know about," Dr Rossouw said.

He said the growth in the English- and Portuguese-speaking congregations was satisfactory.

BRIEF

employment

Economic Affairs of the Presi-
investigate a strategy for the
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BWA's rail network

ll transport network would be
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programme had been imple-

on estate agents?

Amendment Bill was intended
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execution of its duties, Deputy
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introducing the Bill, he said the
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f economy hit SATS

the economy during 1985 had
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the budget

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Taping of Slabbert was 'fully justified'

BD 3 DAY 20/2/86

ORMANDE POLLOK

THE State President's Office said yesterday that the taping of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's conversation with President P W Botha was fully justified.

Its statement said it was "normal and internationally accepted practice" to make records of interesting conversations.

The statement said Botha conducted hundreds of interviews over a variety of topics, and "records are sometimes made of interesting conversations so that the State President can make sure of what he and others said".

It added: "The conversation of November 25 with the former leader of the Opposition fell into the category of interesting conversations whose contents should be fully recorded."

"The type of record varies. Sometimes it is a recording of the conversation and sometimes written notes."

Opposition parties reacted strongly to the news that what was deemed to be a confidential meeting was taped secretly.

The sixteen steps . . .

22/2/86 BD 3 DAY

COMMUNISTS used 16 steps to take over a country, Fanie Herman (CP) told the President's Council yesterday.

Holding up a diagram of a "pyramid" to demonstrate his theory, Herman said Steps 1 to 14 involved escalating acts of political violence, terror and sabotage.

"That is where we are today," he said.

The 15th step was "small-scale" guerrilla action, which faced SA in the immediate future, he said.

The last step was "full-scale" guerrilla action.

Herman said Communism would fail in SA if everyone opposed it. But SA Council of Churches secretary-general, Dr Beyers Naude, was one of those "helping the Communists", he added. — Sapa.

Feb. 1986 (304)

Assocom disclaims blame for Slabbert's resignation

THE business community cannot be blamed for the resignation of Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, says Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) president Rocky Ridgway.

He said in Port Elizabeth yesterday that charges levelled by Progressive Federal Party MP Andrew Savage, and echoed by Slabbert in an interview with *Business Day*, revealed a false perception of the political role played by the business lobby.

In his comments on the dramatic resignation of Slabbert, Savage said business had failed to show the necessary support for a campaign "to force government to abandon its destructive policy".

Own Correspondent

Slabbert told Business Day the business sector was not a committed critic.

PE businessman and Assocom president Ridgway said his first reaction was that neither Savage nor Slabbert appeared to appreciate that Assocom "was not the economic arm of the PFP, nor of any other political party".

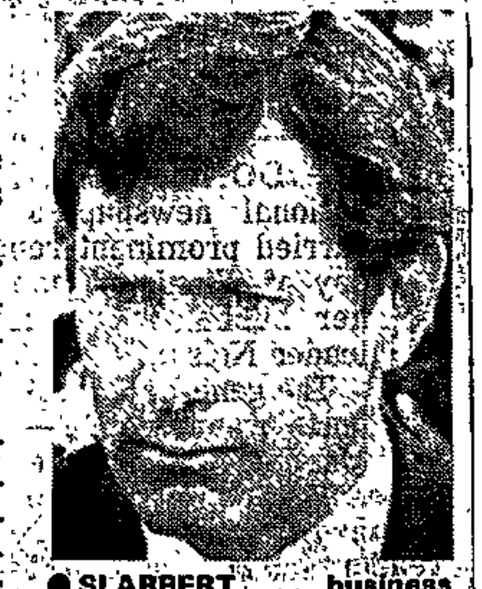
The criticism also failed to recognise that Assocom had nonetheless "over the past eight or 10 years, at its congresses and in discussions with government, called on government to lift the restrictions — social, economic, and political — that affect the non-white sector of the community".

Ridgway said he suspected the criticism levelled by Savage and Slabbert arose from false perceptions.

"Business has a role to play as a catalyst for reform in this country, but the perceptions of how it is going about this function are at variance with the facts.

"But to put the thing in its proper perspective, I must question the statement made by Savage that blacks perceive business, as a well-rewarded partner of an apartheid regime.

"Why well-rewarded? We'd be far better rewarded in a system which outlaws apartheid, because with its restrictions on freedom of movement and labour, for instance, apartheid throttles business."



● SLABBERT ... business not a committed critic.

Govt must quit now, churches tell banks

THE executive of the South African Council of Churches yesterday affirmed the statement made by leading clergymen on February 8 calling for foreign banks to reject debt rescheduling proposals unless the Government resigned.

The executive affirmed the statement made on February 8 in a letter on the rolling over of South Africa's loans by Dr Beyers Naude, the general secretary of the South African Council of Chambers; Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Nobel Laureate, Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The letter said the clergymen "requested of the leading American banks that rescheduling of South Africa's debt should be made conditional upon the resignation of the present regime and its replacement by a government responsive to the needs of all South Africa's people".

The executive decided its statement should be sent to British, European and US banks.

A statement released after an SACC executive meeting yesterday said: "The executive decided to request SACC member churches to exploit their bilateral links with overseas churches to request them to assist in the implementation of this resolution on comprehensive sanctions." — Sapa.



Mr Louis Nel

Nel defends taping

CAPE TOWN — The attacks being made on the so-called bugging of a conversation between the State President and Dr van Zyl Slabbert was an attempt to obscure the damaging content of the discussions, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said yesterday.

He spoke on the subject after a confidential Press briefing on Parliamentary matters and said the former Leader of the Opposition's call for the release of the text of his conversation with NIS chief, Dr Niel Barnard, was also an attempt to obscure the real issue.

Dr Slabbert had, immediately prior to his November meeting with President Botha, travelled extensively abroad and met government leaders.

He had also admitted in a report published last week he had assumed at the time of his meeting the interview would be recorded.

"That assumption must follow from knowledge that it is accepted practice and done internationally," Mr Nel said.

Mr Nel said it was ethically correct for any person to keep records of important conversations, often because follow-up action was required.

"In this case Dr Slabbert gave his version and the State President said it was incorrect, giving his denial authority by stating he had a transcript.

NOT SATISFIED

"In turn Dr Slabbert was reported to have challenged him to release the transcript," Mr Nel said.

President Botha was not satisfied to rely on Press reports of the challenge but had instructed his legal advisor to make contact with Dr Slabbert, who was in Swaziland, to obtain his permission. This was later confirmed in writing.

Only after this was the transcript released, he said.

There was absolutely nothing unethical in the entire action, he said. — Sapa.

European governments condemn secret recordings

The Star Bureau

LONDON — West European governments from Westminster to Rome flatly deny that their premiers would condone secret tape-recording of visitors, even if they are leaders of the opposition.

They were responding to the claim made by the Office of President P W Botha that it was "normal and accepted international practice" for heads of government to tape important conversations in their offices or on the telephone.

CRITICISM

President Botha has come under serious attack for having secretly recorded his controversial interview with former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

In London, a spokeswoman for Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's office said that under no conditions would she tape any conversation, unless it was an interview and a transcript was required. "In this case it would be done openly."

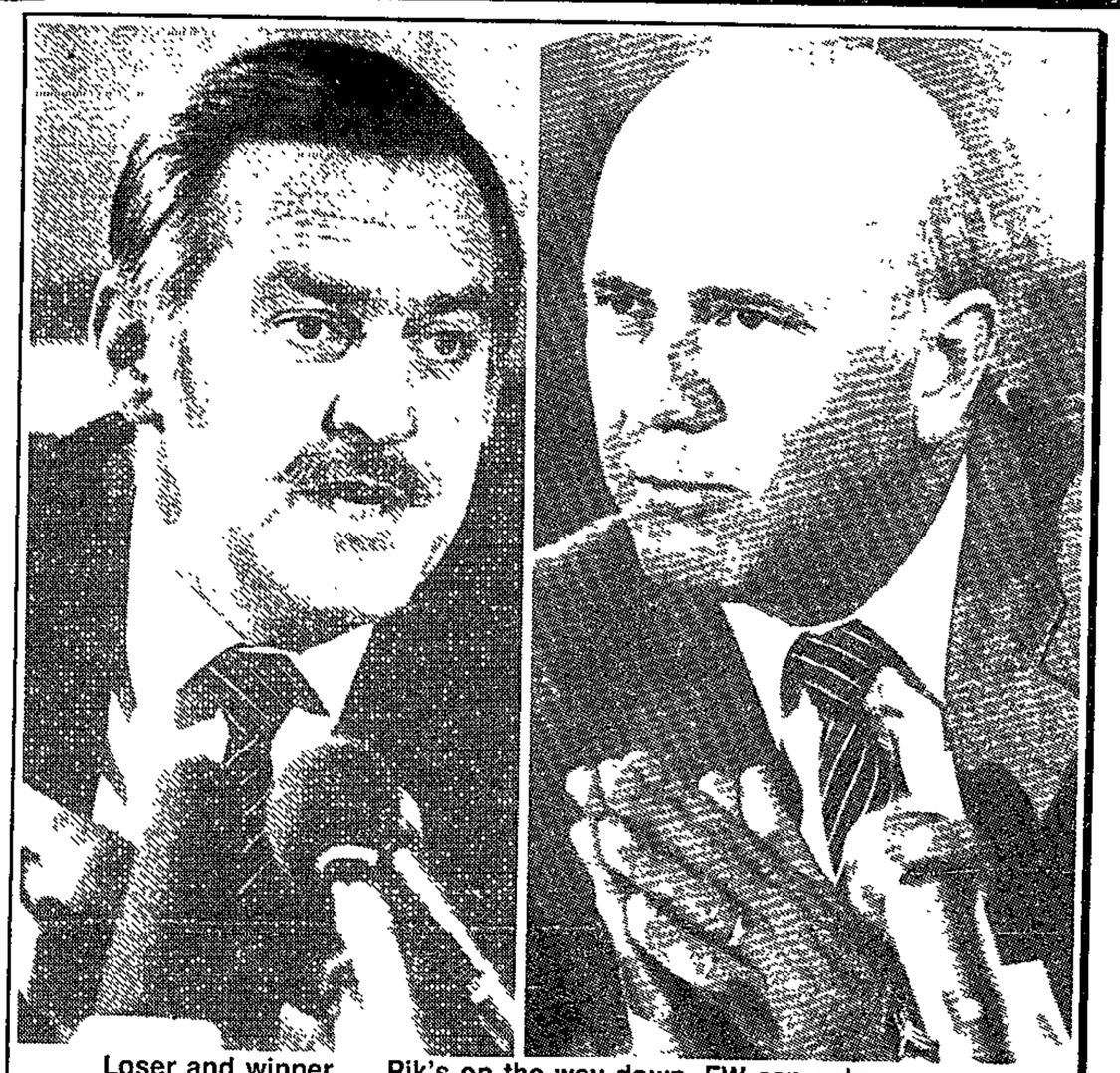
In Italy, a spokesman for President Francesco Cossiga said: "As far as I know, no secret recordings are ever made by the presidential staff whenever the chief of state receives a visitor."

Sweden and France likewise "most vehemently" deny any such practices.

A French spokesman described secret taping as "shocking", and a spokeswoman for Sweden's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said: "It is in fact quite illegal in Sweden, not to say immoral."

The Bonn Government's distaste for recording is so marked that it causes some concern among the Chancellor's advisers, who would prefer some insurance against misquotes.

Mr Helmut Kohl refuses to tape any talks, even when speaking to a political opponent. When receiving a Foreign Minister, his interpreter takes notes, but he will not admit a stenographer when speaking to a journalist.



Loser and winner ... Pik's on the way down, FW can only go up

Pictures: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, Reuter

Pik 'n Van rip reform's gift-wrapper to tatters

The leader of the opposition walks out. Whose image suffers the most damage? His chief political rival, whose expensively marketed reformist image is in shreds. ALLISTER SPARKS reports

IN a few dramatic hours last Friday, the glossy rhetoric with which the South African government has been presenting its policies was stripped away and President PW Botha revealed what he really intends doing with apartheid.

It is a policy to reformulate and modernise apartheid, but not scrap it. "Outdated and unnecessary" laws enforcing social segregation can go; the failure of the tribal homelands is recognised and the implications of black urbanisation are being accepted and adjusted to; but the bedrock essentials of political apartheid which preserve Afrikaner domination will stay.

Blacks, coloureds and Indians can be co-opted into the government at a junior level. But there can never be a black government with a black president.

The moment of truth came with the impact of a double-barrelled shotgun blast on Friday when President Botha delivered a crushing public repudiation of his *verligte* Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, for placing a liberal interpretation on the policy, and the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, resigned from parliament in a gesture of frustration at what he described as the insincerity of the government's professed commitment to end apartheid.

The public humiliation of Pik Botha revealed that the iron-fisted President Botha has gone as far as he intends going with reform, and destroyed the hopes of the party's *verligte* wing that their man might succeed to the presidency when his ageing namesake goes.

Instead, the leader of the party's rightwing, F W de Klerk, whom the president backed in a stormy confrontation with Pik Botha, is now the undisputed heir apparent and the man most likely to shape National Party policy for the next two decades.

Slabbert's resignation was as damaging to the Botha government's expensively marketed reformist image as the endorsement of De Klerk's conservative line. Seldom can a government anywhere have been so shaken by the resignation of an opposition leader.

This is because of the image of sincerity and personal integrity which this Afrikaner liberal has acquired since he became leader of the Progressive Federal Party seven years ago. He has won the respect of even the far rightwing Conservative Party, remarkable in a community which usually expels political dissidents as ethnic traitors.

For this respected figure to pronounce the Botha reforms a fraud, and the debates of parliament "a grotesque ritual of irrelevancy" in the face of the continuing unrest in the country was a devastating judgment.

The two events exposed once again South Africa's repeated attempts, epitomised by the Information Scandal of the seventies, to persuade the world that apartheid is dead while retaining the core features of the system which entrench the Afrikaner-dominated whites in power.

With carefully shaded language, government leaders have developed a code that can be read in different ways by different audiences. it wraps old practices in new euphemisms, putting a gloss on marginal reforms for the benefit of foreign critics while reassuring the folks at home that the essentials of the old system will remain.

Inevitably this sets up a tension between those reponsible for marketing the policy at home and abroad — in this case, De Klerk and Pik Botha.

While De Klerk laid emphasis on the continuation of a racially based political sytem and segregated schools "as long as my party is in power", Pik Botha was saying everything was now open for negotiation with blacks and theoretically there could even be a black president one day.

With that the over-zealous Foreign Minister went too far, causing havoc in De Klerk's Transvaal constituency. The game of double-bluff was blown and President Botha had to step in and state which was the authorised version. It was De Klerk's, as experienced observers here have always known it was, and the sales pitch to the foreign bankers had to suffer in favour of containing the damage back home.

This is not to say apartheid is not changing at all. As Slabbert put it, "old-style apartheid is being exchanged for new apartheid".

What is happening is that the Botha government has recognised that homeland apartheid has failed as a political solution to South Africa's race problem. To succeed, the policy required that the majority of blacks should gradually leave the cities and return to the homelands as these were developed, leaving the main part of South Africa eventually with a white majority of legally recognised "citizens".

This has not, and cannot, happen. Instead, the flood to the cities has become stronger than ever. The Botha government has had to recognise this and adapt its policy to take account of it. It has also realised that for the economy to grow, and so strengthen South Africa, restrictions on the training and utilisation of black labour must go.

So it is coming to terms with black urbanisation and industrial advancement. This means such things as removing the legal reservation of all skilled jobs for whites, accepting black trade unionism, scrapping the pass system, allowing urban blacks to have freehold property rights, and giving the homelanders back their South African citizenship. At the same time, "outdated" laws like those prohibiting mixed marriages and sex across the colour line are also being scrapped.

But political control must be retained in white hands. That means retaining legally defined racial groups, forcing them to continue living in separate group areas, and creating a political system based on these racial units which will have certain powers of local government over their own ethnic affairs and be given a token role at the national level.

In the context of Afrikaner ideology, it is a major shift and is causing huge tensions in the ranks of the volk. But to blacks it is still apartheid, and as Slabbert said on Friday, there is no credible black leader prepared to negotiate with the government within such framework.





THE talks between the State President, Mr P.W Botha (left), and the then PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, which were taped without Dr Slabbert's knowledge, are most revealing, particularly the references made to black leaders like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. This is part of the text from the tapes.

The problem with Chief Buthelezi . . .

HE wants to talk alone. But he does not want to talk together with other black people - P W.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Dr Slabbert: President, is it possible, and I ask this in all fairness, is it not possible that we can start putting our heads together on an informal basis and look at these plans. I am not now talking about you. I am not just talking about the Government and Opposition groups, but on an informal basis we must have people such as **Mabuza and Buthelezi** — it cannot happen on a formal level. They are caught up in their own politics. But I think we can start this thing on an informal basis.

SP: I have met with Buthelezi, and I am talking to you confidentially. I had a long talk with Buthelezi last year. I did not tell the outside world what we talked about. I allowed him to come to my office in the Cape last year. I had a long discussion with him.

Afterwards I had a long talk with the King of the Zulus. I do not want these things to be made known outside. There were only short articles that I had spoken to them.

Leaders

Since then I have had a series of discussions with church leaders, with individuals, even with leaders of national states, and independent state leaders.

Last week we had another conference over days, preceded by multilateral discussions which culminated in a conference.

We are busy with a tremendous programme. If only we could have fewer attempts at destruction in this country.

I do not say the fault lies only with my opponents, but I say there is too little positive co-operation to get to the real root of our problems. That is my point.

Dr Slabbert: Well, yes (ja, nee) I can appreciate your problems President, and, I mean, in my own way this year I tried to see who I could talk to and how I could see that the middle groups hold, because we are being polarised on the extremes. We are being consumed by the extremists on either side.

Dr Slabbert: I can see from the Government's position that there are people with which it cannot immediately talk in public. I am talking of say Buthelezi and even ANC members.

SP: But nothing prevents Buthelezi from talking to me.

Dr Slabbert: Well, he's in a tremendous vice ...

SP: *I will tell you what Buthelezi's problem is. Buthelezi's problem is that he want to talk alone, but he does not want to talk together with other black people.*

Dr Slabbert: Yes, there is a problem there, there is a problem, but that problem can be surmounted.

Dr Slabbert: He must, as the English say, be locked into an initiative. And I have a very strong feeling that we are on the threshold of such an initiative into which he can be drawn.

Economy

But you see, if you tell me of the development and the economy I can't fault it and I can only support it.

SP: I told Buthelezi, man, what the Zulu people need in the first place is not just political rights, because you have that. You can talk to me whenever you wish. Your government can talk to me whenever you wish.

But what you need in the first place is that the Tugela areas, that we develop the low-lying areas of the Tugela. We must use Richards Bay to also make provision for you. I told him that we must talk to each other about the protection of the upper regions of the Tugela which eventually could affect their water.

Agreed

This is a programme which we can tackle for 10, 15 and 20 years, for the sake of your entire population. He agreed with me.

Dr Slabbert: Yes, I'm sure he agreed with you.

SP: But why does he not come and talk about that?

Dr Slabbert: His problem lies on a symbolic level. His problem lies on the whole symbolic level. You see, Buthelezi and the ANC are busy eating each other. I mean they are going for each other, it is just unbelievable how they are going for each other.

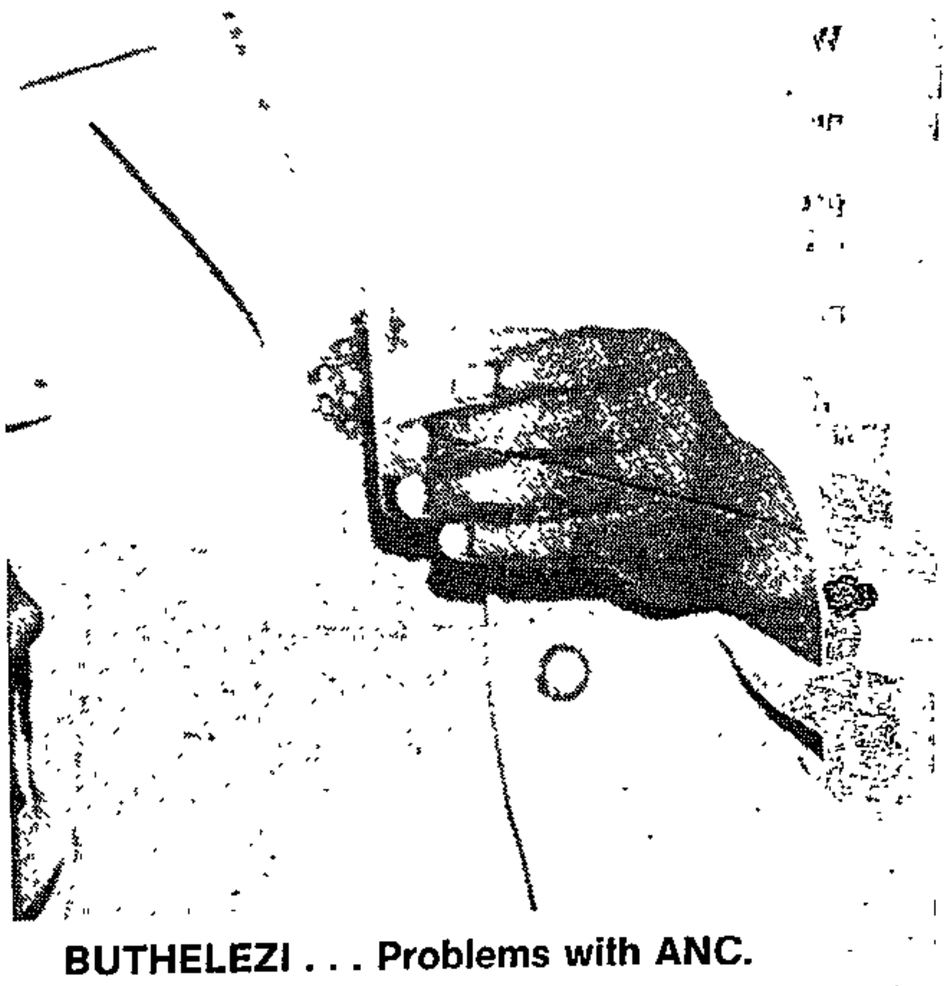
SP: Yes, that is all they are doing.

Dr Slabbert: *They are stomping each other and Buthelezi says, and I told you at the beginning of the year his big problem is that if Mandela dies in jail he becomes the Muzorewa of South Africa and he is aware of that.*

He is scared of that. But it is not just that that he is scared of. At the moment the ANC is busy with a terribly strong anti-Buthelezi campaign, and why? Precisely for the reasons you have mentioned.

The ANC wants to be the only bull in the kraal. And Buthelezi wants to be the only bull in the kraal.





BUTHELEZI . . . Problems with ANC.

THE ANC wants to be the only bull in the kraal. And Buthelezi wants to be the only bull in the kraal - Slabbert.

I'll talk to Mandela, Botha told Slabbert

MR Bues 20/2/86
3961

Political Staff

THE President, Mr P W Botha, has gone on public record that he would sit at a conference table with Nelson Mandela.

The disclosure is made in the public release of the transcript of his "confidential" talk with former opposition leader Dr F van Zyl Slabbert on November 25 last year.

According to the transcript he told Dr Slabbert: "But Mandela can help me just by accepting what you have found to be reasonable and what most statesmen in the Western world find reasonable: namely, I say renounce violence, declare yourself against the organising of violence and let us sit round a conference table and then I will set you free."

Senior Nationalist sources have interpreted this as a major breakthrough in the President's position.

However, sources closer to the President were more cautious today.

"If you look at the entire transcript then you will see that in context it is not so significant," said one.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, said she did not find anything new in the excerpt.

Secret taping not normal, say West's leaders

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Governments from Westminster to Rome flatly deny that their prime ministers would condone secret tape-recording of visitors, even if they are leaders of the Opposition.

They were responding to the claim made by the South African State President's Office that it was "normal and accepted international practice" for heads of government to tape important conversations in their offices or on the telephone.

President P W Botha has come under attack by newspapers and the opposition for having secretly recorded his controversial interview with former PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, transcripts of which were released on Tuesday.

"NO CONDITIONS"

A spokeswoman for Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's office said that under no conditions would the Priime Minister tape any conversation unless it was an interview and a transcript was required.

"In this case it would be done openly," the official said.

At Italy's Chigi Palace, office of Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, Italy's longest-surviving post-war prime minister, a spokesman said: "It's not our style or practice to record such conversations. Personally, I've never heard of it, so I don't even understand your question."

Likewise, Sweden and France "most vehemently" deny any such practices. A French spokesman described secret taping as "shocking" and a spokesman for Sweden's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said it was "quite illegal in Sweden, not to say immoral, to do such a thing".

And the Bonn government's distaste for recording is so marked that it causes some concern

(Turn to Page 3, col 6)

Secret tapes: Eglin to to quiz PW

Continued from Page 1

among Chancellor Helmut Kohl's advisers, who would prefer some insurance against misquotes. Mr Kohl refuses to tape talks in his office.

The Argus Politcal Correspondent reports that the matter of the tape-recording is to be raised in Parliament. The new leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, has given notice of a number of questions he will put to the President.

He wants to know whether all confidential discussions conducted by Mr Botha are recorded and what the criteria are for deciding that this should be done.

Mr Eglin also wants to know whether participants in discussions are informed beforehand that they will be recorded, whether transcrips are made of all the discussions, whether participants are offered copies and whether any persons other than those in his office or any other government departments have access to recordings or transcripts.

A spokesman for the President's Office strongly defended the taping of conversations.

It was obvious — and was normal and accepted international practice — that there had, at times, to be a record of important conversations so that the President could ascertain later what the other parties had said.

Dr Slabbert first divulged details of the conversation and Mr Botha released a transcript only after he had obtained Dr Slabbert's permission.

Dr Slabbert said he had assumed that the conversation was being recorded. He did not mind this being done provided he was told about it.

dispute with four metal unions, including Mawu. Seifsa alleges that Mawu's push for plant-level bargaining is undermining the collective bargaining process; and

☐ Natal Die Castings (NDC) has asked the Supreme Court to review the Industrial Court ruling ordering it to reinstate 112 Mawu members dismissed for striking over the company's refusal to bargain in good faith over certain allowances and bonuses (*Current Affairs* February 7).

Last year, Mawu gave notice of a massive campaign over plant-level bargaining when it declared disputes with 70 firms which follow the Seifsa line. Asea, which experienced a go-slow over the issue last year, is a key Mawu target.

Asea Electric MD Clive Jandrell believes there are several reasons for this: it is 25% Swedish-owned; it is based in Pretoria where the militant township mood would force unwilling workers to participate in the strike; and because the company has shown a reasonable profit in the past. However, a Mawu spokesman disputes this assessment. He says Asea was the first company to be hit merely because Mawu members there pushed hardest for it.

The strike began last Monday and involved 850 employees. Initially, workers staged a "sleep-in" at the plants, but this ended when Asea obtained a court interdict ordering workers to vacate the premises after normal working hours.

As the *FM* went to press it was announced that Mawu and Asea Electric had agreed to mediation. It was unclear, though, precisely what the mediation agenda will comprise.

The dispute is over various fringe benefits and allowances, a retrenchment agreement, a paid holiday on May Day, working hours and wages. Mawu has proposed an open agenda for the mediation. The Mawu spokesman says the union will present "very reasonable" proposals for discussion. From the company's point of view, however, wages and working hours are seen as the preserve of the industrial council and, hence, are non-negotiable.

Jandrell particularly questions the propriety of Mawu's wage demands, given that a meeting to discuss the rationalisation of the industrial council's bargaining structures is due to held on February 26. He says it is conceivable that these talks may result in a decentralised structure. The electrical manufacturing section of the metal industry could, for example, bargain separately — although still under the auspices of the council.

Jandrell's argument is the same as that advanced by Seifsa in the dispute it declared with Mawu, the SA Boilermakers' Society, the Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union and the Engineering Industrial Workers' Union last Friday. These unions are all affiliates of the SA Co-ordinating Council (Sacc) of the International Metalworkers' Federation.

Seifsa argues that Mawu's actions are "undermining the collective bargaining process" because it is attempting to persuade companies to discuss bargaining arrangements at plant level at the same time as the issue is being discussed at the industrial council. The Mawu spokesman describes Seifsa's move as "spurious" and an attempt to turn the other unions against it. The council meets on Thursday to discuss the dispute.

NDC has taken the Industrial Court ruling on review because it disputes the court's right to rule on such matters and because it believes "the judgment was incorrect," according to MD Graham Wilson. The hearing will begin when the court delivers reasons for its ruling, probably within two weeks. ■

POLITICS

Neanderthal reaction

Government has been badly shaken by a strong white backlash against proposed apartheid reforms and the possible release of the African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela.

Verligte Cabinet Ministers and MPs are being whipped into line in an effort to stop what could be a major swing of white voter support away from the National Party (NP) to the Conservative Party (CP), the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

The backlash has been felt as high up as P W Botha's office, which is reliably understood to have been inundated in recent days with telegrams and telephone calls from white voters protesting against the pace and direction of proposed reforms and the release of Mandela.

Three recent events in particular seem to have shaken the steadfast support traditionally given by most whites to the NP:

☐ Botha's agreement to consider releasing Mandela on humanitarian grounds rather than only after a firm commitment to renounce violence as a political strategy, which was previously the precondition;

☐ The perception that the new reform programme unveiled by Botha at the opening of Parliament last month could be too liberal; and

☐ An interpretation by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha that government's reform programme could lead to a black president.

Speculation on Mandela's release reached fever pitch in Cape Town last week and heightened fears in some circles that his freedom could spark a new outbreak of violence in black townships which might spill over into white areas.

To counter the fears, two senior Cabinet members, Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, and Pik Botha, tried to bring the near hysterical situation under control by reaffirming the conditions for Mandela's release.

Botha, while on a trip to Europe last week, was reported to have even gone so far as to say the conditions still included the renunciation of violence.

Both Botha and Coetsee also said the release of Captain Wynand du Toit, the South African commando captured during a sabotage mission in Angola last year, and freedom for Soviet dissident André Sakharov remained prerequisites for Mandela's release.

While Botha's comments on the possibility of a black president were seen by liberal government opponents as a bold statement which could have contributed significantly towards breaking South Africa's political logjam, they caused outrage, not only in white voter ranks, but within the NP's parliamentary caucus and even in the Cabinet.

P W Botha was forced to publicly reprimand his foreign minister in the strongest possible terms. Some NP MPs reported last week that the reaction from many constituencies to the Foreign Minister's remarks and to the possible release of Mandela before he renounced violence was unexpected and had forced government to reassess the pace of reform.

It was also decided to regroup and rethink strategies for convincing white voters that the party's policies were not as threatening to white survival as many people seemed to think. In the No Confidence debate earlier this month, both the Transvaal NP leader, F W de Klerk, and Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen reaffirmed government commitments to group differentiation in what were regarded in some circles as verkrampte speeches against the spirit of Botha's opening of Parliament address.

Many MPs are worried about the white backlash. Some observers believe that at least half of the NP's 127 seats (out of 178) are under real threat from the Right.

In a clear example of government attempts to put the white public's mind at rest, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis — a close ally of the foreign minister and a leading verligte in NP ranks — last week effectively backed P W Botha's repudiation of the foreign minister. During a debate in Parliament, Du Plessis read a statement which put beyond doubt his rejection of Pik Botha's interpretation of party policy.

The extent of the white backlash was illustrated by two events last week:

☐ At a meeting in Klerksdorp, the AWB announced the establishment of a military-type force to protect white interests; and

☐ In Krugersdorp, a meeting of 1 000 people endorsed a petition signed by 10 000 white residents calling on government to remove the nearby Munsieville township. Government has already decided, in terms of a new policy, not to remove the township, but to upgrade it.

The meeting adopted motions of no confidence in the local Nationalist MP, Leon Wessels — one of the most verligte MPs — and in the local NP-controlled town council.

The formation of the AWB "commando" was announced to about 3 000 wildly cheering rightwingers by the leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Comments the chairman of the Sasria committee of the SA Insurance Brokers' Association, Don Gallimore: "I've been advocating a return to differential rates for some time, as was originally the case in 1979. Sasria's funds have been leaking away through township claims, yet most contributions have been from industrial and commercial business, which has had few claims."

He adds that the R10 premium for motor vehicles was far too low in the present environment.

MD of Sasria, Rodney Schneeberger, says paid and outstanding claims for the 17 months, August 1984-January 1986, totalled R62m. This compares to only R44m paid out up to August 1984 since the consortium started business in 1979. "Total premium income for 1985 was about R113m."

He says that though there's no statistical evidence to support a reduction in rates for industrial and commercial classes — "there have been some nasty claims in this category" — experience has been very good regarding private residential properties.

"We will review our rates again for when the new extended cover comes into force on January 1 1987. This will be for the non-political riot and malicious damage aspect of Sasria. Private property owners may get this additional cover free if their excellent claims record holds up."

People requiring Sasria cover now must pay the full annual premium for the period up to April 1. From that date the new rates will apply. Since Sasria is only liable for claims after the coupon has actually been issued, clients are advised to apply at least two weeks in advance. ■

CREDIT GUARANTEE

Troubled waters

Despite hefty premium increases during 1985, Credit Guarantee's problems are far from over. For the financial year ending June 30 1986, the company is predicting an underwriting loss "mainly due to the domestic account."

Discussing his half-year figures, senior GM Chris Leisewitz says domestic premium rates were increased across the board by 20% during 1985, for the first time in the company's history. But "further selected increases in domestic premium rates are unavoidable in present circumstances," he adds.

Credit Guarantee Insurance is a credit insurer backed by a consortium of 24 insurers, reinsurers and banks.

For the six months to December 1985, total premium income was up 50% to R27m, compared with R18m for the same period of 1984. Biggest increase came from domestic premiums, extending the strong growth in this side of the business.

Leisewitz says the increases are mainly a reflection of difficulties on the South African market and the political uncertainties affecting exporters. Nor does he foresee the situation improving materially this year.

In the two years to June 1984-1985, domestic credit insurance (insured values) doubled to R3,2 billion, accounting for 60% of the consortium's business (*Economy* November 8). Major claims in the domestic field, however, more than doubled in the past calendar year alone. Almost 3 000 were reported for 1985, totalling R18m, against R7,5m the previous year.

Leisewitz points out that the recession gave Credit Guarantee one of its most difficult years. "Indeed, management had to deal with a combination of adverse factors probably never before experienced in South Africa."

The domestic credit market was hard hit by the poor agricultural season, high interest rates, high unemployment and low consumer demand; while the falling rand has produced enormous foreign exchange losses on the export credit risk side.

"We are cautiously optimistic concerning the economic outlook for 1986 because of the healthy position of the current account of the balance of payments; because we believe this year's agricultural season will be much better; and because the gold price has

FOREIGN DEBT

Fritz Leutwiler's latest proposals to sort out foreign debt repayments have a "reasonable" chance of being successful, say informed sources.

However, failing agreement at this week's crucial rescheduling meeting in London, Leutwiler could announce his resignation at a press conference immediately afterwards, say the sources.

But, says a source close to Leutwiler: "Reaction from the creditor banks is that the proposals are sensible, realistic and appropriate. We hope they will be acceptable to SA."

Says a banker: "This is a better document than the one delivered (by the South African authorities) before Christmas and has a better chance of success." In that document the monetary authorities proposed to begin paying back capital amounts only after five years.

Leutwiler has proposed a further year's delay in repayment of most of the $10 billion debt caught up in the standstill.

All maturities involved in the freeze would be rolled forward until March 31 1987, although as a sweetener for the banks Leutwiler has proposed that up to 5% of the total be repaid in quarterly instalments.

Among matters to be negotiated would be the interest rate payable: Leutwiler suggested adding up to one percentage point to the interest margins in effect on August 28 when the standstill was imposed.

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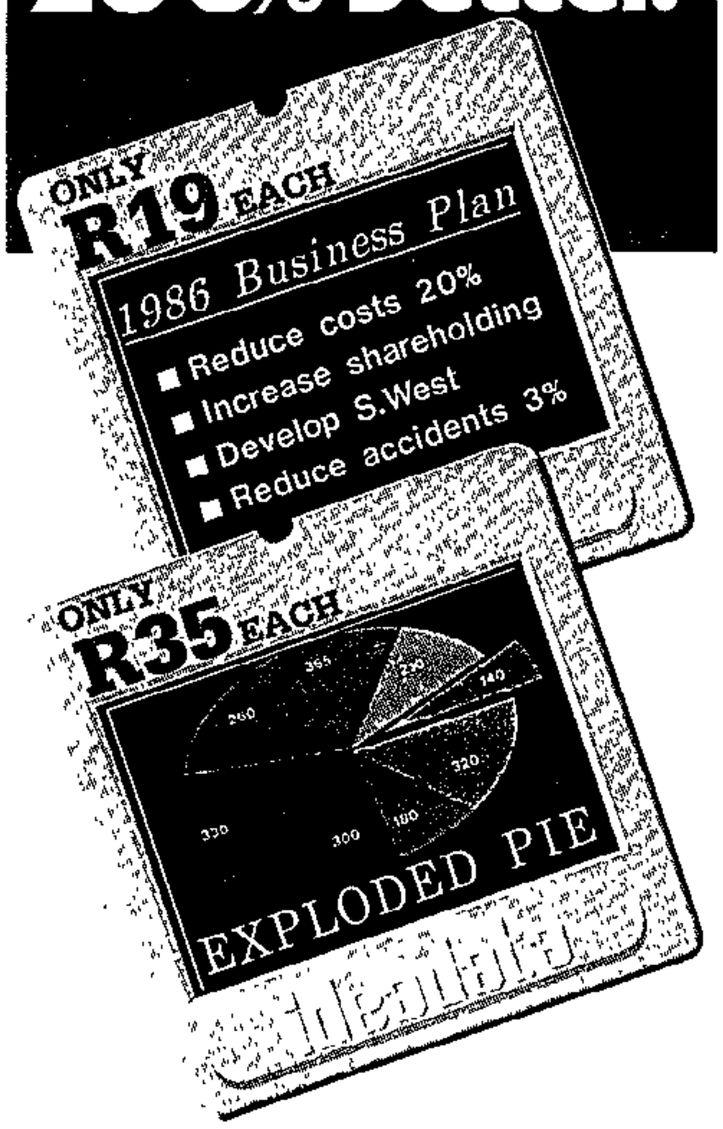

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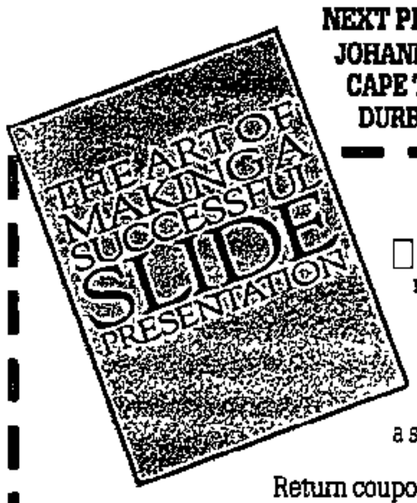

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It simply won't wash

STAR 21/2/86.

30(A)

This is an edited version of the speech made in Parliament by Mr Colin Eglin (pictured) during the debate on the Part Appropriation.



The PFP may have a temporary setback, but it is not the PFP, it is the Government — and regrettably with it the country — that is in deep, deep trouble.

Once again, the Leader of the National Party and the head of the Government has "blown" it.

Once again, the State President has taken South Africans halfway across the Rubicon of power sharing and then he has hesitated, and looked over his shoulder and turned back to the old apartheid side.

In a brief 10 minutes in this House (on Friday February 7), the State President not only backed the verkrampte interpretations of policy given by the Minister of National Education, not only repudiated and publicly humiliated his Foreign Minister, but also ripped away the wrappings and the tinsel that his public relations professionals had provided in an attempt to sell his policy.

In a brief 10 minutes, the State President dashed the desperate hopes of millions that Government policy had changed.

In a brief 10 minutes, the State President dealt a crushing blow to the process and prospects for negotiation in South Africa.

Just look what has happened to the State President's proposed National Statutory Council — and bear in mind that a year ago he announced a Forum which never even met let alone got off the ground.

At first there was mild interest in the proposal. But since then such leaders as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu, Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa and Professor Hudson Ntsanwizi of Gazankulu have indicated that they are not so keen to participate.

If this is the reaction of black leaders operating from within the system, which black leaders with any significant constituency outside the system will touch the National Statutory Council even with a barge pole?

Where is the State President's sense of perspective? What are his priorities?

For the sake of a few white schools and a few white residential areas and a theoretical argument about the possibility of a black State President at some stage in the future he is prepared to wreck the whole reform process and jeopardise the South African economy.

The State President showed for all to see that Government policy was not reflected in the slick phrases of a Madison-Avenue type copywriter but in the blunt words of a constituency politician whose first priority was to keep his party together.

I am not surprised that something went wrong with the advertisement when I read what the chairman of the Grey Group — the agency that handled the advertisement — wrote recently about marketing the Government's reform policy.

"While the product being 'sold' is somewhat more esoteric and crucial than soap powder or fast foods, the techniques remain the same."

Does the State President share this "soap powder and fast foods" analogy for his reform policy?

The Government owes an apology to the people of South Africa for using taxpayers' money to pay for a completely misleading advertisement.

Reality

What is the reality of the Government policy?

It is that, whatever is added in the future, the foundation is separate racial and ethnic structures based on compulsory group membership.

- The "independent" states — the former Bantustans — are to remain outside of South Africa and the people living there will not get back their South African citizenship. Indeed, another black area is soon to become an "independent" state outside South Africa.

This is the reality.

- The ethnically based black homelands are to be given more separate powers and autonomy.

This is the reality.

- Outside the homelands local government will be based on separate structures and systems for each racial group.

This is the reality

- The tricameral system will remain with its racially segregated departments of "own affairs" and with effective control over "general affairs" in the hands of the majority party in the white house.

This is the reality.

- Negotiations are to take place on black participation in Government, the vote will be extended to all but with separate racial voting structures arranged in such a way that a black South African could not become the State President.

This is the reality.

- The Population Registration Act, through which citizens are classified on a racial basis, will remain, so will the Group Areas Act with its compulsory race separation, so will racially segregated schools.

This is the reality.

The reality is that the Government's plans are not to scrap the outdated concept of apartheid — they are to modernise apartheid and to build it into the very structure of our South African society.

The PFP will have no part in this modernising of apartheid.

We believe that it is in the interest of all groups and individuals, and of our nation as a whole, that apartheid — whether in its outdated or modernised form — should be eliminated lock, stock and barrel.

Civilised values, individual freedom, civil liberties, minority protection and real democracy cannot survive in an apartheid society based on compulsory group membership.

However, they can survive and flourish in an open society based on freedom of choice.

We in the PFP will continue to fight for that free and open South African society

We will fight here in Parliament where the apartheid laws have to be scrapped and a new non-racial constitution will have to be enacted.

We will take our message to the millions of South Africans outside of this Parliament.

It is my conviction that for any party in this House to be able to play a meaningful and constructive role in the politics of tomorrow, it must not only be relevant to white votes, but it must also be relevant in the other non-racial political arena where so much of the politics of tomorrow is going to take place.

Whenever we can, we will build bridges of goodwill and trust so that the waning prospects for negotiation in our deeply divided society can be strengthened before it is too late.

We will mobilise the voters of this country until they compel this Government to abandon the policies that are leading all of us in this country to economic ruin and rival conflict.

Repressive

Government members behave as if nothing happened here in South Africa in 1985.

Do not members opposite realise that the events of last year — the bannings, the beatings, the Government's repressive response to black protest, the Rubicon speech of August 15 — have changed the nature of our society and reduced the time available to us to resolve our problems?

I detect no sense of urgency among the members opposite. Is this because they are anaesthetised by the discipline in the party — or just scared of "PW"?

While we sit here in this House, the clocks which will determine the fate of South Africa are ticking away:

- The clock of Commonwealth sanctions
- The clock of US sanctions.
- The clock of EEC sanctions.
- The clock of loan repayments.
- The clock of consumer boycotts.
- The clock of trade union action.
- The clock of community protest.

Is this Government and this State President going to sit back until it is too late?

City CBD open to all soon

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN's Central Business District will be opened to free trading "within weeks", the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Mr Heunis said in an interview that the proclamation document was in the final stages of preparation before being submitted to the President for his signature.

However, unlike in Johannesburg and Durban, more than one business district in Cape Town could well be opened to free trading.

The Director General of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Adries van Wyk, yesterday said the Cape Town municipal area comprised more than one "higher order business district".

"Therefore, it is quite conceivable that more than one free trading area will be opened within the next few weeks in Cape Town," he said.

He indicated that, in addition to the downtown business district in Cape Town, areas such as Wynberg could also be opened to all races for business, commercial, professional or religious purposes.

Slabbert's version of talk with NIS chief

By CHRIS ERASMUS

DR Van Zyl Slabbert last night released his version of his conversation last year with the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard, and criticised the government for trying to "impugn" his credibility over the affair.

The full text of Dr Slabbert's statement appears on page 11.

In a telephone interview from Swaziland, Dr Slabbert also disclosed that he had no intention of joining or starting any extra-parliamentary group, but may teach courses at all three universities in the Western Cape.

He also intends writing for newspapers and a book on political events in South Africa "over the last year or so".

Dr Slabbert said his mind had not changed since he resigned from the leadership of the PFP and from Parliament two weeks ago and that he would like to meet and speak to as wide a range of people as possible.

"I have been in parliamentary politics for so long, I would like to meet people involved in the whole spectrum of extra-parliamentary politics, from the Broederbond to the ANC," he said.

Dr Slabbert denied any intention of joining or starting any specific extra-parliamentary organization and said rumours that he was moving closer to the UDF in this respect were entirely false.

"Whatever role I will play will ultimately crystallize out as a result of my research."

Workers exposed to radiation

Staff Reporter

FOUR employees of a French contracting firm attached to the Koeberg nuclear power station Town were exposed to "minor levels of radiation" on Wednesday afternoon during the annual re-fuelling maintenance, an Escom spokesman said yesterday.

The incident took place when seals were removed from a reactor head and "stringent operational guidelines were not closely followed", communications manager Mr E H Thal said in Johannesburg.

The contamination was immediately detected by "normal monitoring procedures," Mr Thal added.

"The levels of radiation ... were less than one percent of the permissable annual exposure for radiation workers according to very conservative limits set by the Atomic Energy Corporation." He said there would nonetheless be an inquiry.

Buthelezi 'betrayed' in talks

BONN. — The release of the taped discussion between Mr PW Botha and Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert has angered Chief Gatsha Buthlezi, currently on a European trip.

Chief Buthelezi, KwaZulu Chief Minister and President of Inkatha, said in a statement last night: "I can only regretfully conclude — after studying the text of the taped conversation relating to myself — that Mr Botha and Dr Slabbert were acting like two whites pontificating about an uppity, difficult kaffir."

He said the two men had done a "veritable hatchet job" on him.

The statement added: "This is a matter of deep concern to me. Not only on a personal level but because the widespread publicity given to the transcript of the tape will alienate a great many blacks — including of course my own supporters."

The "utterances" of the two men could not have come at a worse time, the chief said.

"I have no illusions about the world of politics and — in particular — politics in South Africa. But this time I am feeling betrayal as never before."

The taped conversation referred to the chief as wanting to be "...the only bull in the kraal". — Sapa

Banks, SA reach broad agreement

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — South Africa and its 30 major international creditor banks have reached broad agreement to resolve the immediate foreign debt crisis.

But creditor banks have suspended judgment of South Africa's credit-worthiness pending internal developments during the next 12 months

This was announced here last night by the Director-General of the Treasury, Dr Chris Stals, and the Swiss mediator, Dr Fritz Leutwiler, at separate press conferences following all-day discussions.

Dr Stals said South Africa had entered the agreement "reluctantly" but "with a lot of re-assurance, understanding and goodwill from the banks".

In terms of the agreement the South African six-month standstill on $14-billion (about R28-b) of short-term debt will end on March 31 and banks would enter into individual arrangements for the repayment of not more than five percent of the debt — amounting to about $500 million (R1-b)



Leutwiler

Dr Fritz Leutwiler announces the acceptance of his compromise proposals on South Africa's foreign debt repayment at a press conference in London yesterday.

Dr Leutwiler said: "In my personal view five percent was the maximum South Africa could afford — to go beyond it would be irresponsible."

Dr Leutwiler said the interest margins would be up to one percent higher than during the standstill.

Dr Stals said the $500 million would be an "additional burden" on South Africa's balance-of-payments. It would be added to a further $1,5-billion (R3,06-b) of debt to be repaid outside the standstill.

Reserve Bank projections, he said, were that it should be possible to get a current account surplus of $2,3-billion (R4,7-b).

Dr Leutwiler said there would be a major review in February 1987 "to determine the next step in the light of developments in South Africa".

In a major breakthrough the 30 banks will enter into direct negotiations today with Pretoria's Standstill Coordinating Committee (SCC) in a newly-constituted technical committee, the first contact between them since the government declared a moratorium freezing $14-billion of short-term debt in August last year

Dr Leutwiler stressed that the "broad consensus" did not represent a rescheduling agreement.

He said the remaining 230 smaller creditor banks — who did not attend yesterday's meeting — would convey their reaction to the agreement through him and not direct to Pretoria.

He expected positive declarations from them by "early March".

Dr Leutwiler also had a stern warning against any move to extend the standstill before March 31.

He pointed out, however that the five percent down payment would not apply to all creditor banks as "some are happy to continue doing business with South Africa".

Dr Leutwiler said that there had been no "political discussion" at the meeting but added that it was "clear to all that the political situation played a role in the background to the discussions".

However, he said, "Whoever is against apartheid cannot pull the rug out from under South Africa's feet."

Side-stepped

It was hypocritical to argue that the regime would be hardest hit by sanctions.

"They would hit hardest at those one claims to be helping," he said.

But he added that "social stability is part of the perception of creditworthiness" and he sidestepped questions to assess Pretoria's creditworthiness.

"That is a question you must ask the banks South Africa knows that there is no question of asking for fresh money at this stage."

Commenting on the mood of the meeting Dr Leutwiler said:

"There was a better understanding this morning that it is in everybody's interest that confidence in the South Africa economy is restored."

It was vital that South Africa should remain a net importer of capital if the momentum of reform was to be maintained.

● Sapa reports that Assocom last night said that the consensus reached yesterday was good for business, but its success would greatly depend upon economic and political developments in the country.

Mr Raymond Parsons, chief executive of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa, said "The outcome of the meeting between South Africa and its creditors ought to reinforce the current strengthening of the rand and enable the Reserve Bank to keep the rand at higher levels."

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	$337,75
Rand	$0,4930-40
FT index (close)	1233,20
BD 100	1223,80

Cape Times 24/2/86 (3044)

A new role for Boraine?

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The way to a new South Africa could be found if former PFP MP Dr Alex Boraine joined the National Convention Movement (NCM) as its executive director and black leaders linked up with the movement, it has been suggested.

An NCM spokesman, Mr Roelf Meyer, yesterday said Dr Boraine, with former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, could help bring together moderate and left-wing elements in a grand alliance against apartheid.

Dr Boraine yesterday met the NCM chairman, Mr Jules Browde, and Mr Meyer to discuss the possibility of his joining the NCM and the movement's future.

Mr Meyer said the NCM would have to shed its image of a movement that collaborated with groups in the "government system", and he felt Dr Boraine was the right person to do this.

"Dr Van Zyl Slabbert will support the NCM as much as possible and one of his roles could be to get progressive Afrikaners to support the movement. Similarly, Dr Boraine could be vital in getting progressive English-speaking support."

Mr Meyer said there had been progress in talking to black leaders and organizations, who had urged the NCM to continue its work.

He said Mr Browde had spoken to the ANC and another meeting was to be held soon. Black approval for the NCM depended largely on ANC approval, he added.

Botha to cut economic red tape

BUSDAY 21/2/86 2941

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

STATE President P W Botha is to be given wider powers enabling him to bypass Parliament to suspend laws and cut through red tape impacting on business and impeding economic development in SA.

In terms of the Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Bill tabled in the House of Assembly yesterday, Botha will, by proclamation, be able to suspend any legislation which in his opinion impedes economic progress or competition in the field of commerce.

These extraordinary powers are to be granted for three years, but may be extended by Act of Parliament if the need exists.

The primary purpose of this new draft legislation is to facilitate and speed up the participation of the small entrepreneur and the informal sector in the economy.

Areas over which Botha may exercise this executive power include:

☐ Requirements for the registration and licensing of businesses, undertakings, industries, trades and occupations, and the employment and use of land and premises;

☐ Registration of employees;

☐ Payment of contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund and the Workmen's Compensation Fund;

☐ Registration of and control over factories;

☐ Regulation of conditions of service and working hours and the days on which and times when business may be done;

☐ Supervision of and use of machines;

☐ Protection of the health and safety of employees;

☐ Health requirements with which premises and buildings on or in which activities are carried out;

☐ The prohibition or regulation of, or restriction on, the erection of dwellings, buildings and other structures;

☐ The conveyance of persons and goods within, from and to a specific area;

☐ The establishment of towns and town planning.

One education system in April

21/2/86 BUS DAY 30 4A

PATRICK CULL

PROVINCIAL education departments are to be scrapped and schools throughout SA will fall under the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly from April 1.

The move, however, has been condemned by the Progressive Federal Party. MP for Pinetown Roger Burrows said English-speaking parents had been excluded from the consultations which preceeded the decision.

Announcing the transfer of the four departments to the ministry yesterday, Budget Minister in the House of Assembly F W de Klerk said that much of the detail involved in the transfer still had to be worked out.

Presenting his own affairs budget, De

● To Page 2

Single education system is announced

BUS DAY 30 4A 21/2/86

● From Page 1

Klerk said details would be spelled out by Education and Culture Minister Piet Claase when the main budget was presented later this session.

Burrows said the take-over of provincial education by Pretoria had to be condemned for several reasons:

☐ It removed the last vestige of federalism which had been one result of the National Convention which took place prior to Union.

☐ Consultations which had taken place prior to the announced take-over had been intermittent. English-speaking parents, particularly, had been excluded from consultation.

☐ There was a lack of clarity as to which matters would go to Pretoria and which would be run by the new provincial education councils.

☐ The demise of provincial control would remove "from local influence the most vital function affecting children".

86 BUSDAY 304A

her, says PFP

t says no Moutse



● SUZMAN

BARRY STREEK

"The Opposition formally requested time to permit Parliament to approve or disapprove the proclamation, as contemplated in the Act.

"That request was refused.

"We then asked government formally to give us an assurance that if we used private members' time for a debate, government would permit the matter to proceed to a vote.

"We have now been told that this request has also been refused," Bamford said.

"It is our view that there is a strong moral obligation, if not a legal obligation, to afford Parliament an opportunity to adjudicate an executive action, namely the incorporation by way of proclamation.

"Government is denying Parliament this opportunity and is effectively preventing an open vote on a matter of particular constitutional importance."

Eglin to question Botha on recordings

BUSDAY 21/2/86 304A

BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT P W Botha is to be questioned in the Assembly about the tape-recording of his conversation in November last year with former Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Acting Opposition leader Colin Eglin has tabled a series of questions about the so-called "Botha bugs". They are scheduled for answer on Tuesday, March 4.

Eglin wants to know whether all Botha's conversations are recorded and, if this is not the case, what criteria are used in deciding which will be recorded.

He will ask whether participants in discussions are warned beforehand the talks will be recorded.

Eglin will also ask whether transcripts are made of all recorded discussions.

De Klerk hits at PFP and its Press

BUSDAY 21/2/86.

THE Progressive Federal Party and its newspapers should stop "mauling and making personal attacks on people", Minister of the Budget F W de Klerk said in the Assembly yesterday.

Replying to second reading debate on the House's Part Appropriation Bill, he said Alf Widman (PFP Hillbrow) had asked whether he was one of the people responsible for the State President's "turnaround" over the speech to the Durban NP congress last year.

"I was not involved," said De Klerk.

He said he could not recognise the speech he made in the No Confidence debate in the versions represented by the PFP and the PFP Press.

They had quoted selectively from the State President's speech at the opening of Parliament.

Turning to the issue of own schools and living areas, De Klerk said there could be no doubt that the majority of white voters supported the concept of own schools and living areas and this was why the National Party was in government. — Sapa.

Commerce and industry welcome debt-deal but bankers are cautious

21/2/86 STAR

304A

By Duncan Collings
Deputy Finance Editor

"The overiding reaction to the agreement reached yesterday between South Africa and its creditor banks is one of relief.

Although the terms are harsh, they are no worse than had been widely predicted and are broadly in line with the Leutwiler Plan which was circulated some weeks ago, the essential details of which have been known for some time.

Organised commerce and industry were universal in welcoming the agreement insofar as it removes the enormous uncertainty under which they have been operating since last August, but they also caution that it will be a long time before South African borrowers, whether they be from the private or the public sector, are welcomed back into the international capital markets.

Bankers, foreign exchange dealers and stock market brokers were equally unanimous in welcoming the agreement.

But they also caution that the country is a very long way from coming out of the woods and that difficult times brought about by the new conditions of the agreement lie ahead.

"The rand opened steady at 49,40 US cents this morning but could move lower reflecting the very harsh terms as they become fully appreciated," one banker commented.

R4,5 billion

He added that "the five percent the country has to pay in the next 12 months, together with interest, together with a portion of the unfrozen debts will undoubtedly strain the balance of payments."

"You are talking about something in the region of R4,5 billion — and that is an awful lot of money to send out of the country. It will pretty well wipe out the balance of payments surplus and can only be funded because of the expected three percent GDP growth rate this year. What happens if the economy is not as good next year is anybody's guess," he said.

Nonethless, he and other bankers were relieved that the country could slowly re-take its role in the international capital markets without the uncertainties which have characterised the past few months.

The bankers said that interest rates will come under upward pressure because of the outlow of cash and the long awaited economic recovery will take longer to get under way as a proportion of the funds needed for stimulating the economy is siphoned off for debt repayment.

On the positive side, however, a rand at about its current level will keep cash from exports flowing into the government's coffers, with the rand earnings of exporters being kept at reasonable levels. And this will help to restimulate the economy and put the country back on the road to positive growth.

Of significance was the absence of politics from the negotiations in london yesterday. Both Dr Chris Stals and Dr Fritz leutwiler pointed out that there had been no raising of political demands during the talks.

While social stability is fundamental in the assessment of any investment risk, there is evidently a more sober perception in banking circles abroad of the political and economic realities of the south african situation.

The association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) says that the consensus reached between South Africa and its creditors was good for business, but its success would greatly depend upon economic and political developments in the country.

Commenting on the agreement, Mr Raymond Parsons, chief executive of the Assocom said: "The fact that consensus has apparently been reached in London on the future handling of South Africa's external debt problem is good for business confidence.

Stronger rand

"The outcome of the meeting between South Africa and its creditors ought to reinforce the current strengthening of the rand and enable the Reserve Bank to keep the rand at higher levels.

"Bearing in mind, however, that the partial interim settlement is subject to annual review and further negotiation, it ultimate success will greatly depend upon economic and political developments in South Africa in the period ahead."

The Federated Chamber of Industries said that the country is paying a high price in terms of capital repayment for a return to normal international banking relations.

Nevertheless organised industry welcomed the agreement with relief.

Blue Circle Limited

'Would have resigned anywhere else'

Schwarz blames Govt for unrest

STAR 21/2/86 p3

By Jo-Anne Richards

Any Western government would have resigned after doing what the Government had done to the South African economy, Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz said in Johannesburg last night.

At a meeting in Yeoville in support of Mr Tony Leon, the PFP candidate in the Ward 30 by-election, Mr Schwarz said South Africa's currency was "debased in international terms", bankruptcies had reached unprecedented levels and unrest was at levels not seen in South Africa before.

"The Government takes the lead in inflation and raising inflation expectations, as the rail tariff increases just announced demonstrate," he added.

"When problems have arisen in the economy, the Government has applied measures which have made the situation worse, and, when it has tried to do something about its own mistakes, it has again applied the wrong measures."

The result had been to destroy jobs, bankrupt businesses and, most seriously, "it has been a major contributing factor to unrest which will leave scars that will remain for ever".

The blame lay squarely on the shoulders of the Government, he said.

A parliamentary opposition was essential to probe and question, to expose incorrect policies and provide alternative policies. "Someone needs to give a lead, someone needs to show the road."

There was a need for a bridge between communities and for someone to speak abroad against boycotts and disinvestment "with the credibility of always having been against apartheid".

"The election of Tony Leon will be a voice for change, to question, to prod in the city council. His opponent, if elected, would have no effect on the council," he said.

Mr Leon, reacting to a reference to his "youth and inexperience" by his opponent, Mr Sam Bloomberg, agreed that he was "completely inexperienced" in supporting "a system which judges the worth of a human being on the colour of his skin rather than on the content of his character".

"I am proud to have had no part or experience in the aforegoing Nationalist Party disaster areas," he said.

He added that he believed in open government and planning with everyone, not in "stealth and secrecy" as the Johannesburg National Party administration did. He would establish a residents' association for people to contribute to upgrading and maintenance. He would also ensure that their "legitimate law and order requirements" could be met by policemen on patrol.



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'NP not against free association'

Whites want own identity, says FW



Mr F W de Klerk

PARLIAMENT — There could be no doubt that the majority of white voters supported the concept of own schools and living areas, the Minister of the Budget, Mr F W de Klerk, said today.

Replying to Second Reading debate on the House's Part Appropriation Bill, he said this was the reason why the National Party was in government, and that there were so few members in the opposition benches.

Members of the NP were not against association between people of different racial groups.

In his speech at the opening of Parliament the State President had given a long list of areas in which association took place without hindrance.

There was free association in sport and with the amendment to the Liquor Act, in hotels.

All this had occurred under the rule of the NP.

The Government did not want to "cut people off" from one another, as long as a group's existence as a group, and its security, was not threatened.

In the 1983 referendum the white group had said it wanted differentiation of groups and own living areas but that it was prepared to associate in Parliament.

"We sit together in the Cabinet, but group security is safeguarded. This was the reason for the overwhelming 'yes'-vote."

The voters had said they were prepared to accept voluntary association across a wide terrain as long as they could continue to regulate those issues fundamental to their own group identity and that they established their own community life.

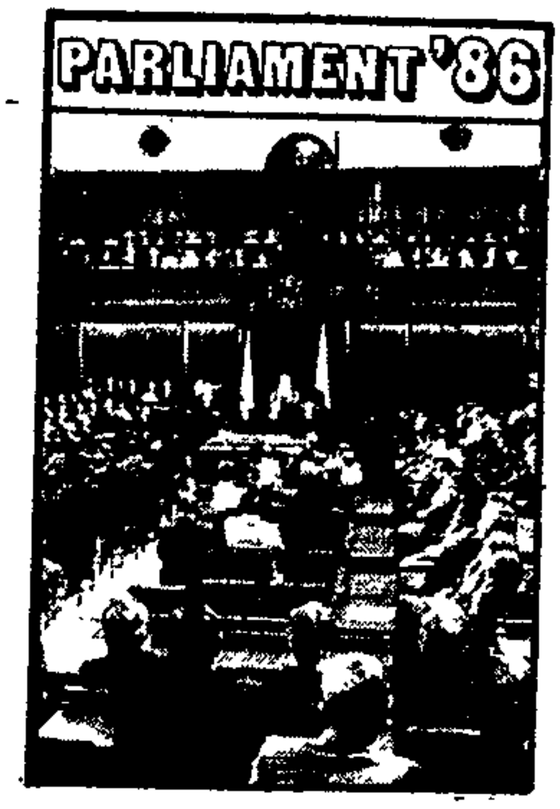
The Bill was read a second time after a division. — Sapa.

Coloured schools now open to all

PARLIAMENT — The opening of coloured schools to all races has been made official.

Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, announced in the House yesterday that all schools in his department would immediately be classified as open.

No pupils will be rejected on grounds of race, colour or belief. The only restriction will be the availability of classroom accommodation. — Political Staff.



Coloureds seek R532-m more in Mini-Budget

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — A Mini-Budget of R532 million for coloured own affairs was presented to the House of Representatives by the Minister of the Budget, the Rev Andrew Julies.

The amount, an increase of 33 percent over last year's Mini-Budget, is needed to tide over the finances of the House of Representatives' four departments from the end of the present financial year in March, until the main Budget was approved in June.

Education and Culture will receive R267,2 million, Health and Welfare R163,8 million, Local Government, Housing and Agriculture R97,2 million, and the Budget department R3,8 million.

Mr Arthur Booysen, leader of the opposition Freedom Party, rejected the Mini-Budget. He said that when the last one was presented he sympathised with the Minister of the Budget because he had not compiled it himself.

But now the Minister had himself presented a discriminatory and insulting Budget which could never lead the coloured people out of their suffering.

Mr Cecil Kippen (LP, Durban Suburbs) said the own affairs concept was a disaster. The only group who find it viable are the whites, because they control the inflow and outflow of cash.

Chairman Mr Philip Sanders interrupted to rule that the principle of own affairs could not be discussed in the debate.

Most of the debate consisted of members pleading parochially for more money to be diverted to the material problems of their consituencies.

BEGGED

For instance, Mr Cecil Herandien (LP, Macassar) begged for subsidies for the squatters of Blikkiesdorp, whose shacks he said were worse than those of Crossroads.

"We are not ungrateful when we say the budget is not enough. But this is an increase on last year, and as long as there is movement, there is hope."

Little opposition to Indian budget

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The R242-million mini-budget debate in the House of Delegates went ahead yesterday with scarcely a whimper of protest from the opposition Solidarity.

Last year the budget produced fiery allegations from Solidarity against the then Budget Minister, Mr Boetie Abramjee of the ruling National People's Party, and a strongly-worded amendment opposing the own affairs Part Appropriation Bill was moved.

But now, as the result of a re-shuffle, a member of the Opposition, former Solidarity leader Mr J N Reddy is Minister of the Budget.

So when Mr Reddy introduced the Bill yesterday, Solidarity members were constrained from moving an opposing amendment.

Instead, acting leader Mr Yunus Moolla (Solidarity, Stanger) spoke of the need to put up a united front, and appealed to Mr Reddy to use his post effectively.

Mr Reddy said in his speech that he wished to congratulate the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, for the courageous actions he had taken to prevent the destruction of the country's economy.

He pointed out that he had been appointed as Budget Minister only after the money-cake had already been sliced. But he was confident that the House of Delegates had got the largest possible slice of the cake.

The Bill provides:

- R131 035 000 for Education and Culture;
- R68 820 000 for Local Government, Housing and Agriculture;
- R39 070 000 for Health Services and Welfare;
- R3 075 000 for Budgetary and Auxiliary Services.

This totals R242 million — an increase of 39 percent over last year's R174-million budget.

Mr Reddy said the increase was for the streamlining of various departments and the provision of extra schools, houses and community services.

The former Budget Minister, Mr Boetie Abramjee (NPP, Laudium), who was sacked by President P W Botha last year, congratulated his successor. He appealed to Mr Reddy to do his utmost to help bring about equal pensions for all races.

Quiet 'honest broker' slips on to political scene

By Jo-Anne Richards

A Swiss-based organisation has quietly moved into the South African political sphere in an attempt to play "honest broker" to its wide variety of interest groups.

But members stress they are not just another "bunch of overseas experts come to present a blueprint of ideas to the people here".

For some months now the Foundation for International Conciliation has been involved in setting up a "self-help" problem-solving programme to aid South Africans in resolving their own conflicts.

"We're a totally independent, non-profit foundation," said director Mr Michael Davis. "We have no affiliations with any government, and our work involves quietly addressing the causes of dispute in different situations.

"We have certain skills and, as other foundations give money to causes, we give time and know-how. We're funded by donations, but only accept them with no strings attached."

Mr Davis said he was aware of South African disillusionment with groups of overseas experts presenting "answers" to political problems.

"We've no description of what South Africa should look like. We have no preconditions at all, and we don't pretend to be specialists on the situation. South Africans themselves have more than enough valuable ideas. And solutions to the problems here will have to be organic and homegrown."

The foundation's intention is to be to provide a neutral meeting point for South Africans to solve their own problems.

Mr Davis said people wanting to participate could do so, with no preconditions.

"As non-South Africans, we're not in a position to set any," he said.

He was anxious that the organisation should not develop a "do-gooder, amateur" image and stressed their conflict-resolving approach was highly skilled. Their first step had been to ensure they were wanted here at all. They received a "strong positive indication", said Mr Davis.

They are now in contact with a "wide variety" of political groups, in and outside the country. But he did not wish to name the groups at this stage.

"We've been accused of obsessive secrecy, but that's not true. We're bound to protect people from risk, and we try not to lay them open to pressure and speculation."

The foundation's skills involved encouraging people to explore the interests and fears which lay behind the fixed, unbending "positions" they often took, Mr Davis explained. They were also aided in moving away from symbols. People often saw situations in terms of frightening stereotypes and symbols — as "black majority rule" had become for whites.

As black aspirations became more specific, many white fears could begin to seem unfounded. The process would try to take advantage of that "momentum" to produce plans for the country, which could be implemented.

The process carefully avoided deadlock by speaking to participants separately when their views were too divergent for them to meet. But as shared interests came to light, they were more able to hold discussions. Eventually, the foundation "will quietly slide out of the picture".

"Though political views here are so divergent, it already transpires that there is much more common ground than is allowed to come out. We have already established that people from a surprisingly wide spectrum are interested in looking into their common interests."

Taped conversation of Botha and Slabbert disturbing, says Buthelezi

BONN — The release of the taped discussion between the State President and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the former Opposition leader, has angered Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, currently in Europe.

Chief Buthelezi, kwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, yesterday issued a statement reacting to references made about him in the conversation.

"I can only regretfully conclude — after studying the text of the taped conversation relating to myself — that Mr P W Botha and Dr Slabbert were acting like two whites pontificating about an uppity, difficult kaffir.

"I must, at the outset, assume that the information conveyed to me here in Germany is correct. If it is, then I find it most distasteful and extremely disturbing. While I am working day and night to implore Western leaders and others to help South Africa work towards a negotiated future in which there will be power-sharing, peaceful change and national reconciliation, I learn to my distress that back home I am being stabbed in the back," the statement added.

"This is a matter of deep concern to me. Not only on a personal level but because the widespread publicity given to the transcript of the tape will alienate a great many blacks — including of course my own supporters."

"If whites are seeking blacks with whom they can negotiate and share power, this then is an object lesson on how not to go about it."

The taped conversation referred to the chief as wanting to be "... the only bull in the kraal."

"They accuse me of wanting to talk alone and of not wanting to talk with other black people," Chief Buthelezi's statement said.

He refuted the image, saying: "This amazes me." — Sapa.

Class 18b Printing — Magazines

Judge: Bob Durrant	Class winner: Building With Steel	The Battley Brothers Trophy

Judge's comment

All of the ten entries in this class were good and half of these warranted special awards.

However it is still disappointing to see entrants for "Best Magazine" status unable to fulfill basic quality requirements such as alignment of text across a page and back-up register.

Black and white halftones still seem to be treated as the "poor relations" when compared with the meticulous attention often paid to the colour halftones. I find it difficult to believe that black and white quality is more difficult to achieve than multicolour quality.

Uneven inking was also a reason for many lost points, together with imperfect ink/water balance and the inevitable crop of "unavoidable" ink spots, fluff, scratches and ink splashes.

It should be emphasised however, that the judgement of the very best entries rested upon criticism of the most minute faults and blemishes due to the very high standard of reproduction in these journals.

CLASS WINNER
87 marks
1 **Building With Steel**
Editor: M. H. Shepheard
Publisher: Constrado
Printer: Menage Graphic Production Ltd

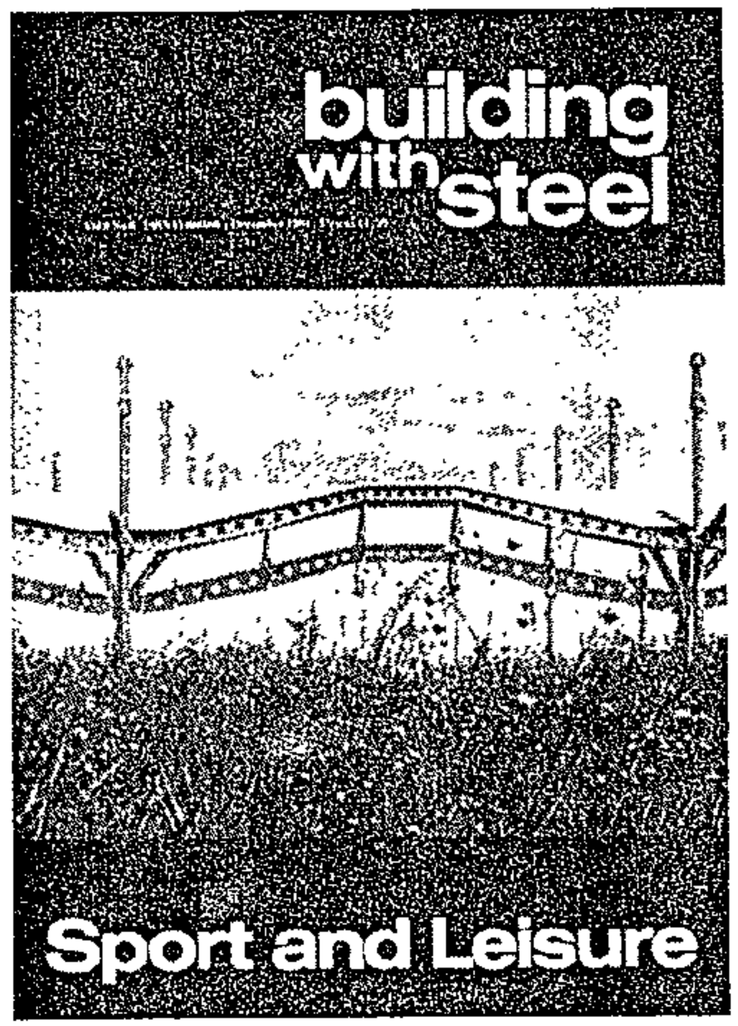
AWARD OF EXCELLENCE
86 marks
2 **Essobron**
Editor: Joh. Diepraam
Publisher: Esso Nederland B.V.
Printer: Wijt Drukkers

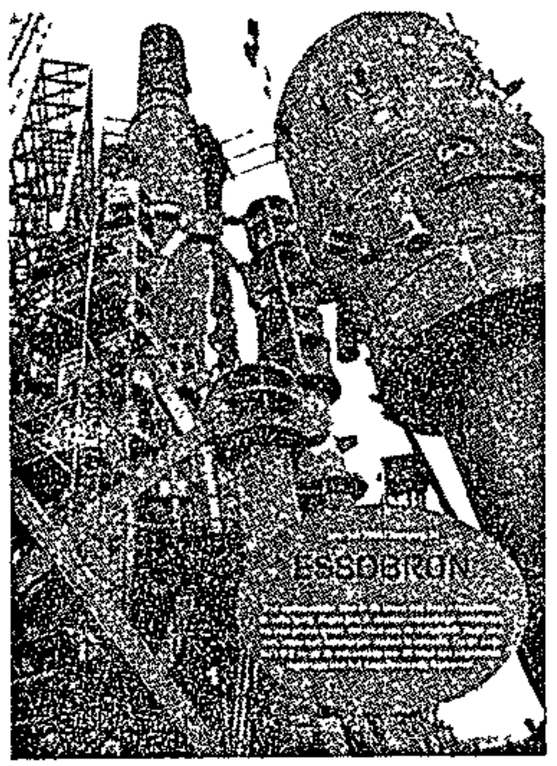
AWARD OF EXCELLENCE
84 marks
3 **Shell Times**
Editor: Elizabeth McGuigan
Publisher: Shell UK Limited
Printer: Balding + Mansell Limited

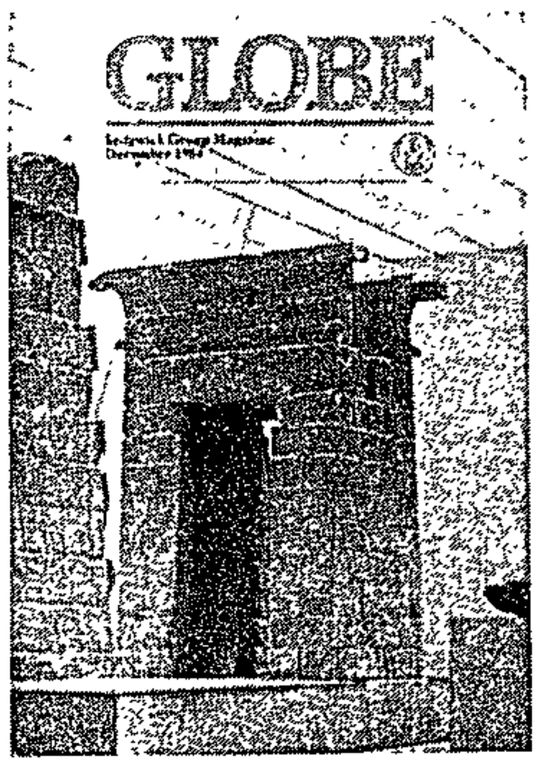
CERTIFICATE OF MERIT
82 marks
4 = **Globe**
Editor: Monica Mackmurdo and Simon Sitwell
Publisher: Sedgwick Group plc
Printer: Sceptre Litho Ltd

CERTIFICATE OF MERIT
82 marks
4 = **Pioneer**
Editor: Laurence Burns
Publisher: Britoil PLC
Printer: Balding + Mansell Limited

Other entrants in alphabetical order:
Deloitte Haskins & Sells Quarterly Review
Pensioners Diary
Scottish Gaslife
The Laing Magazine
Tone







Slabbert tape row: new twist



● SLABBERT

PETER WALLINGTON

FORMER PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said last night that government was trying to impugn his credibility, rather than establish the facts, by only selectively releasing transcripts of conversations he had with government officials.

Slabbert had called on National Intelligence Service chief Dr Neil Barnard to release the transcript of a conversation he had with Slabbert last year.

An NIS spokesman said yesterday it was not department policy to release tapes of conversations, and it would not release the Slabbert transcript.

However, Slabbert told *Business Day* last night that he found it "inexplicable that government is prepared to make public a confidential discussion bugged without my knowledge, but is not prepared to disclose what I said to the head of NIS when I specifically asked him to record and transcribe my discussion and to make it available to the State President and whomsoever he wanted to."

Slabbert said this showed that the main purpose was to impugn his credibility, rather than to establish the facts.

He said he had told Barnard that freedom of choice had to be restored in SA, and that this meant all apartheid laws

● To Page 2

Tape row continues

● From Page 1

had to be scrapped and that the only basis for self determination for any gourp would be voluntary association.

"Only after this had been done could effective negotiations for an alternative constitution begin. This would entail unbanning the African National Congress and other organisations and releasing all political prisoners so that they could participate in the negotiation process."

Slabbert stressed the role of the security forces in such a transition, and said if they were not committed to getting rid of apartheid and understanding what negotiation was all about, they could actually wreck any chances of peaceful negotiation.

"I mentioned specifically examples of brutality that had come to my attention and also requested whomsoever had influence to investigate those allegations."

He said this was broadly what was entailed in his conversation with Barnard, and demonstrated quite clearly how he saw the reform process and what role government had to play in order to get negotiatons off the ground.

"Most of this is in any case contained in my opening address in the No Confidence debate. Nothing that is said in it poses a threat to state security or is of such a confidential nature that it cannot be disclosed.

"I therefore have to assume there is a sinister motive in the manner in which the State President's office has tried to impugn my credibilty."

● See Page 4

Swart leads PFP caucus

STAR 21/2/86

3041A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, was elected chairman of the party caucus yesterday to replace Mr Colin Eglin, who was elected party leader at the weekend. Mr Roger Hulley (Constantia), the Cape leader, is deputy chairman. Both go on to the central executive.

Minimal repayment of $500m this year

Leutwiler clinches foreign debt deal

LONDON — South Africa and its 30 major international creditor banks have reached broad agreement on resolving the foreign debt crisis.

But they have suspended judgment on SA's credit-worthiness pending internal developments over the next 12 months.

The announcement was made in London last night by Director-General of the Treasury Chris Stals and Swiss mediator Fritz Leutwiler at separate Press conferences after day-long talks.

JOHN BATTERSBY

Stals said SA had entered into the agreement reluctantly, but with a lot of reassurance, understanding and goodwill on the part of the banks.

The six-month standstill on $14bn of short-term debt will end on March 31. The banks will make individual arrangements for the repayment of not more than 5% of the debt: about $500m.

Stals said the $500m would be an additional burden on SA's balance of payments. It would be added to a further $1,5bn of debt to be repaid outside the standstill.

Stals described the agreement as a major step towards normality and said it would be used as the basis for the negotiation of fresh loans.

Leutwiler said interest margins would be up to 1% higher than during the standstill.

There would be a major review in February 1987 to determine the next step in the light of developments in South Africa, he said.

The 30 banks will enter into direct negotiations today with the Standstill Coordinating Committee (SCC) in a newly-constituted technical committee.

This will represent the first contact between creditor banks and Pretoria since government declared a freeze on $14bn of short-term debt last August.

Leutwiler said the broad consensus did not represent a rescheduling agreement.

The agreement was reached after several hours of discussion on the basis of Leutwiler's published proposals and was clearly a personal triumph for the Swiss banker who faced a battery of TV cameras at London's Savoy Hotel.

Leutwiler said the remaining 230 smaller creditor banks, who did not attend yesterday's meeting, would convey their reaction to the agreement through him and not directly to Pretoria.

He expected positive declarations from them by early March.

He conceded Pretoria had accepted proposals reluctantly.

"In my personal view, 5% was the maximum SA could afford. To go beyond it would be irresponsible," he said.

He voiced a stern warning against any move to extend the standstill.

He said, however, that the 5% down payment would not apply to all creditor banks as, "some are happy to continue doing business with South Africa".

Leutwiler said there had been no political discussion at the meeting. But it was, "clear to all that the political situation played a role in the background to the discussions".

He said President P W Botha's speech opening of Parliament had contained clear and concrete undertakings to do away with apartheid.

While internal opinion was divided as

● To Page 3

● Editorial Comment on Page 6

Banks agree on terms

● From Page 1

to the manner and time-scale for dismantling apartheid, the vast majority agreed it should go.

"The opinion of the overwhelming majority of South Africans is that the way must lie through reform, and not in revolution and civil war.

"Economic disaster in South Africa would be the breeding ground for the spread of violence," he said.

"Whoever is against apartheid cannot pull the rug out from under South Africa's feet."

It was hypocritical to argue that SA would be hard-hit by sanctions.

"They would hit hardest at those one claims to be helping," he said.

"Social stability is part of the perception of credit-worthiness," he said. He side-stepped questions on assessing Pretoria's credit-worthiness.

"That is a question you must ask the banks.

"South Africa knows that there is no question of asking for fresh money at this stage," he said.

Commenting on the mood of the meeting, Leutwiler said:

"There was a better understanding this morning that it is in everybody's interest that confidence in the South African economy be restored."

He said South Africa was a developing country and it was vital that it should remain a net importer of capital if the momentum of reform was to be maintained.

South Africa was not in a position to finance future development and implement further reforms out of its own capital, he said.

Slabbert on talks with NIS

CAPE TIMES 21/2/86 3044

By CHRIS ERASMUS

THE "Botha bugs" controversy took a new turn last night when Dr Van Zyl Slabbert criticized the government's "sinister motive" in trying to impugn his credibility and disclosed the essence of his conversation last year with the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard.

Dr Slabbert's disclosure of the contents of his discussion with Dr Barnard — held shortly after he had been to see the State President, Mr P W Botha — came after Dr Barnard had ignored Dr Slabbert's challenge to him to release a transcript of their conversation.

Credibility

"I find it inexplicable that the government is prepared to make public a confidential discussion that they had bugged without my knowledge, but are not prepared to disclose what I had said to the head of NIS when I specifically had asked him to record and transcribe my discussion and to make it available to the State President and whomsoever he wanted to," said Dr Slabbert in a statement.

"This obviously shows that the main purpose is to impugn my credibility rather than to establish the facts.

"The conversation I had with the State President makes it clear that I was going to explain to Dr Barnard how I saw that we could get out of our present predicament.

Negotiations

"In essence I told him that freedom of choice had to be restored in South Africa and that this meant that all apartheid laws had to be scrapped and that the only basis for self-determination for any group had to be voluntary association.

"Only after this had been done could effective negotiations for an alternative constitution begin.

"This would entail unbanning the ANC and other organizations and releasing all political prisoners so that they could participate in the negotiation process.

"I further stressed the importance of the role that the security forces must play in such a period of transition and that if they were not committed to getting rid of apartheid and understanding what negotiation is all about, they could actually wreck any chances of peaceful negotiation.

"I mentioned specific examples of brutality that had come to my attention and also requested whosoever had influence to investigate these allegations.

Debate

"This is broadly what was entailed in my conversation with Dr Barnard and demonstrates quite clearly how I saw the reform process and what role the government had to play in order to get negotiation off the ground.

"Most of this is, in any case, contained in my opening address in the no-confidence debate.

"Nothing that is said in it (the transcription) poses any threat to state security or is of such a confidential nature that it cannot be disclosed.

"I therefore have to assume that there is a sinister motive in the manner in which the State President's office has tried to impugn my credibility," said the statement.

Principle

● A spokesman for the NIS said last night that the Service and Dr Barnard were "not attempting to duck the issue raised by Dr Slabbert" in not releasing the transcription of the conversation.

"It is a matter of principle that we do not disclose any contacts or any matter discussed between ourselves and any other parties.

"The impression created in some newspapers that the NIS refused to give permission to Dr Slabbert to release the contents of a transcription of the conversation to the public is incorrect.

"Dr Slabbert is entitled to give his own views to anyone he wishes to, whether he gave these to us or anyone else," said the spokesman.

White resistance to change has also been strengthened recently by the terrorist bombing of an Amanzimtoti shopping centre, and the planting of landmines on farm roads near the northern borders with Zimbabwe and Botswana.

In an editorial at the weekend, the pro-government Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*, acknowledged reports of the white backlash, but urged government not to overreact. It said opinion polls indicated that most whites still support reform.

The newspaper published a poll taken in December showing NP support at 48,7%; PFP, 20,1%; CP, 12,1%; HNP, 3%; and the New Republic Party, 2,6%. Of the respondents, 13,6% said they would not vote.

Perhaps significantly, 72% of those surveyed believed government should not at this stage talk to the ANC about resolving the country's crises. ■

IN MY OPINION

SLABBERT RESIGNATION

21/2/86 FIN MAIL

3074A

'It's incomprehensible'



Noted political analyst Stanley Uys, former head of SA Associated Newspapers' London bureau, takes Frederik van Zyl Slabbert to task for resigning from Parliament.

Two weeks after "The Resignation" and we are still none the wiser why Van Zyl Slabbert quit Parliament just when he was beginning to get somewhere.

Here is a highly intelligent man, with a trained academic mind and an Afrikaner's "feel" for politics, plus 12 years' experience as an MP, seven of them as a leader. Yet his explanations and re-explanations in print and on SATV and SABC have been contradictory, mostly irrelevant and even incoherent.

Slabbert announced that he was leaving Parliament because it was an "ineffective" institution. In the same breath, he urged his former Progressive Federal Party (PFP) colleagues to continue doing their valuable work there, and later he reaffirmed this advice when he said: "If constitutional change is to have any success, it has to come from Parliament." Then last week he withdrew to his first premise, and rounded on a newspaper columnist for advising PFP members to "hang on, things will come right. . ." He berated the columnist for talking "nonsense."

One of Slabbert's friends, Andrew Savage, has proferred the excuse that the business community and Afrikaner verligtes let Slabbert down. This is a peculiar way of looking at politics. Neither the business community nor the verligtes nor anyone else owes a leader of an Opposition a living. It is his job to fight for their support.

Besides, the PFP has more MPs now than it has ever had, the business community has given Slabbert more support than it gave any of his predecessors, and the emergence of born-again Afrikaner verligtes is a phenomenon from which Slabbert has benefited more than anyone else.

If Slabbert sees no further purpose in serving in Parliament because it is "ineffective," then what must others do who find themselves in similar situations? Should a newspaper editor resign because he is butting his head against a brick wall? Should a judge resign because he is overtaken by despair over what is happening to the judicial system? Should civil rights workers admit defeat and pack it in? Should the universities have closed up shop after the Extension of University Education Act? The parallels are numerous.

If Slabbert had decided, for purely personal reasons, that he had had enough, that he wanted out, well and good. Nobody can expect a young man like Slabbert to take on the leadership of the PFP as a life sentence. But then he should have arranged his departure differently — in consultation with his colleagues and in a manner calculated to inflict the minimum — not the maximum — damage to his party.

One suspects that personal reasons may have played a part, but that Slabbert's frustration over the inadequate pace of reform was the more important factor. Slabbert was impatient to make his contribution to the reform process, and he knew that this had to be done through Parliament. Inescapably, this cast him in a supportive role — with President Botha at the receiving end of the support.

It was this support which Botha rejected, arrogantly. He threw it back in Slabbert's face, and now we have seen Slabbert's Revenge, and sweet revenge it would be too, if it were not for the other disastrous consequences. Botha should not reject offers of support in future so disdainfully. The loss of credibility, at home and abroad, that his reform programme has suffered as a result of Slabbert's resignation is devastating. Slabbert really pulled the plug on the Rubicon 2 speech.

In the process, Slabbert has enhanced his own credibility among blacks and others, but it is the kind of achievement that turns to ashes, because it is at the expense of his party. The very fact that he has won credibility by walking out of Parliament implies that his party has lost credibility by remaining in it. What are opposition voters supposed to do now — tear up their ballot papers?

Slabbert's frustrations are totally understandable. Many of us share them. But what is astonishing is that Slabbert should not have recognised his frustrations for what they are — a product of raised expectations. His whole academic training should have told him that frustrations are at their most acute when they are closest to being released, when fulfilment is approaching.

Slabbert knows all the classic revolutionary analogies: that it is not the totally oppressed who start revolutions, but the ones who are on their way up, the ones whose expectations have been raised and who believe that they are reaching out for success. Parliament is not all that different. It, too, is seething with expectations. For Slabbert to pull out at this juncture, at this moment of impending crisis, boggles the mind.

Much nonsense has been written and spoken about the "mediating" role Slabbert can play. Between whom? What can he achieve outside Parliament that he could not achieve more successfully in Parliament? He may have the credibility now to approach blacks as a go-between, or to pull together some of the fragments of an extra-parliamentary opposition, but where will he go from there — back to the institution he has rejected?

The single, inescapable fact of life in SA today is that nothing is going to change in the white-black conflict until the mould of white politics is broken, because that is where the guns and the power are. This is the starting point. And there is abundant evidence that the mould one day will crack. The symptoms are all there — the huge ideological confusion in the country, the restlessness, the jangled nerves, the lack of direction, the tendency for everyone to do his own thing (KwaNatal options, western Cape options, eastern Cape options, no doubt soon a Soweto option), the ominous emergence of vigilantes, and so on.

These are all symptoms of an impending crisis in white politics, of the centre not being able to hold. Probably the mould will not crack soon, because SA has a peculiarly difficult problem: President Botha is at the limits of his reform potential, and yet at the same time he is powerfully and imperiously in charge. So it's deadlock.

This is why frustrations are running so high. Sooner or later though that white mould is going to crack, and then SA will be into a whole new ball game. So why then, when all this is beginning to happen, does Slabbert want no part of it? He more than anyone else in the opposition had the stature to help break the white mould. Yet just when his labours over 12 years were beginning to bear fruit, he packed it in. It's incomprehensible.

EIN MAIL

STATE OF EMERGENCY

21/2/86

Le Grange speaks

Although the number of unrest incidents in SA has dropped, the "revolutionary climate" in the country has not subsided, according to Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange.

Speaking in the President's Council in Cape Town, Le Grange blamed most of the violence on the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), the SA Communist Party (SACP) and the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). He said they were working through internal organisations, including the United Democratic Front (UDF), Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

In a comprehensive overview of internal conflict, he said SA faced a "Communist onslaught" aimed at overthrowing the government by force.

Le Grange accused a number of organisations, including the banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and some UDF affiliates, of systematically intensifying unrest throughout the country after it erupted in the Vaal Triangle in September, 1984. The proclamation of a State of Emergency and the banning of Cosas had led to a marked decrease in violence, but unrest had been deliberately spread to other areas.

Le Grange said ANC attacks on white "soft targets" can be expected to increase. He said an "elementary" form of military training was being given to ANC recruits in neighbouring states and even inside the country. He denied, however, that the ANC had a military infrastructure inside the country, although a constant effort was being made to create one.

While the ANC was not the initiator of all internal unrest, it tried to claim that the situation was the result of its call to make the country ungovernable. "The SAP remains in control of the situation, successfully traces terrorist infiltrators and is able to prevent many planned acts of terror," he said. ■

PFP 3024A FIN MAIL 21/2/86

Rallying around Eglin

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) emerged from its key federal council meeting in Johannesburg last weekend with a new leadership and the determination to recover quickly from the setbacks resulting from the resignations of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine.

Party spokesmen have dismissed reports that the new team represents a "leftwing" takeover and claim the PFP has "closed ranks." There are, however, still obvious tensions between party factions.

Some of the "reformists" who merged with the Progressive Party in 1977, precipitating the death of the old United Party, are clearly unhappy with some of the new senior office-bearers. They see them as representing the "left wing" of the party, and believe the new line-up could cause the PFP to lose white voter support.

Another faction, made up mainly of young "radicals" from the eastern and western Cape regions, had hoped to keep Colin Eglin out of the leader's chair and is expected to continue its efforts to oust him. It seems, however, that both factions are fairly small and that the mainstream of the PFP is fully behind the new team.

Eglin has launched himself into his second shot at PFP leadership with renewed vigour in the obvious knowledge that he is probably the only MP capable of keeping the party afloat at this stage.

The key leaders are now: Eglin; Gardens MP Ken Andrew, who takes over from Boraine as chairman of the federal council; PFP Transvaal leader and Bezuidenhout MPC Douglas Gibson, who becomes deputy chairman of the federal council; Durban Central MP Peter Gastrow who takes over from Eglin as party chairman; PFP leader in the President's Council Robin Carlisle who has been appointed secretary general; and Johannesburg North MP, Peter Soal, who is the new director of special projects.



PFP's Eglin . . . taking a second shot

Eglin was elected unopposed. Andrew beat Gibson and Gastrow was elected ahead of Gibson and Roger Hulley, the party's Cape leader and MP for Constantia. Gibson beat Pieter Schoeman, another PFP member of the President's Council. Both Carlisle and Soal were appointed to their newly-created positions by the federal council. Carlisle will liaise between the party leadership and formations in the field, and Soal will oversee special projects which could include tasks such as unrest monitoring.

Initial indications that Gastrow — regarded in some circles as a rising star in the PFP — would challenge Eglin for the leadership were scotched when he announced at the start of Saturday's meeting that he was not available for election and would not be available at the federal congress due to take place around August.

Seemingly then, Eglin will lead the PFP for the foreseeable future. But the injection of new young blood into the leadership corps has laid the foundation for a future leadership for the party.

Gastrow, Andrew, Carlisle and Gibson are regarded as potential PFP leaders in years to come. Their elevation appears to be an attempt to avoid the situation prevailing under Slabbert in which there was a serious shortage of obvious successors. ■

Buthelezi lashes out at PW, Slabbert



Dr F van Zyl Slabbert

TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE "battle of the tape" has taken a new turn — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has entered the fray with a sharp attack on both President P W Botha and former PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert has now given details of yet another confidential conversation, this time with the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard.

This one was tape-recorded at Dr Slabbert's request. The Government refuses to release the tape, although he has challenged it to do so.

Chief Buthelezi said he could only regretfully conclude that in their conversation on November 25 last year Mr Botha and Dr Slabbert behaved like two whites "pontificating about an uppity, difficult Kaffir".

"Distasteful"

He said he found remarks in the transcript "most distasteful and extremely disturbing."

At one stage in the transcript Dr Slabbert said that, like the ANC, Chief Buthelezi wanted to be "the only bull in the kraal".

The Kwazulu Chief Minister rushed into the controversy with a long message from Bonn, West Germany, where he is on a visit.

He said it was most distasteful and disturbing to be stabbed in the back at home while overseas he was trying to persuade people to help South Africa work toward a negotiated future with power-sharing, peaceful change and national reconciliation.

He said he denied the insinuation that he was unwilling to talk to other people.

A spokesman for the President's office said today that Mr Botha had no comment to make on Chief Buthelezi's statement.

Dr Slabbert today scoffed at the suggestion that he could talk about Chief Buthelezi in a derogatory way after the long association between them. He said he had repeatedly told the Government and the ANC that Inkatha had to be taken seriously as an important factor in the internal situation. Conditions had to be created in which all organisations and movements could participate in negotiation.

The reference to the "only bull in the kraal" simply referred to the fact that there was more than one competitor in the political arena and that they would obviously try to make progress at the expense of each other.

If Chief Buthelezi did not accept his bona fides there was nothing he could do about it.

● Dr Slabbert also disclosed today that in his talk to Dr Barnard he had made suggestions on how the country's predicament could be resolved.

He told Dr Barnard that freedom of choice had to be restored and that this meant the scrapping of all apartheid laws and the recognition of voluntary association.

ARGUS 24/2/86

Eglin names his 'shadow cabinet'

304A

Political Staff

THE newly re-elected leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, named his "shadow cabinet" today.

The key defence portfolio, which has been the centre of repeated controversy, has been given back to Mr Philip Myburgh (MP Wynberg) but with Mr Peter Gastrow, the newly-elected party chairman, as his number two.

The other portfolio appointments are: state president, Mr Eglin; minister to the state president for administration, Reuben Sive; bureau for information, Mr Peter Soal; transport, Mr John Malcomess.

GROUP AREAS

The ministry of constitutional development has been divided into sections, with Mr Nic Olivier being the spokesman on constitutional matters and Mrs Helen Suzman being the spokesman on the administration of black affairs outside the homelands. This has been subdivided into regions. The Witwatersrand will be handled by Mrs Suzman, the rest of the Transvaal by Mr Soal, Natal by Mr Graham McIntosh, the Eastern Cape by Mr Errol Moorcroft and the Western Cape by Mr Ken Andrew.

The planning section of the ministry, which includes group areas, will be the responsibility of Mr Mike Tarr. Foreign affairs will be retained by Mr Eglin; national education, Mr Horace van Rensburg; law and order, Mrs Suzman; communications and public works, Mr Alf Widman.

The ministry of education (black) and development aid has been divided with Mr Andrew handling education, and development aid going to Mr Ray Swart. Manpower, Mr Gastrow; trade and industry, Mr Andrew Savage; justice, Mr Dave Dalling; agricultural economics, Mr Moorcroft; mineral and energy affairs, Mr Brian Goodall; finance, Mr Harry Schwarz; environment and tourism, Mr Roger Hulley; home affairs, Mr Tian van der Merwe; health, Dr Marius Barnard.

The own affairs portfolio allocation is: chairman and budget, Mr Harry Schwarz; agriculture, Mr Tarr; local government, Mr Widman; health, Dr Barnard; education, Mr van Rensburg. Spokesmen on special interests remain Mrs Suzman on prisons, Mr Schwarz on consumer affairs, Mr Dalling on the media and Mr Tarr on sport.

Contents of tapes angers Buthelezi

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President Botha's negotiation process is in the balance following Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rage over the contents of "the Botha tapes".

The kwaZulu Chief Minister said in a statement from Europe: "I can only regretfully conclude — after studying the text of the taped conversation relating to myself — that Mr P W Botha and Dr Slabbert were acting like two whites pontificating about an uppity, difficult kaffir."

The two men had done a "veritable hatchet job" on him, he said, adding that a great many blacks, including his own supporters, would be alienated by the publicity given to the tapes.

"I have no illusions about the world of politics and — in particular — politics in South Africa. But this time I am feeling betrayal as never before."

NEGOTIATION SETBACK

President Botha was not immediately available for comment yesterday. However, Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said the release of the transcript of the conversation between Mr Botha and Dr Slabbert last November 25 had set back the whole negotiation process with black leaders.

Political sources, even those close to the President, have expressed amazement at what they say is Mr Botha's naivete, first in publishing the fact that he secretly tapes his conversations and then in releasing a potentially damaging transcript.

Observers have pointed out that black leaders in particular would be nervous about talking with Mr Botha about highly sensitive constitutional matters.

Young PFP pledge

WTE ARGUS 22/2/86

304A

ANTHONY DOMAN, Weekend Argus Reporter

YOUNG Progressives seem more and more to be turning their backs on parliamentary politics after the shake-up in recent weeks.

As the PFP scrambled to close ranks after the resignations of leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Federal Council chairman Dr Alex Boraine, the party's youth wing committed itself to "a greater involvement in extra-parliamentary action against apartheid".



Dr Slabbert

The Western Cape branch of the Young Progressives has called on leadership to acknowledge the "limited role of Parliament in bringing about an end to apartheid rule".

"The key word is relevance," says the National Chairman of the Young Progressives, Mr Andrew Miller.



Mrs Molly Blackburn

"Some people still have not realised that they have to be relevant to more than one tiny sector of the population. It means sticking your neck out.

"We need to do the kind of work Molly Blackburn did."

The Young Progressives will plan their action at a national Youth Executive meeting in Port Elizabeth next month.

At this stage there are no definite moves towards closer links with mass-based black political organisations.

Parliament is still an important part of their plans. "I've been surprised at the views of many people who I thought would tell us to get out.

"They said Parliament was something precious; that we should continue to use that forum."

Secret tape ploy threatens to backfire on PW

The tables turn

30/4 WEARGUS 22/2/86

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE "battle of the tape" threatens to become an embarrassment to President P W Botha and harm his negotiation initiative.

Instead of ruining the political reputation of the former Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, it has begun to backfire on the Government.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised both Mr Botha and Dr Slabbert over the contents of the secretly-recorded confidential conversation.

But the implications are far more serious for Mr Botha. He has to get Chief Buthelezi into the proposed negotiation process.

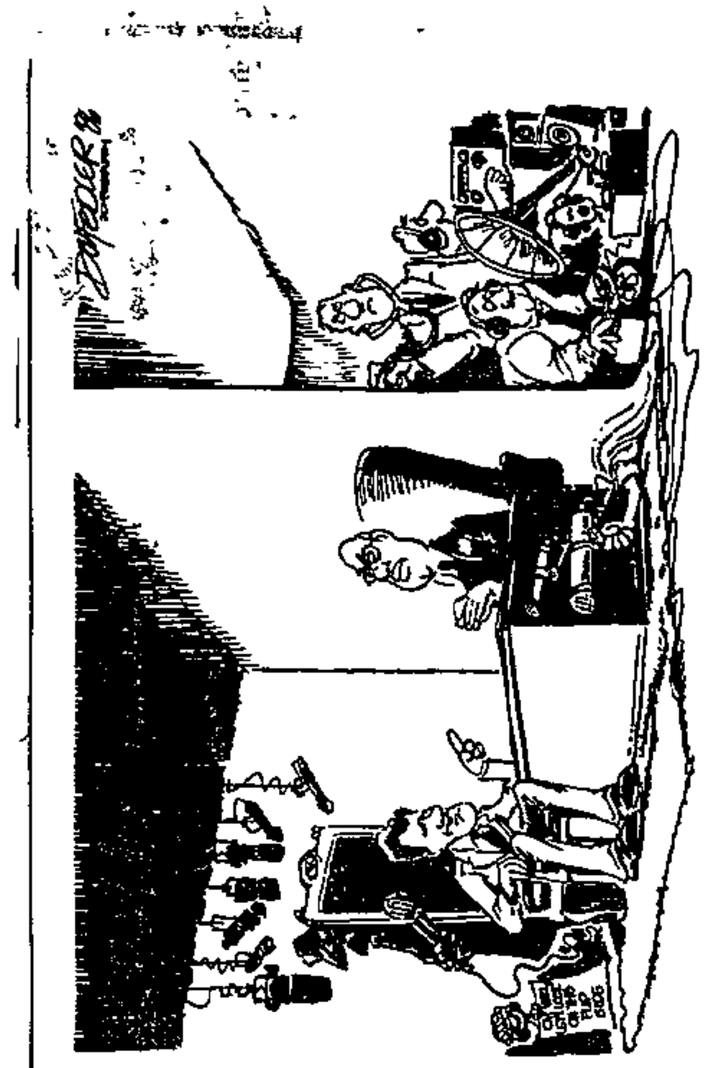
Denied

And now there is public concern over the disclosure, for the first time, that conversations in the President's office are secretly recorded.

The Opposition has slammed the practice, and claims that it is accepted international procedure have failed to stem the criticism, especially as spokesmen for major Western countries have denied it.

The full transcript of the tape recording was released this week with Dr Slabbert's permission.

The recording was made when Dr Slabbert visited Mr Botha in his office in Pretoria on November 25, soon after the Opposition leader's return from a world journey.



"... and off the record, Mr President ..."

Amiable

His intention was to give the President impressions of his talks with politicians overseas and convince him that none of them totally opposed the situation in South Africa and could be won to favour if Mr Botha were prepared to take dramatic action.

The talks were amiable but inconclusive. Dr Slabbert offered to talk to Dr Neil Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service, to elaborate on ideas he had for helping South Africa.

Dr Slabbert left Mr Botha's office in a despondent mood and decided then that he could not, in view of Mr Botha's stand on apartheid structures, go through the next parliamentary session.

However, he did talk to Dr Barnard and the conversation was recorded at Dr Slabbert's request.

He has now challenged the Government to release this transcript to help clarify the nature of his talk with Mr Botha. The NIS has refused, stating that "we do not disclose any contacts or any matter discussed between ourselves and any other parties".

Details

Dr Slabbert says the refusal to release the transcript of that conversation proves that the release of the other was intended to impugn his credibility rather than establish facts.

Dr Slabbert has now given details of his conversation with Dr Barnard.

He told him that freedom of choice had to be restored in South Africa and that this meant all apartheid laws had to be scrapped and the only basis for self-determination for any group had to be voluntary association.

The chief said the tape-recorded discussion had "far-reaching implications".

He found some of the taped remarks "distasteful and extremely disturbing" and said he was distressed at being "stabbed in the back" at home while he was trying to get Western leaders to contribute to peaceful change and negotiated reconciliation in South Africa.

He could only conclude that the two "were acting like two whites pontificating about an uppity, difficult kaffir".

Only after this had been done could effective negotiations for an alternative constitution begin.

Dr Slabbert claims nothing he said poses any threat to State security, or that the conversation was of such a confidential nature that it could not be disclosed.

"Far-reaching"

Chief Buthelezi's first reaction to the Botha-Slabbert talks came in a message from the West German capital, Bonn, which he was visiting.

Cape Times 22/2/86 304A

President to be given wider powers

Political Staff

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, is to be given wider powers enabling him to by-pass Parliament to suspend laws and cut through red tape impacting on business and impeding economic development in South Africa.

In terms of the Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Bill tabled in the House of Assembly on Thursday, Mr Botha will, by proclamation, be able to suspend any legislation which in his opinion impedes economic progress or competition in commerce.

These extraordinary powers are to be granted for three years, but may be extended by an Act of Parliament if the need exists.

The primary purpose of the new draft legislation is to facilitate and speed up the participation of the small entrepreneur and the informal sector in the economy.

Areas over which Mr Botha may exercise this executive power include:

- Requirements for the registration and licensing of businesses, undertakings, industries, trades and occupations, and the employment and use of land and premises.
- Registration of employees.
- Payment of contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund and the Workmen's Compensation Fund.
- Registration of and control over factories.
- Regulations of conditions of service and working hours and the days on which and times when business may be done.
- Supervision of and use of machines.
- Protection of the health and safety of employees.
- Health requirements for premises and buildings where activities are carried out.
- The prohibition, or regulation of, or restriction on, the erection of dwellings, buildings and other structures.
- The conveyance of persons and goods within, from and to a specific area.
- The establishment of towns and town planning.

Nat ready for black President

W/E ARGUS 22/2/86

3064

Provincial Reporter

A NATIONALIST MPC, Mr J A Brazelle, has stood by his statement that it is possible in terms of the constitution for a black man to become President — and says he has no objection to serving under a black President.

During a Provincial Council debate this week on Parliament as the only instrument of constitutional change, Mr Brazelle (NP, Kimberley North) made the remark in reply to a question from Dr John Sonnenberg (PFP, Green Point).

Rights of minorities

The issue of a black President became the subject of a controversy recently when the State President, Mr P W Botha, repudiated the view of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, that a black President was possible in terms of Government policy.

Mr Pik Botha told a group of foreign correspondents at a briefing that South Africa could be ruled by black Presidents in the future provided agreement was reached on protecting the rights of whites and other minorities, but his view raised a storm.

In Parliament the next day, the State President said no Minister had the right to compromise the Government in this way.

Official policy

He said any speculation or discussion about a future constitutional situation were purely hypothetical and in no way represented official policy.

Interviewed yesterday, Mr Brazelle said that to his knowledge there was nothing in the constitution which prevented a black man from becoming President.

Asked if this was Nationalist policy, he declined to comment.

"I don't want to get drawn into the subject of Nationalist policy," he said.

Mr Brazelle said he was sure there were some who would not accept a black President, for instance the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Asked if he had any objection to serving under a black President, Mr Brazelle said: "Not at all. I have no objection."

It was something which should be considered at this stage, he said.

"I would not be happy with a communist black President.

"I would not even be happy with a communist white President.

"I would be more happy with a Christian black President than with a communist white President," he added.

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As a result of the arrest[illegible] against the demonstrators



Jeugkrag leader M Van Schalkwyk (left) and Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Musa Zondi seal a pact between their organisations.

Youths plan to send PW a memo

ZB MOLEFE

THE Inkatha Youth Brigade and the Afrikaner youth group Jeugkrag SA plan to send a joint memorandum to President PW Botha, confronting him with a number of crucial political questions.

At a Press conference at Rand Afrikaans University this week, the two youth movements said the memorandum would be sent in March or early April.

"The memorandum will be an honest effort on our side to make an input communicating our deep concern for the future and constructive steps to create a climate conducive to negotiations in South Africa," said Jeugkrag's M van Schalkwyk

He would not reveal the contents of the memorandum – but said if it "failed", the two youth movements would consider sending a delegation to see Botha personally.

Inkatha Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi and publicity director Mandla Msomi also revealed both youth organisations would host a mass joint political conference in Pretoria or Johannesburg in May.

It would strive to open public debate "about the future of South Africa and the role the youth can play in shaping public opinions for the future".

Van Schalkwyk and Zondi said the two youth organisations' exercise is "something new" in South Africa.

"This is no talk-shop," they said. "This historical leap is a practical move to adress real political issues affecting the young people of South Africa."

Asked what would happen if Botha rejected outright the efforts of this Afrikaner-black group, Zondi said: "It would be difficult to speculate on Mr Botha's reaction.

"If we are rejected we would have made a strong moral case."

Zondi and Van Schalkwyk claimed they were in touch with a "cross-section of youth groups countrywide", but declined to name them.

Strike

president's tapes say

be beaten ... it is a romanti people in other countries

Ex-PFP leader Slabbert

wants to talk, but not to black people

President Botha

wants to be the only bull So does Buthelezi ...

Ex-PFP leader Slabbert



Tot siens
Ex-PFP leader Slabbert
Voor-spoed.
President Botha
(The end of the conversation – which Slabbert said was one of the reasons for his decision to quit)

DR FREDERICK van Zyl Slabbert has said he will call a Press conference to release details of his conversation with National Intelligence chief Neil Barnard if Barnard refuses to do so.

"I find it extraordinary that when I asked for a conversation to be taped and released, the Government refuses to do it – but when I am unaware a confidential conversation is being taped, they do so," he said.

Slabbert said the text would provide "more complete background to the frustration and disappointment" he experienced after his conversation with PW Botha.

But Barnard argued that it was not Government policy to release confidential information.

Asked to comment on Botha's reported statement that Slabbert had betrayed a "confidentiality" in revealing the contents of the interview Slabbert said: "I wasn't aware I was being bugged, by the way."

Slabbert told Sapa the State President *did* ask him why he should take the former PFP leader's advice.

In a statement released by the State President's office, it has been said that Slabbert's remark cannot be accepted in the light of the recorded discussion that took place. "The words 'but why should I listen to you' were never used," Botha said.

But Slabbert said: "As far as I remember PW was speaking almost jocularly, 'but doctor, why should I listen to your advice, I have 80 percent of the whites and 50 percent of the blacks behind me. You and Dr Treurnicht only have 20 percent."

- The one big problem, and I do not know how we are going to solve this in the white politics... But you have and we have in SA what I call a "pressure cooker" effect in the black townships. They are cornered there. There is no normal movement of people making money, who go out and buy houses in better suburbs and so forth. They are cornered. In one or other manner

... I don't know, even if we talk about grey areas, with Chris and so forth, and then I see his eyes going skywards .. and so on.

Botha: Just tell me, you are a sociologist, where in Africa, where no limitations exist, does this happen?

Slabbert: No, but I think what you get ... you do not get a situation in Africa where they say black people must stay in those places.

Botha: But where, where do they improve their circumstances?

Slabbert: Oh, no, no, I agree with you, I only think that we...

Botha: It is not a single solitary soul in a single solitary country.

Slabbert: But the point I want to make here, is that the leadership

Botha: But why shall we be different?

Slabbert: No, but ours will be different in the sense that your leadership who are being pegged down, your Motlanas..

Botha: You see, doctor, I do not wish to enter into a political argument with you today but shall I tell you how I see SA's real problem? In the first place, we must do much more in agriculture in the areas which have remained behind, because by doing so much more people can be provided with work.

The second point is that we must create opportunities through our regional development policy and through decentralisation for people to give expression for these things you are asking ... there are not possibilities in the metropolitan areas. There are not, even if we open up the central business districts. I said I was going to visit one black state after another. I tired the Press and politicians with my walking ... I went to have a look what we can do in the field of agriculture – what is the potential – and what we can do in the industrial field and what we can do by urban development in the underdeveloped areas. There we can find outlets for the ambitions and the energy of many of these young people who are being boxed in in our metropolitan areas ...

My answer to you is this: you must help me with these basic things, then we will get a balanced economy.

Slabbert: Is it possible that we could put our heads together in an informal manner and look at these plans? ... in an informal manner with people like Mabusa and Buthelezi. This cannot happen formally. They are tied up with their own politics.

Botha: With Buthelezi, and now I am talking in confidence. Last year I had a long conversation with Buthelezi. I invited him to my office in Cape Town this year. I had a long conversation with him.

Then I had a long conversation with the king of the Zulus. I do not want these things to be publicly known.

We are busy with tremendous programs. If we only had less destructive endeavours in this country...

I do not say all the blame lies with my opponents, but I say there is too little positive co-operation to really touch upon the real roots of our problems.

Slabbert: Yes this year I resolved who to talk to and to see if the middle groups cannot hold out, because we are being polarised from the sides. We are being devoured by extremists from both sides.

I realise that seen from the Government's position there are people with whom he cannot be seen to be talking in public immediately. I refer to, let's say Buthelezi and even ANC people.

Botha: But nothing prevents Buthelezi to come and talk to me. His problem is that he wants to talk alone, but he does not want to talk to other black people.

Slabbert: *He must, as the English would say, he must be locked into an initiave.*

Botha: I told Buthelezi: What the Zulu nation needs is not political rights only, because you have it. What you need is that we must get the (lower) Tugela areas developed ... Richard's Bay. I told him we must talk with each other about the protection of the upper areas of the Tugela, the upper-watercourses of the Tugela which will eventually affect your water.

Slabbert: *His problem lies on a symbolic level. You see, Buthelezi is being at the moment he and the ANC are devouring each other. They are scolding each other and I told you at the beginning of the year his problem is that should Mandela die in prison, he (Buthelezi) would become the Muzorewa of SA – he's afraid of that.*

The ANC is busy with a terribly strong anti-Buthelezi campaign – it wants to be the only bull in the kraal. And Buthelezi wants to be the only bull in the kraal.

Botha: And they can't.

Slabbert: *I have told both of them there are more bulls in the kraal than what they are aware of. It is not a question of who is going to call the shots and everybody (else) will have to keep quiet. The one thing which I accentuated strongly to the ANC is that, look if you think liberation is around the corner and you tell the young children education after liberation a large number of children will die and those children will have their own cultural revolution, just like Mao's crowd and (I told them) you are going to have a lot of unemployable people in 10 years' time.*

And I told them. You must realise that, no matter how much you hate Buthelezi, he is the only guy who sends his children to school. And in 10 years' time the only educated people in this country .. will be Zulus and they will be rural people, and then where will you be? But they don't see things in this light. For them it is a fight between

But what I would like to say to Minister Heunis and the Cabinet Committee, possibly also to Barnard is how I picture a program. I know they can now pull me apart, because they have the "expert' evidence and background.

Botha: We won't, if you want to make a positive contribution...

Slabbert: That I would like to do.

Botha: But then you must promise me two things ... I cannot agree that the whites will have to surrender their right off self determination. And I can't agree with you that this constitution must be destroyed to get another.

Slabbert: I have no problems with the first. As far as the second is concerned, we will have to see how things develop.

Botha: Yes, but I think you must rethink the implications a little of what you are preaching. The ANC also says this. The ANC says...

Slabbert: But for different reasons..

Botha: The ANC says this constitution must be destroyed to enable them to take over and I say if you want to create a vacuum with what you are saying, the people will not not accept it. In other words, you are creating a point of contention which SA will not accept.

We will never convince the TBVC states ("independent" homelands) to give up the independence which they have obtained. And the self-governing states – of which Buthelezi's is one – are not prepared to surrender their autonomy.

Should we not use these things as a basis from where we can move forward?

Slabbert: I have no problems involving them in a process of negotiation. When you talk about the constitution, I have referred to the tri-cameral system. This is what I had in mind. *I have also stated it clearly to the ANC. I told them. If you think the struggle revolves around that a white government must go now and negotiate the transfer of power out of its hands to whatever majority ... it is simply not going to work that way and they know it. I have already received the feedback. They say they have listened to me but they think I am ... they are wary of me.*

Now I get the same feedback from the UDF people.

They are also conducting a campaign against me and you must know that I took a very strong stand against the UDF's attitude about negotiations of participation in the (three-chamber) parliament. I said I didn't support it, but I participated .. when you talk about selfdetermination for whites, what does it mean?

Botha: I do not mean that whites now want to do what they like with SA, on their own. Under my leadership the whites have accepted much in SA and I think 80% are with me and I think the other 20% are being shared by you, Andries Treurnicht and Jaap Marais. But I do not want sole say for the whites in SA, because it is not practical politics, and I say this from public platforms.

What I *do* say is that if the white people's way of life should be impaired, if his right to have his child educated in the manner he chooses should be impaired, if his residential areas... if those things... if the wealth he has gathered, if this should be taken away from him, then, I tell you, we will be looking for trouble ... you conceded this during our previous conversations.

Botha: We are a country of minorities. Not only of a white minority, but also black minorities. We must give recognition to these selfgoverning states and these independent states. They represent minority rights. Geographically – but also much more than geographically – they represent minorities. And these people will not surrender these rights ...

Slabbert: But this is not the problem in the cities...

Botha: It is in our four, five metropolitan areas where we have problems.

The Government has started with this and we have advanced to the stage where we now have a better system with our regional service councils which, I think, will come off the ground next year, and if we can supply them with the necessary finances – and we will simply have to convince our private sector that they must contribute – so that the quality of life of these people can be improved in their communities.

Because if we cannot achieve an upgrading of of the underdeveloped urban areas, as far as streets and services and sewerage facilities are concerned, then those communites will remain underdeveloped communities. Next year we are introducing a second tier government which we want to introduce on a new basis and this must then lead to ... and I have said that first-tier government can be provided in structures for the future.

The black people come and sit down with me in the Union Buildings. And what do they tell me? Sir, do not remove your troops and your police from the townships. Protect us, we beg you, continue your protection of us, because the people who are making our lives miserable there are the minority.

It is of course untrue that South Africa is in a state of chaos. South Africa is not in a state of chaos.

I went to Port Elizabeth. There in New Brighton and those places. And I personally went to have a look during the height of the unrest there. The police said I must be transported in an armoured vehicle ... I said not a damn, I am going to walk and I walked. Black people gathered round me, which did not worry me. Then I came to a place where they apply the boycott and they have created their own flea market. I then saw the flea market was operated on earth. Then I instructed the people to provide a concrete surface so that they can at least trade on concrete.

I am introducing legislation to empower the State President in given circumstances to deregulate (so the informal sector can continue). Then I want to see what you are going to do. You will again say I am acquiring dictatorial powers. I know your party.

Slabbert: No, we will look at the legislation, but I am in favour of deregulation.

Botha: But you cannot do it in any other way. Somebody must have the power to deregulate. You cannot simply say that regulations have been abolished. That you cannot simply say. You must look at the regulations which can be abolished.

Botha: Welcome back.

Slabbert: Thank you. Best of luck.

Botha: How are things at home?

Slabbert: Well, things are going well. Going well. It is nice to be back.

Botha: I hope you realise South Africa is still the best.

Slabbert: No, I never argued against that. Why do I come back?

Botha: Everything of the best.

Slabbert: Tot siens.

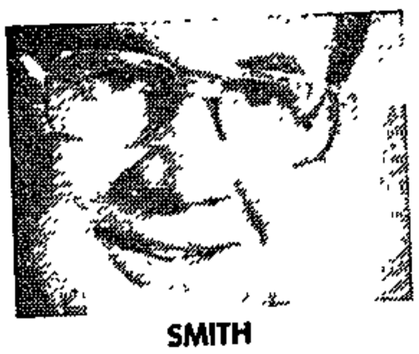
Botha: Voorspoed.

RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

Churchmen say: Don't ignore the ANC

SEVEN Dutch Reformed Church ministers have issued a statement insisting on African National Congress participation in future constitutional developments.

The statement was released at a Press conference by DRC in Africa president Nico Smith after talks he and Rev Elia Tema had with ANC vice-president Thabo Mbeki in New York last year.



SMITH

"It is simply impossible – from a Christian evaluation of the way to a political solution in South Africa – not to take the ANC into account," the statement said.

"In fact, we are convinced that any constitutional change in which the ANC does not have a say is doomed to failure.

"A political dispensation acceptable to the majority cannot be achieved without negotiation with, and the cooperation of, the ANC.

"It is a matter of conscience for us that the ANC should be recognised as a legitimate political grouping in South Africa and be given the opportunity to put their standpoints," said the statement.

"The greatest threat to the people is that they will turn away from God – and by doing so, be left to their own devices."

The ministers, in their statement, called on Christians of all denominations in South Africa "to choose for a non-racial government in South Africa."

Govt overspends by R1 500 m

Barend is to ask for extra millions

STAR 24/2/86 304A

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis is to ask Parliament for extra money this afternoon to cover the Government's overspending.

Mr du Plessis had hoped originally that Government departments would be able to keep within this year's record R31 000 million Budget — but abnormal political and economic problems have put paid to this.

It is expected that the Government's total over-expenditure for the financial year will be in the region of R1 500 million, bringing the total for 1985/86 to close on R33 000 million.

This indicates that Mr du Plessis will be looking for a total of at least R36 000 million in his new Budget, to be tabled next month.

This does not bode well for any significant tax relief.

Among the biggest overspenders in the current year have been the South African Defence Force (an extra R244 million on its R4 274 million budget), the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning (R386 million), the Police (R42 million), Communication and Public Works (R61 million), Development Aid (R40 million) and Agricultural Economics (R49 million).

The major reasons for this have been the fall in the rand exchange rate, high inflation, and the hundreds of millions allocated to emergency job creation programmes and feeding schemes.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, said two things had emerged clearly from the Government's additional estimates.

"The economic deterioration in the country has caused a necessity for relief of joblessness and hunger in a manner which was not contemplated by the Budget.

"A major problem to be dealt with when we look at the whole issue of dealing with the unrest is the many people who are unemployed and without food."

Mr Schwarz added that, otherwise, Government expenditure did not seem to have got unduly out of hand.

"On the other hand, the Government has been lucky in that it received increased revenue, particularly from the gold mines," he said.

Why they 'pick on S A'

JAMES BARBER,* Master of Hatfield College at Durham University, gives five reasons why the international community 'picks on South Africa'.

'WHY pick on us?' White South Africans, incensed at international criticism, constantly ask that question.

'True', some will admit, 'there is grave injustice and inequality in our society, but there is worse elsewhere and, unlike others, we are trying to do something about it. Why not give equal attention to the brutality in Uganda, the inequality in India, the corruption in Nigeria and the poverty in Bangladesh? Why pick on us?'

To answer their question: South Africa is set apart on five counts.

First, it is unique in the way it uses legislation based on race to create and preserve divisions among its people.

The discriminatory framework is comprehensive — covering such matters as where people may live, what school they may attend and what jobs they may do — and it denies political rights to the black majority. Discrimination is applied with great determination by a large bureaucracy and a ruthless police force.

There is no escaping from it because the individual carries the badge of race with him in the colour of his skin That cannot be changed.

Concern for all

Second, racial discrimination has been perceived in the international community as an offence against cosmopolitan justice (i e it is a matter of concern for all mankind).

Radicals take that further in seeing South Africa as a part of the struggle of the oppressed against capitalist exploitation. Thus, in South Africa's case, race and class become merged into a commitment to a new order and a new justice.

This radical dimension, when married to Western concerns about individual rights, explains why condemnation of apartheid is so broadly based.

While the West emphasises the individual, the black and communist states pay greater attention to structual injustice — to the way in which society is organised to deny rights to a race and/or class.

In the South African case the offence is both to the individual (which infringes Western values) and to the blacks collectively (which infringes black and communist values).

The result has been an international crusade against racism in general and South Africa in particular. Although within the crusade there is much hypocrisy and 'holier than thou' posturing its strength and breadth has made the fight against racism one of the great causes of our time.

Third, in South Africa's case the black states are prepared to override their respect for State rights because they see the republic as the last act in the drama of decolonisation which has transformed Asia and Africa from a world of European imperialism to independent states.

The white South Africans deny that theirs is a colonial situation, but, in so far as opponents have perceived colonialism as white rule over black majorities, they are branded in the same way.

An aspect of Western hostility to apartheid is related to this — as a sense of guilt for the colonial past.

For example, when the British Methodist Conference discussed South Africa in 1979 it spoke of the church sharing in an era of 400 years of white domination, and concluded that 'the church has to identify itself particularly with those who have suffered as a result of the evils of racism'.

Powerful groups

The fourth factor is what Hedley Bull called 'the vagaries of international politics'. In other states in which individual and/or group rights have been infringed the political setting has been different For example, when atrocities have been reported from Uganda there have been no United Nations members or powerful pressure groups committed and organised against the Ugandan Government. Nor, despite the horror, has the tribal/sectional slaughter there been perceived as an infringement of cosmopolitan justice — as racial discrimination has in South Africa.

Equally, although the Western states have persistently criticised breaches of human rights in the Soviet Union in that case the political forces have been so powerful and the danger to world peace so great that the protests are not forced to a conclusion — international order has been given priority over individual justice.

In South Africa's case, however, the strength of the moral indignation is matched by the political forces ranged against her.

At international organisations the black states and the Anti-Apartheid Movement (which has been so influential in shaping Western views about South Africa) have ensured that apartheid is kept on the international agenda.

They have used these organisations effectively to proclaim their opposition and to exert pressure on South Africa and all who have contact with her; whether they be sportsmen, or businessmen, or academics.

Finally there is the role of the Western media. A riot in South Africa can receive more attention than a civil war in another African state. The amount of attention is partly explained in the way in which the media is organised whereby many foreign journalists and television crews are based in the republic. Naturally they have to pay their way by regular reporting

While many have responsibilities for other parts of Africa they find it easier to concentrate on the scene around them (especially as that is a scene of violent confrontation on which the media feeds), and also because South Africa is still more open to journalists than many parts of Africa, despite the recent restrictions

Linked to boycotts

Another reason for Western media attention is the way in which South Africa issues can be closely linked to concerns at home — boycotts of South African goods, banning of sportsmen, business interests, and anti-apartheid demonstrations.

Then, those who work in the media share the moral indignation against apartheid. In one sense they reflect that indignation; in another they create and sustain it.

There are therefore several reasons why South Africa is singled out. For convenience these reasons can be examined separately, but in practice they are compounded together to form a blanket of opposition which spreads from international society into the domestic politics of many states.

The opposition is so powerful and comprehensive that governments, groups and individuals are carried along by its momentum.

The broad band of South Africa's opponents stretches from those with deep convictions to others who have little commitment but join the stream so that they avoid guilt by association.

There appears to be little chance that the broad-based opposition will disappear and every chance that white South Africans will continue to ask: 'Why pick on us?'

*Author of *The Uneasy Relationship*

Lifesavers battle swells to rescue 50 swimmers

DURBAN. — About 50 bathers had to be rescued when they were swept out to sea by large swells at Durban's Addington beach.

Three elderly people were treated on the beach for shock.

One of the swimmers, a young man aged about 20, was given oxygen and then admitted to Addington Hospital for observation.

Witnesses said exceptionally large waves washed about the swimmers 150m out to sea.

Lifesavers who were on duty, as well as members of the Marine Surf Lifesaving Club who were about to take part in the Durban Surf Lifesaving Championships nearby, went to their aid.

Some of the bathers were brought closer inshore by inshore rescue boats, but were washed out again and had to be rescued a second time.

Mr Brian Jones, administrator-manager for SA Lifesaving was on the beach at the time. He praised the lifeguards.

"They were fantastic," he said today.

"Most of the bathers were right near where the waves were breaking. The guys in the boats were phenomenal. They had to battle breaking waves, grab the swimmers, slide them into the boat and punch through waves."

He said it was "amazing" that none of the boats had overturned in the waves. — Sapa.

Youth killed in E Cape unrest

ARGUS 24/2/86

PRETORIA. — A youth was killed during unrest in Zwide near Port Elizabeth, according to today's unrest report.

In Zwide police vehicles and policemen's homes were stoned and petrol-bombed. Two shots were fired at policemen guarding a policeman's home.

Tearsmoke and shotgun rounds were fired to disperse these mobs. A youth was killed during one of the incidents.

A policeman was injured when his vehicle was stoned at Bridgeton in the south-western Cape.

And in Mamelodi near Pretoria a post office building was damaged by arsonists and a man was arrested for placing barricades in a road.

State of Emergency:

Police report

In Kwadabeza near Pinetown a large mob stoned a police vehicle and a private vehicle. A policeman was slightly injured.

The mob was dispersed with tearsmoke, shotgun and pistol fire. Three men were slightly wounded and arrested.

In the black residential area near Brits a hotel was extensively damaged in a petrol-bomb attack. — Sapa.

No merger with AWB — Treurnicht

3041

ARGUS 24/2/86

Political Staff

THE leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, today shrugged off speculation that his party was about to merge with the militant right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

Reacting to reports that AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche was to meet him and address the CP's caucus, Dr Treurnicht said certain people were making "a big drama out of a routine meeting".

He denied that Mr Terre'Blanche would be addressing the CP caucus, but admitted that he would be meeting him.

"But there is nothing new in that. I have spoken to him informally before. We have discussed a variety of issues. For example, once we talked about South West Africa.

"Mr Terre'Blanche asked to talk. There is no agenda," Dr Treurnicht said.

VOLKSWAG

He had no idea what the AWB wanted to discuss.

Both leaders are members of the Afrikaner Volkswag.

Mr Terre'Blanche recently announced the formation of a white "home guard", to be called the Brandwag.

"This is a defensive home guard to protect lives and property in the absence of the police force and Defence Force (in the event of the capitulation of the Government)," he told a rally at Klerksdorp.

Mr Terre'Blanche's armed bodyguard, wearing swastika-like insignia, and his Hitler-like salute at the launching of the Volkswag in 1984 whipped up a storm of controversy.

Writer claims PW knew of Seychelles raid

304A
STAR
24/2/86

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — New disclosures about the abortive Seychelles coup by "Mad" Mike Hoare's band of mercenaries, suggesting the State President, Mr P W Botha, then Prime Minister, knew of the operation in advance, have been made by military historian Anthony Mockler.

The author is known for his painstaking accuracy. He is a barrister and has written a history of Britain's Lord Chief Justices. He says in his latest book, "The New Mercenaries", that it is "barely believable" that Mr Botha did not have prior knowledge of the attempted coup which was assisted by the South African Defence Force.

A United States military source said opinion in the United States was that the Government knew about the coup attempt before it happened.

It was virtually impossible the operation could have taken place without Government knowledge.

CAPTURED WEAPONS

Mr Mockler's book says Mr Hoare met the deputy director of the National Intelligence Service, Mr N J Claasen, and asked for help with the coup. He was told the NIS could not support "Operation Anvil", as Mr Hoare had named it.

Later, however, Mr Hoare was called to Pretoria by Mr Claasen and introduced to Brigadier Daan Hammam, director of Military Intelligence for Special Forces, and Brigadier Martin Knoetze. Mr Hoare asked them for weapons captured by the SADF in Angola.

"The two brigadiers demanded from Mr Claasen a written minute from the Prime Minister's office which the deputy director of NIS promised to obtain," the book says.

Mr Botha was then Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Minister in charge of the National Intelligence Service. He presided regularly over National Security Council meetings.

"There is no evidence that the two brigadiers ever obtained the written minute that would formally have covered their activities, but there is every evidence that Mr Hoare had previously been introduced to a gentleman named Mr Alec van der Wyck who had submitted a minute describing Mr Hoare's proposals to the Cabinet.

'OFFICIAL SANCTION'

"That Mr P W Botha distanced himself from it (the attempted coup) is clear. That he knew nothing of it is, in the face of his own vast experience in both intelligence and defence matters, barely believable.

"That the SADF knew — and that the movement of the arms and ammunition took place with official sanction — there can be no doubt."

Mr Mockler describes how on October 6 a lorry driven by a Sergeant van der Merwe drove up to Mr Hoare's home, the Old Vicarage at Hilton, near Maritzburg.

"The sergeant presented SADF form DD 12 to 'Mad Mike' — headed Lynnwood, near Pretoria, the Director of Military Intelligence's office — listing the contents of the lorry. The mercenary leader signed for the delivery note."

Rifles, ammunition, grenades and radios were stored in the Vicarage cellar.

MPs' pay plan may be stalled

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE government is unlikely to implement the huge proposed pay hikes for parliamentarians — at least not soon — following a huge public outcry and the decision by most opposition parties to distance themselves from the politically explosive plan.

As torrents of angry public reaction to the proposals continued to flood in yesterday, virtually all parties reacted with caution to what has clearly become a major political "hot potato".

Only the New Republic Party supported the proposals for the hikes of between 52 and 108 percent.

However, there appeared to be significant differences between the public pronouncements of parties on the hikes and the private views of MPs, many of whom appeared to favour them.

'Cautious government reaction'

In the wake of the public outcry, the government's official reaction to the proposals has been extremely guarded.

A spokesman for the State President's office said yesterday: "The government is giving attention to the report but as it is a parliamentary report on which consensus is being sought, all parties will have to consider it and after negotiations a decision can be reached."

National Party politicians yesterday appeared embarrassed that the pay proposals had been tabled at precisely the time when civil servants were dissatisfied at the more modest 10 percent increase they had been given.

The Progresssive Federal Party said in a statement that "taking the economic climate into account, MPs and other office-bearers should not, at this time, receive any increase in excess of the 10 percent which is being given to employees in the railways or the civil service."

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht also said MPs "ought not to be rewareded in any way differently from the other civil servants" in the present economic climate.

'Disgrace to have aired report'

The most heated parliamentary opposition came from HNP MP for Sasolburg, Mr Louis Stoffberg, who said: "I think that is an absolute disgrace that the government could even have considered in the present economic climate tabling this stuff.

"Their skins are as thick as those of an elephant. When the ordinary man is struggling to exist it is a disgrace that they could even have aired the report."

The Labour Party will discuss the proposed pay hikes at its regular caucus meeting tomorrow.

The leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said that no decision had been taken by his party on the matter yet.

Solidarity whip, Mr Mohanlal Bandulalla, said his party has not considered the matter yet and did not consider it a "priority issue".

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, February 25 1986

PARLIAMENT

BusDay 25/2/86 304A 158

Parliamentary pay put in perspective

PAY and fringe benefits granted to parliamentarians cannot, says a report, be based on those pertaining in the public sector.

The report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Structure of Remuneration and Conditions of Service for the State President, Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Members of Parliament and the President's Council was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

It says the demands of modern society make it imperative that successful businessmen, professional people, farmers and industrialists should become involved in the highest legislative and executive body.

"This means that such a person has either to relinquish his profession or career entirely or neglect it to such an extent that great personal loss ensues. — Sapa.

Reformist policies cause unrest, says Jaap

The National Party Government had no mandate from its electorate to introduce the changes it had, Mr Jaap Marais, the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, told students at the Rand Afrikaans University yesterday.

Speaking to a multi-racial audience, Mr Marais said Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, had said that a black State President was "inevitable and logical". Mr P W Botha's reprimand of his Foreign Minister on this point had not amounted to a repudiation because his statement was incorrect, but was merely a precaution to prevent speculation on the topic, said Mr Marais.

He was jeered by sections of the audience when he said Mr Louis Nel's statement that the "oxygen supply to apartheid" was being cut off amounted to "murder".

His statement that the scrapping of laws prohibiting sex or marriage across the colour line by the Government was "ordered" by the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, when he spoke in George — "the nest of P W Botha" — also drew laughs from the students.

Prominent NP leader, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, once chancellor of RAU, had once said that he "would not rule out the possibility of one man, one vote". This was the logical conclusion of the removal of discrimination, said Mr Marais.

Reform policies created "higher expectations" and the belief that the present system was unacceptable — "this is the root cause of the present unrest situation", Mr Marais told the students.

Schwarz tells blacks power is no cure-all

BLACKS have to abandon the misconception that attainment of political power would change their economic plight, Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Whites also have to overcome the misconception that they could share political power while retaining the same economic privileges, he added.

Schwarz was commenting on the State services section of the Part Appropriation Bill during the Bill's Third Reading debate. — Sapa.

Business Day

THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER FOR DECISION MAKERS



Proposed salary increases for MPs 'political dynamite'

SALARY increases of up to 108%, recommended for Members of Parliament by a committee of inquiry, are being viewed as political dynamite for a government which last week announced increases of just 10% for civil servants.

The report which was tabled in Parliament yesterday will, if accepted by the Cabinet, raise the total salary bill for 308 MPs and 60 members of the President's Council from about R15m to about R27m.

The report recommends that the new cash remuneration levels should be fully implemented as soon as possible when economic circumstances justify doing so.

Already the proposals have sparked an angry outcry. Federation of Sats trade unions chairman Jimmy Zurich described them as breathtaking.

Zurich said the proposals were "unreasonable, unjust and would be seen to be so by the majority of trade union leaders".

STACKING UP

NEW PAY LEVELS RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY:		
STATE PRESIDENT:	SALARY R130 000*	ALLOWANCE R29 668*
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT:	R49 800	R19 000
CABINET MINISTER:	R121 500	R22 560
LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION:	R77 000	R19 000

*TAX FREE

Business Day Reporters

The 77-page report, compiled by a five-man committee under the chairmanship of former vice-president Alwyn Schlebusch, recommends cash increases of:

- 108% for the 20 Cabinet Ministers and 12 other members of the Ministers Councils with their salaries rising from R58 200 to R121 500;
- 84% for ordinary MPs and members of the President's Council from R27 000 to R49 800;
- 68% for the 11 deputy-ministers whose salaries are set to rise from R45 900 to R77 400.

Substantial increases are also recommended for leaders of oppositions in the three Houses, whips and chief whips.

The State President will receive a salary of R130 000, up from R84 000, and allowances of R29 668 in terms of the recommendations, all of which is non-taxable.

The report also recommends overall increases in allowances for MPs of 18,75% with MPs moving up from R16 000 to R19 000 a year and ministers and deputy-ministers from R19 000 to R22 560. These amounts are taxable.

In addition, the five-man committee stated that MPs should be allowed an amount of R10 000 a year for secretarial services.

In its report, the committee states that a considerable backlog in remuneration exists — MPs received their last increases on January 1 1984 — but at the same time they are mindful that the State President stated when he appointed the committee that any recommended improvements "would be postponed until they could be justified in view of economic circumstances".

The committee's interpretation of the State President's decree is that "the Government takes the onus entirely on itself to decide on the timing of the implementation of the recommendations".

● See Comment Page 6

The leadership of BJ Vorster and PW Botha

Striking parallels

304A
25/2/86 STAR

By Hannes de Wet

There is growing talk in Government circles that Dr Jannie Roux, secretary-general of President Botha's office, is emerging as the power behind the throne.

This is according to two political scientists at the Rand Afrikaans University.

Professor Deon Geldenhuys and Dr Koos van Wyk compare this with the relationship former Prime Minister Mr B J Vorster had with General Hendrik van den Bergh, head of the then Bureau for State Security.

In an article in the January edition of *South Africa International*, a quarterly magazine published by the South Africa Foundation, the two scientists endeavour to trace similarities between the leadership of Mr Vorster and that of Mr P W Botha. They find "striking parallels".

On the role of confidants they say: "One specific question on decision making, relevant to both administrations, concerns the two leaders' openness to information and advice.



Mr B J Vorster



Mr P W Botha

Adviser

"To whom did they listen? Were there confidants?

"In the case of Vorster, his principal adviser was General H J van den Bergh, head of the Bureau for State Security and a close personal friend over many years.

"The Erasmus Commission, which investigated the Information affair, referred to Van den Bergh as 'the power behind the throne'.

"Van den Bergh's political role was the cause of some of the fiercest clashes between Botha, then a Minister, and Vorster. Not surprisingly then, Botha, as head of Government, did not appoint a Van den Bergh-like confidant.

"Botha's system of government by committee is also thought to make such a relationship difficult and unlikely.

"In Government circles there is nonetheless growing talk of such a figure emerging.

"He is said to be Dr Jannie Roux, secretary-general of the President's Office, referred to as 'JR' by politicians and bureaucrats.

"Whatever Roux's precise influence with Botha may be, an impression gaining ground is that the President is becoming increasingly detached and insulated from his Cabinet and parliamentary caucus.

"Vorster, too, is believed to have similarly withdrawn himself in the final years of his premiership. Only the select few, above all Van den Bergh, had ready access to Vorster."

Another anology pointed to by the RAU lecturers is the fact that President Botha today is a target for the same kind of criticism which he himself levelled at Mr Vorster during his last years as Prime Minister.

When Mr P W Botha succeeded Mr Vorster as Prime Minister, the two academics say, it was no secret that he had several disagreements with his leader.

"One of the things that annoyed Botha was Vorster's general lack of urgency in handling national issues.

"Today, seven years after Botha came to power, he is being widely criticised both at home and abroad for his apparent lack of urgency and indeed direction in tackling South Africa's greatest political issue, viz black political rights.

"Vorster was being regarded by verligte Afrikaners as a major stumbling block on the road to reform. He was regarded not as part of the answer to South Africa's difficulties, but as part of the problem.

"Today, verligtes are asking: Et tu, Botha? Has he too reached the limits of his capacity or willingness to reform?"

On the question of Mr Botha stepping down, the two lecturers find "some interesting parallels" with Mr Vorster's position.

"It is known that Vorster suffered ill health in the last years of his premiership. This factor weighed heavily in his decision to resign the post.

Rumours

"In the case of Botha, there were persistent rumours throughout 1985 that he has health problems. The official response has been a stunned silence, thereby only fuelling speculation.

"Vorster had given serious thought to retiring well before eventually doing so in September 1978. On several occasions he postponed his departure on the grounds that South Africa was experiencing critical times.

"Botha might be influenced by a similar consideration.

"More than that, a retirement at this stage would look like an admission of defeat. If Botha cares for his place in history — as most politicians do — he can hardly resign when the country is in turmoil.

"The public's last impressions of him may become their lasting impressions — and these are not particularly complimentary.

"What all this may point to is that Botha will soldier on for some time to come," the RAU academics say.

On the face of it, they conclude, Mr Vorster and Mr Botha had to contend with many similar challenges.

"History seemed to be repeating itself, but the price was going up in the sense that Botha's range of options was narrowing.

"Finally, if political history is repeating itself in South Africa," Professor Geldenhuys and Mr van Wyk ask, "should one conclude that Botha's political career is likely to come to the same ignominious end as his predecessor's?

"Will Botha too be remembered more for what he failed to do than for what he achieved?"

gether with numerous other projects of high priority and should be completed during the course of this year.

(ii) All government institutions with an interest in the matter, as well as the formally and informally recognised staff associations.

(iii) During 1986.

(2) No. The investigation has not yet been completed.

(3) No, because the document will deal with domestic personnel affairs which is only meant for parties concerned.

(4) No.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask him whether he is aware of the fact that, since the system of organised consultation does not exist, the Public Service appears not to have been consulted at all and made no submission on the recent 10% increase in salaries?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I should like to draw the hon member's attention to the fact that there are some 400 to 500 different vocational groups in the Public Service and that there are numerous vocational associations. All those people must be consulted. I also want to stress that the hon member need not be more concerned about the Public Service than the public servants themselves. [Interjections.]

At 15h01 Questions on General Affairs interrupted in accordance with Rule No 59.

Deviation from principle of own education

*40. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 26 on 11 June 1985, his Department has now devised the bases in accordance with which and limits within which deviation from the principle of own education in separate educational establishments for each population group may be authorised, in so far as it is the wish of own education departments, in terms of paragraph 4.1.2(d) of the White Paper on the Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether any other education departments have requested such deviation; if so, what was his response in each case;

(3) whether the said bases have been incorporated into any document; if so, what document;

(4) whether this document will be made available to the public; if not, why not; if so, when;

(5) whether all education departments have been acquainted with the bases for such deviation; if not, why not; if so, when;

(6) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) No. The matter is still being negotiated.

(2) Yes, following upon an invitation which I extended to the Ministers of Government Departments responsible for education. In consultation with the Ministers concerned it has however been decided that no final decisions be made until all relevant information has been gathered. The stage has now been reached where an in depth discussion of the entire matter will soon be held at a meeting of all the Ministers concerned.

(3) No.

(4) Falls away.

(5) Falls away.

(6) Consideration will be given at a later date as to whether or not a statement will be released.

Bakoven: firing of weapon

*41. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any members of the South African Police took any action against any suspects in connection with the firing of a weapon at Bakoven on or about 30 January 1986; if so, (a) how many suspects were involved, (b) how many shots were fired, (c) what was the (i) rank and (ii) experience of each of the policemen involved and (d) what were the circumstances surrounding this incident;

(2) whether a warning was given prior to any shots being fired; if not, why not; if so, with what result;

(3) whether any persons were injured in the shooting; if so, what was the nature of the injuries sustained;

(4) whether the policemen involved attempted to assist, or obtain assistance for, the injured; if not, why not; if so, (a) how long after the shots were fired was assistance provided and (b) what was the nature of the assistance;

(5) whether the injured were treated for their injuries; if not, why not; if so, (a) by whom, (b) where, (c) when, (d) what was the nature of the treatment given and (e) with what result;

(6) whether any of the injured subsequently died; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the cause of death;

(7) whether an investigation has been held into this incident; if not, why not; if so, (a) what was the nature of the investigation and (b) what were the findings;

(8) whether any action has been taken against the policemen involved; if not, why not; if so, what action;

(9) whether members of the South African Police are issued with any orders regarding (a) the use of firearms and (b) action to be taken following the use of firearms; if not, why not; if so, what are these orders?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) Two white men.

(b) Two.

(c) (i) Constable.

(ii) He has completed 5 years of police service and has sufficient experience of police functions.

(d) At about 02h30 on 30 January 1986, a constable of the South African Police observed two white men under suspicious circumstances at a vehicle in the Bakoven area. One of the men ran away after he saw the policeman and was fatally wounded during the ensuing chase. After a search lasting about 10 minutes he was found among the rocks on the beach. It was then ascertained that he had in his possession a canvas bag with 17 lobsters, of which five measured up to statutory regulations and twelve were undersize.

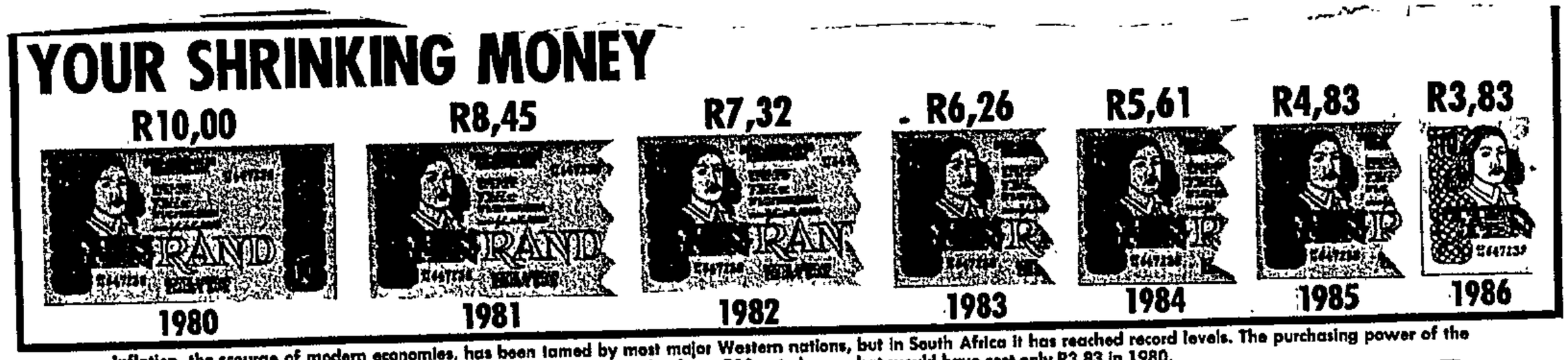
(2) Yes. Three oral warnings which the fugitive ignored.

(3) Yes, fatally in the left thigh.

(4) No. Before assistance could be summoned, the wounded person died.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(5) Fall away.



Inflation, the scourge of modern economies, has been tamed by most major Western nations, but in South Africa it has reached record levels. The purchasing power of the rand is shrinking every day and today a R10 note buys what would have cost only R3,83 in 1980.

Putting a price on MPs

25/2/86 STAR

Proposed remuneration takes new duties into consideration

CAPE TOWN — Proposed new salaries for parliamentarians and high political office-bearers are definitely not to be regarded as just pure increases.

This point was made emphatically by Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, the chairman of the committee which investigated the remuneration and working conditions of the politicians.

Addressing a midday Press conference yesterday on the committee's report, Mr Schlebusch said the President had appointed a committee to recommend a reconcilable structure of remuneration and conditions of service for political office-bearers, with due allowance for their new responsibilities and duties.

He pointed out that President Botha had said at the time that any recommendation made by the committee implying an improvement of the remuneration package and conditions of service of the persons concerned would be postponed until it could be justified with a view to the economic climate.

Mr Schlebusch said in view of this the committee's recommendations were not to be seen as just salary increases. They were salary adjustments to remuneration in line with the new duties and responsibilities of officials.

The State President, for example, carried a lot more duties and responsibilities than the post did under the previous system.

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In drawing up its recommendations for the revised salary structure of political office-bearers, the Schlebusch Committee had to balance two arguments.

The first of these is the view that parliamentarians' remuneration should not be so low as to deter suitable candidates from entering politics; or that it compels ordinary members to seek additional income elsewhere; or that it bears no relation to what members can earn outside Parliament.

On the other hand, members' remuneration should not be so high as to be unacceptable to the informed public or to create the perception that pecuniary reward is becoming the only attraction.

With this in mind the committee tried to execute its instructions from President P W Botha: to investigate and report, in the light of the revised parliamentary system and associated responsibilities and duties of the State President, Ministers, Deputy Ministers and of members of Parliament and the President's Council, on these aspects:

● A reconcilable structure of remuneration and conditions of service for the various office-bearers, with due allowance for their new responsibilities and duties.

● The need of MPs for facilities — administrative and secretarial — to enable them to perform their task efficiently.

Mr Botha made it quite clear when he appointed the committee that the implementation of any recommendations would be postponed until it could be justified with a view to the economic climate.

The committee, chaired by former Vice State President Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, and comprising former Opposition leader Sir De Villiers Graaff, Mr Justice V G Hiemstra, banker Dr Frans Cronje and business leader Dr Fred du Plessis, decided to interpret its terms of reference as widely as possible.

Before looking at the actual issue of remuneration, the committee took into account certain fundamental considerations.

The first of these sounds almost tongue-in-cheek: a conscientious, hardworking and competent MP has, of necessity, to be postulated for purposes of a report of this nature.

Secondly, because of the additional obligations imposed by the new constitutional dispensation and also as a result of the imminent disappearance of the office of provincial councillor (throwing more constituency duties onto MPs), the committee decided that membership of Parliament had now definitely become a full-time occupation.

A third consideration was that the salary and fringe benefits granted to an MP could not serve as the basis for the calculation of salaries and fringe benefits in the rest of the public sector, for these reasons:

● The demands of modern society made it imperative that successful businessmen, professional people, farmers and industrialists became involved in the country's highest legislative and executive body. This meant that such a person had either to relinquish his profession or career entirely or neglect it to such an extent that great personal loss ensued.

● In view of rapidly changing circumstances in the political sphere or in consequence of voters' new personal preferences, a member could not be assured of a long uninterrupted period of service as an MP. The latest available statistics indicate that an MP's average period of service is only about seven years.

● The interruption of a parliamentarian's career while he is serving as an MP constitutes a measure of professional risk and could damage his career irreparably. As well, he runs the risk of not remaining fully informed on the latest developments in his profession.

● A fourth consideration is that because a prospective member also has to undertake to work out of a sense of vocation, it would not always be feasible to compensate the parliamentarian on the same basis as in the private sector. However, if a person of the right calibre is to be attracted, it is essential that an MP's remuneration should be related to pay levels in the private sector in general.

Having dealt with these considerations, the committee then decided to appoint professional personnel consultants to assess and quantify the various posts.

The consultants found that jobs in Parliament and the council were fundamentally not comparable to other jobs in the private sector.

Grouping the various political jobs into a number of grades, the consultants came up with six levels from ordinary MP and council member to Cabinet Minister.

On that basis, these fully taxable salaries were recommended: State President R212 300; Ministers and other F-level R121 500; Own Affairs Ministers and Chief Whip of Parliament (E-level) R95 500; Deputy Ministers and other D-level R77 400; C-level R64 700; B-level R55 900; and A-level (MPs) R49 800.

PW under fire during appeal for new constitution

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — President PW Botha came under fire in the House of Delegates yesterday during his first visit to the Indian chamber this year.

He entered the House during a debate on a private member's motion calling on him to enter into immediate negotiations with representative leaders to draw up a new constitution.

The motion, led by Mr Ahmed Arbee (Solidarity, Eastern Transvaal), called on Mr Botha to establish a climate for such negotiations by releasing all political prisoners and detainees, unbanning outlawed organisations, repealing the Group Areas and Population Registration acts and scrapping the concept of own affairs.

He said apartheid would only be killed by the repeal of laws which enforced it.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council, National People's Party leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi, warned that the determination of the Afrikaner to survive should never be underestimated. He wanted "grey areas" where races could mix voluntarily.

Mr Rajbansi supported an amendment to the motion made by Mr P C Nadasen (NPP, Allandale) calling for the dismantling of apartheid and the adoption of non-violence by all organisations.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, replying to the motion, said he could not help noticing similarities between Mr Arbee's motion and a speech by the former leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, during the No-Confidence debate.

Both, he said, lacked a clear policy statement.

The time lapsed and the motion could not be put to the vote.



Mr Ahmed Arbee
... "release detainees"

Slabbert on BBC to explain resignation

CAPE TIMES 26/2/86

30 Apr

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — South Africa's white-dominated Parliament could not create the conditions for negotiation, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said here yesterday.

The former leader of the Progressive Federal Party is on a week's visit to Britain to promote the sale of his book "The Last White Parliament".

He said he intended to "explore the possibilities of negotiation outside Parliament".

In an interview with Sir Robin Day on the BBC's World at One, Dr Slabbert indicated that he would need to have further talks with leaders of the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

"I would have to talk to leadership figures from the extreme right to the extreme left.

"I would be happy to talk to Mr Nelson Mandela at the earliest opportunity," he said.

Dr Slabbert crossed swords with his former parliamentary colleague, Mrs Helen Suzman, who is also on a week's visit to Britain.

Asked what his response was to Mrs Suzman's assertion in a major interview in the Times that Parliament was the only place where change could be turned into legislation, Dr Slabbert said:

"Legislative changes which will come from Parliament will come as a result of pressure in society generally.

"Opposition politics in Parliament is certainly not the most important source of pressure on the government to bring about legislative changes."

Dr Slabbert said that a constitutional convention was "absolutely essential" but said remaining apartheid laws would have to be scrapped and freedom of association restored before there could be any further progress towards negotiation.

He said that while President P W Botha had gone further than any predecessor in "modernizing" apartheid he had reached the "limits of his ability to reform".

"He has made it clear that he is not prepared to go further," Dr Slabbert said.

In an interview on BBC television an hour earlier Dr Slabbert said that he had resigned as Leader of the Opposition because he felt he could no longer play a useful role in Parliament in getting rid of apartheid and persuading the government to change.

He said the only way forward was to scrap all apartheid laws and to unban the ANC and PAC.

all four cases, the receiver will ap- praise were taken into account.

Debt meeting next week

26/2/86. TUESDAY
304A

JOHN TILSTON

THE first business meeting of the Technical Committee, formed to negotiate details of SA's foreign debt arrangement, will probably take place towards the end of next week, according to Director-General of Finance Chris Stals.

He said yesterday that the 10 bankers on the committee, formed to deal with SA, planned to meet later this week to discuss an agenda which they would then communicate to him.

There was an initial meeting of the Technical Committee in London last Friday at which Stals raised a number of technical issues still to be resolved, the most important of which were the position of non-bank creditors and certain overnight deposits still in dispute.

It has still to be decided who will serve on the SA delegation to the talks and will depend in part on the agenda set by the foreign bankers.

Stals estimated that it would take at most two meetings to resolve the technical details of the dispute. He stressed that debt mediator Fritz Leutwiler had made it very clear that both sides had accepted the principles of the deal.

Leutwiler will not be involved in the technical discussions but will be available if there is a major obstacle to further progress.

1800	2005	SA325
1810	2135	SA321
2020	2225	SA333
Cape Town to Johannesburg		
0700	1015	SA300
0800	0955	SA304
1230	1425	SA302
1420	1615	SA314
1515	1800	SA346
1710	2025	SA332
1730	1925	SA328
1900	2055	SA344
2100	2255	SA340
2315	0110	SA396
Johannesburg to Durban		
0015	0115	SA595
1720	0820	SA501
0955	1055	SA507
1415	1515	SA511
1530	1630	SA513
1715	1815	SA515
1830	1930	SA545
2110	2210	SA519
Durban to Johannesburg		
0700	0800	SA500
0800	0900	SA502
0905	1005	SA504
1030	1130	SA508
1600	1700	SA512
1715	1815	SA514

Port Elizab[illegible]	
0135	0305
0755	0920
0940	1105
1125	1515
1435	1600
1545	1809
1845	2010
Johannesburg	
0630	0855
George to [illegible]	
1620	1800
Johannesburg	
0700	0925
0930	1200
1155	1320
1225	1620
1605	1730
1745	2015
New York to	
1830	1750

Political [illegible]
Nigel Bruce.
Lofthouse [illegible]
by Michael [illegible]
Street, [illegible]



3041A

BUS DAY 26/2/86

PFP and NP both confident of win at Bellevue poll

PETER WALLINGTON, Political Reporter

BOTH the PFP and NP are confident of victory in today's bitterly-contested "battle for Bellevue" municipal by-election.

The Johannesburg joust has pitted a youthful PFP candidate, Tony Leon, against the National Party's Sam Bloomberg, a founder member of Suicides Anonymous and the SA Police Reserve.

At present the ruling NP/Independent Ratepayers' Association has 24 seats and the PFP 22.

PFP regional director Gary Cooney said yesterday that Leon had canvassed about 1 000 voters personally and was confident of victory if all those who had pledged their support voted.

He said former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's resignation had not appeared to affect PFP morale in the ward. He pointed to last week's municipal by-election victory in Randburg, despite the "worst of circumstances".

Another factor in the PFP's favour is an indication that United Democratic Front supporters who live in the ward might vote for Leon.

Bloomberg remains confident he will win. He claims to have seen 60%-70% of the ward's voters and says they know him as a doer and a fighter.

Today's voting brings to an end a month of hard campaigning in which both parties have accused the other of smear tactics.

Perhaps the by-election will be best remembered for the controversy surrounding Bloomberg's involvement in the rescue of a young suicide case — and his subsequent appearance on SABC-TV's "Network" — a week before the election.



● LEON



● BLOOMBERG

Leon charged that Bloomberg's appearance was a "grotesque abuse of television by the National Party", and said he found it interesting that Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who he said controlled the SABC, was heading Bloomberg's campaign.

Bloomberg hit back, saying the "daring and unusual" rescue was a conincidence and that the PFP could do with Bloomberg "to stop their political suicide".

The controversy flared again over the weekend when a Sunday newspaper reported that the saved woman's family were furious that Bloomberg had told an Afrikaans newspaper he planned to use photographs of the incident to hang in the election hall.

Bloomberg said he had spoken in jest.

Mixed-race pupils barred from school

26/2/86. DISPATCH

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The government has refused to permit two Johannesburg children born out of a mixed marriage to attend a whites-only school in their neighbourhood.

After several appeals to the authorities, the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, finally refused Alexander Roux, 8, and Francois Roux, 7, permission to attend the Malvern Primary School in Belgravia, Johannesburg.

Mr Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton) said the deprivation of the two children from education on the basis of their race was "shocking" and revealed that the "old inhuman face of the National Party had not changed".

Mr M. A. Roux (white) and his wife Rona (coloured) live in Tucker Street, Belgravia. In terms of the law their marriage in the Catholic Church in 1980 is now valid. The Laërskool Malvern, an Afrikaans-medium school, is prepared to admit the children provided the Transvaal education authorities approve.

The education authorities said the children could be admitted only after they had been classified as "white", a decision Mr Piet Clase has endorsed.

Since the couple have been living together, they have resided in a white group area in the eastern section of Johannesburg. They now live in Belgravia on a permit issued to them in terms of the Group Areas Act.

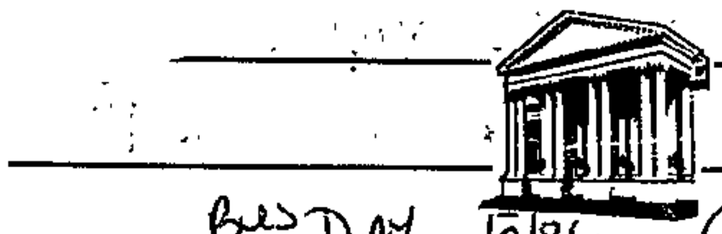
In explaining the plight of the family to the minister, Mr Dalling said in several letters that the nearest coloured school was 20 kilometres away from where the family lived and it was virtually impossible for the parents to provide transport for their children on a daily basis.

The children have been accepted by their neighbours as playmates, Mr Dalling said.

"Both children are presently at home while their neighbours are at school and their being deprived is causing severe psychological problems in the family," Mr Dalling said.

He told Mr Clase in his last letter: "I wonder if it has ever crossed your mind that the children are being kept at home because of the inhumanity of the personal decision taken in your department. I doubt very much whether this could happen in any other so-called Christian country."

In his refusal, Mr Clase said: "I am fully conversant with the matter and cannot find fault with the decision taken by the provincial authorities."



Govt is 'thick-skinned'

GOVERNMENT had never before shown such a thick-skinned attitude to the plight of the man-in-the-street, Louis Stofberg (HNP Sasolburg) said yesterday.

Referring to the report recommending salary increases ranging up to more than 100% for Cabinet ministers and MPs, in the Second Reading on the Additional Appropriation Bill in the House of Assembly, he said: "Amid all the signs of a sick economy the government has shown a hide as thick as that of an elephant.

"South Africans from the Transvaal to the Cape are shocked, and they are not only Conservative or HNP members, but they are Nationalists."

During the speech Salmon Barnard (CP Langlaagte) interjected across the floor that the ministers had been promised increases if they did not defect from the NP to the CP.

Earlier, Stofberg said SA was in the worst depression the country had ever faced.

He wanted to know when government would stop its "massive overspending".

The reform programme, he added, was one of the major reasons for government's overspending.

Stofberg said the State's debt amounted to about one third of the gross domestic product, but what was more frightening was that a large portion of the debt consisted of short-term loans. — Sapa

Proposed pay rises for MPs provoke public servants

GERALD REILLY and Sapa

HUGE pay increases recommended for politicians will send a wave of dissatisfaction throughout the public service, say senior government workers.

A few years ago, they stress, government said politicians would get the same adjustments as public servants.

But now the idea seems to be to pay politicians the same as senior executives in the private sector.

The Public Servants' Association (PSA) has for years fought for its members' earnings to be linked to private-sector levels.

Government workers had been prepared to accept their 10% pay increase because of the recession, but the Schlebusch Committee's proposals on politicians' remuneration have given cause for anger.

Federation of Sats trade unions chairman Jimmy Zurich says that comparing politicians with private-sector executives is "like comparing lemons with oranges".

PSA president Colin Cameron says his organisation has no objection to the proposals provided the same principle is applied to determining government workers' earnings.

National Party politicians say the proposed increases for the State President and MPs are not likely to be implemented in the near future.

Yesterday, NP MPs were in favour of only one recommendation being applied as soon as possible — that MPs should be provided with secretaries.

Opposition MPs support this.

PFP leader Colin Eglin says he has instructed a number of senior MPs to examine the proposals and report to him as soon as possible.

The New Republic Party caucus wants the parliamentary remuneration recommendations implemented as soon as possible, says caucus chairman Brian Page.

"We would ask that careful note be taken of the effect of taxation on the proposals as it will be seen that the higher levels of remuneration have attracted formidable scales of taxation," he adds.

The NRP also welcomes the comparison of areas of responsibility and decision-making with similar posts in the private sector.

"This evaluation and assessment has been long overdue."

But Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht says that, due to the recession, it is out of the question for MPs to accept the pay increases recommended.

The South African Nursing Association is critical of the proposed pay increases for MPs

Sana executive director S du Preez says the recommendations have stunned the association "when the nursing profession is on its knees.

SIAR 26/2/86

CP, HNP slam salary increase proposals

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The right-wing parties in the House of Assembly have attacked the recommendations for big salary increases for parliamentarians.

The criticism came from the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party during yesterday's second-reading debate on the Additional Appro-

Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP, Sasolburg) said he had never seen such a thick-skinned attitude to the plight of ordinary people as that shown by the Government in tabling the recommendations in Parliament.

He likened the Government's attitude to that of the aristocracy during the French revolution when it was said: "If they don't have bread, let them eat cake."

The Government was adopting such an attitude amid all the signs of a sick economy and while children were going hungry and farmers were being strangled economically.

He said there were even Nationalists who could not understand why the Government should have tabled the Schlebusch committee's report at all.

Earlier **Mr Jan van Zyl (CP, Sunnyside)** read a statement issued by CP leader **Dr Andries Treurnicht** disapproving the committee's recommendations.

Replying, the Minister of Fi nance, **Mr Barend du Plessis**, said the manner in which Mr Stofberg had handled the matter was "irresponsible".

The Government had not compromised itself in any way regarding the report on the salaries of MPs. The committee had been given its task a long time ago and had simply tabled its report in the House.

Mr Stofberg interjected that he had not said the Government had compromised itself.

But he also accused the Government of "enormous overspending" and waste.

1986

Yesterday in Parliament

Separate Amenities Act may be ditched

304A Merany 27/2/86

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Government has strongly suggested that the Separate Amenities Act — one of the cornerstones of apartheid — will be scrapped.

Mr Piet Badenhorst, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, told the House of Representatives yesterday that he was 'in favour' of the law being scrapped.

It was already under investigation by a special committee of the President's Council.

He said this during a private Member's motion proposed by Mr Desmond Lockey, Labour Party (nominated), who called for the repeal of all legislation which reserved public amenities on the basis of race as governed by the Act.

Mr Badenhorst said he supported Mr Lockey's motion and agreed that the Act had to be scrapped.

Even if the Act were repealed, this would not mean the automatic opening of all segregated facilities to all races.

Admission

In terms of current Government thinking, local authorities would still have the power to decide to keep them segregated or not.

Private owners would also have the legal right to reserve admission and deny people the right to use such facilities

Mr Badenhorst said the investigating committee had been briefed to scrap the Separate Amenities Act along with certain other laws in 1984 and replace it with the Land Affairs Act on a recommendation of the 1981 Strydom Committee.

The new Act would give the private sector the right to reserve admission or use of any facility and authorise local authorities to manage beaches and coastlines under their jurisdiction, he said.

He expressed remorse about numerous incidents which had caused large-scale public outrage over the years as a result of the application of the law.

He said there were 'ridiculous aspects' of the law which resulted in people being hurt and insulted.

'I hope this is the last time we will debate this law in this House,' Mr Badenhorst said.

He added that he was 'frightened' by the 'hate' this Act had created among the black community, which Labour MPs highlighted during the debate.

Yesterday's motion falls in line with the Labour Party's pledge to dismantle all apartheid laws. The Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act were the main targets.

Labour MPs were cautious in their reaction to Mr Badenhorst's remarks.

Mr Lockey said people would rejoice only after repeal took effect.

'People rose daily in revolt in this country against this law which is an indefensible heresy,' he said.

Urgency

In reply to Mr Badenhorst, Mr Lockey asked the Government to sense the urgency of the matter and repeal the Act during the current session of Parliament.

If repeal was delayed, it would contradict the Government's reform rhetoric and fail to make a public impression when it was eventually scrapped, he said.

He called on the Government to prepare common-law legislation which would outlaw discrimination to protect people once the Act was scrapped.

P W to handle all talks on MP's salaries

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President P W Botha will personally handle all future negotiations with political parties on proposed salary increases for parliamentarians.

That was the result of Cabinet committee talks on the Schlebusch recommendations today.

The proposed hefty increases stirred up controversy this week and were rejected outright by the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties while the Progressive Federal Party professed to some misgivings.

Instead Mr Botha is expected to try to get an all-party agreement to salary increases in the region of the 10 percent granted to public servants.

MPs are also generally in agreement that some compensation for secretarial services as proposed by the committee should be provided.

Mr Botha is said to have been upset by the publicity and the sharp criticism of the proposals at a time when public servants are dissatisfied with their increases.

But National Party MPs said no final decision had been made on the increases and that Mr Botha had said the implementation of any recommendation would be postponed until it could be justified economically.

Business meeting reflects anxiety of changing times

STAR 27/2/86 3049

A two-day conference on negotiation ended in Johannesburg yesterday. It reflected the response of the South African business community to a country in crisis. SHERYL RAINE reports.

Businessmen who attended a two-day conference in Johannesburg entitled "Negotiation — a Way of Life", were taken on a journey through political and social problems which left them in no doubt that South Africa is in serious trouble and cannot do without their help.

A selection of quotes from conference speakers reflected the substance of what was said:

● "We are a flexible society and we can take change, despite the noises of resistance we make in the beginning," Professor Nic Wiehahn, director of the Unisa School of Business Leadership (SBL).

● "We seem to have a shoot now, pay later policy," Professor Jan Hupkes, (economics) Unisa SBL, talking about escalating defence demands.

● "Only one thing is certain today. The genie of change has been let out of the bottle and can never be pushed back," Mr Tertius Myburgh, Editor of the Sunday Times.

● "Affirmative action is a dirty phrase in South Africa but it has to become the order of the day," Mr Moses Maubane, chief executive and MD of the African Bank.

● "We have to come to terms with the three R's — riots, responsibility and restraint," Mr Loet Douwes-Dekker, senior lecturer, Wits Graduate School of Business Administration.

● "Have we got a sense of urgency or are our backs not sufficiently against the wall?" Mr Douwes-Dekker.

● "We should not try to squeeze one another until the pips squeak," Mr Benjamin Trisk, Premier Group.

● "Those with whom we (businessmen) negotiate are not only the representatives of labour. They are also the dispossessed in South African society. Our labour negotiates from an extreme position in which it has received little and there is little to encourage its view of the future," Mr Trisk.

● "We can't afford NOT to have the Industrial Court. Employers should not try to find ways of lessening the powers of the court but should increase its influence. If you destroy the court we may find ourselves back in the trenches," Professor Peter le Roux, Unisa Dept of Mercantile Law.

● "If your kids had been out of school for a year, you would bring those anxieties into the workplace," Mr Bobby Godsell, chairman of the Manpower Committee of the Federated Chamber of Industries.

● "The workplace has become the laboratory of the future," Mr Godsell.

● "In South Africa violence is claiming 2,3 lives every day," Mr John Kane-Berman, director of SA Institute of Race Relations.

● "Unfortunately, violence is the language whites listen to best," Mr Kane-Berman.

Business leaders to discuss crisis

STAR 27/2/86.

304A

By Michael Holman
of the Financial Times

LONDON — Chief executives from leading companies in Britain, the United States and South Africa are due to meet at Leeds Castle, Kent, early next month to discuss the deteriorating political climate in South Africa.

The meeting on March 8, to be chaired by Mr Edward Heath, the former British Prime Minister, has been organised by the Reverend Leon Sullivan, an American clergyman who in 1977 helped frame a code of business conduct for American companies operating in South Africa.

Neither Mr Heath nor Mr Sullivan were prepared to comment yesterday on the planned meeting, which is a follow-up to a similar gathering a year ago. "It gives an opportunity to exchange views on South Africa on a confidential basis," said a spokesman for one of the companies due to participate.

Those invited are thought to include General Motors, Control Data, Fluor Corporation, Mobil Oil, and Goodyear International from the US, Barclays Bank, Shell UK and Rio Tinto from Britain and And Premier Group, Barlow Rand, and Anglo Vaal of South Africa. Mr Jan Steyn, chairman of South Africa's Urban Foundation, is also expected to attend.

The business community has expressed growing concern about the slow pace of political reform under President P W Botha.

Mr Sullivan, on the board of General Motors and one of the leading anti-apartheid activists in the United States, has urged companies operating in South Africa to take an overt political stance in their opposition to apartheid.

The US business community is coming under increasing pressure from anti-apartheid groups. The Washington-based Transafrica movement, led by Mr Randall Robinson, has followed a year-long protest demonstration against the South African Embassy in the city with a call for the boycott of Shell products in the US.

The meeting was condemned last night by Britain's anti-apartheid movement as "an attempt by foreign business to determine the future of South Africa without reference to those most affected, the black population".

Anti-apartheid protesters demonstrated outside branches of Barclays, Standard Chartered, Midland and Hill Samuel banks in Britain yesterday. The banks were singled out because they are amongst the biggest lenders to South Africa.

INDIAN CHAMBER LASHES AT PW

BOAB Sowetan 27/2/86.

Scrap Group Areas Act — Ahmed Arbee urges

PRESIDENT P W Botha came under fire in the House of Delegates this week during his first visit to the Indian Chamber this year.

Mr Botha entered the House during a debate on a private member's motion calling on the State President to enter into immediate negotiations with representative leaders in order to draw up a new constitution.

The motion, led by Mr Ahmed Arbee (Solidarity, Eastern Transvaal), called upon Mr Botha to establish a climate conducive to such negotiations by releasing all political prisoners and detainees, unbanning outlawed organisations, repealing the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts, and scrapping the concept of Own Affairs.

Mr Arbee said apartheid would never be killed by words, but by the repeal of laws which enforced it.

He called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, saying the African National congress leader's continued imprisonment served only the "propaganda machine of the ANC".

Mr Mamoo Rajab (Solidarity, Springfield) said the irony of the present unrest situation was that the principal beneficiary of Government actions after the past year had been its most bitter antagonist, the ANC.

"Every time a policeman wades into a crowd of black demontrations with a sjambok, he no doubt makes another recruit for the ANC."

Mr Pat Poovalingam (Solidarity, Reservoir Hills) said he was delighted" the president was present to hear the debate.

27/2/86

BUSDAY

304A

Man who wields the axe over the public service



☐ ELI LOUW

ELI LOUW, Minister of the Commission for Administration, talking to Chris Cairncross

THE Commission for Administration is the newest Departmental portfolio in the growing sprawl of government. Less than a year old, it is positioned under the umbrella of the Office of the State President and its primary function is to oversee the affairs of the public service.

A unique element of its responsibilities is its co-ordinating role between the different Cabinet portfolios.

It is also the direct conduit between them and the State President.

"It is a totally new concept," observes the Minister in charge, Eli Louw, who was elevated to the post in July last year after being a Deputy Minister of Finance.

From this pivotal position, Louw's most important immediate priorities are:

☐ Rationalising and chopping down the size of the still burgeoning public service;

☐ Identifying those areas and activities of the public sector that can and should be privatised, and overseeing their "transfer" to the private sector; and

☐ Managing and accelerating the process of deregulating the economy.

The three are not really separate, remarks Louw. "They go hand-in-hand. One has to deregulate in order to be able to dismantle from the public sector those structures and services that could be privatised."

Louw is quick to state that he has no intention of compounding his problem by building up a big departmental empire.

Only one new senior appointment has been made: one-time magistrate and legal adviser in the public service Jimmy Vermaak has been appointed Chief Director Privatisation and Deregulation.

Other than that, Louw says he intends to solicit the help and consultation of the private sector.

This is already being done. Former Gencor chairman Wim de Villiers has been officially appointed to assist Louw in an advisory capacity, and others will undoubtedly be co-opted in due course.

To ensure quick implementation of any decision or proposal taken, particularly on deregulation, Louw has proposed that the State President be vested with executive powers to bypass Parliament to suspend any laws or regulations that get in the way.

Enabling legislation — the Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Bill — was tabled in Parliament last week.

According to Louw, this Bill is now before the Standing Committee on Home Affairs and is being treated as a matter of urgency.

"We need to get the legislation finalised before the end of this session," he stated.

Louw believes he is open-minded over the whole issue of privatisation. No area within the public sector is sacrosanct, in his view.

And he is quick to invite "as many suggestions as possible" from any associations, individuals or bodies concerned with the issue.

Louw, stresses, however, that what he needs most now are pragmatic and specific suggestions.

"Most of the proposals I have had so far really deal only with the general philosophy of privatisation. I require more than that," he says.

Louw maintains that considerable headway has already been made in the short time he has been in office to trim down the size of the public service and improve its efficiency.

He noted that 50% of all staff vacancies — about 9 800 posts — that had been listed last year have been chopped, and a very strict policy was being adhered to with regard to any new appointments.

Every prospective new appointment has now to be vetted by him personally, and those at very senior level have to get Cabinet approval.

Current staff complement of the public service is about 250 000.

In the present climate there is no intention of retrenching people in order to cut down numbers. "We are depending on natural attrition to do that for us," Louw says.

He confesses that at this stage he is not working on any predetermined target, although one might emerge once his rationalisation programme has advanced.

"But I can tell you that I have already identified some 20 areas in the public service which can be handed over to the private sector," Louw added, refusing to be drawn as to which these were.

There is apparently no preset timescale by which the privatisation and deregulation programme must be completed. "It is going to be an on-going process," Louw says.

"But I would hope that some specific work will be completed this year, and would like to see most of the issues resolved within five years."

SA 'not a First World country'

STAR 27/2/86 3 of 4A

By Sydney Duval

CAPE TOWN — The chairman of Sanlam, Dr Fred du Plessis, has appealed to the outside world to view South Africa as a Third World country.

One of the country's biggest problems, he told the South African German Chamber of Commerce in Cape Town yesterday, was the overseas misconception that South Africa was a First World nation.

This view was not reflected in South Africa's balance of payments, which featured characteristics of a Third World economy.

TYPICAL

"South Africa is an importer of capital and consumer goods typical of a developing society," he said.

"But a single commodity, gold, accounts for about 50 percent of exports. Together with other raw materials this is between 60-70 percent of total exports - features typical of a Third World trading partner."

Dr du Plessis said the political problem was more serious than the econmic situation.

PRESSURE

He had asked many overseas people: "What do you expect us to do to make you feel more positive about us ?"

The usual reply was: "Get the pressure off our backs. We are worried because people worry us about South Africa."

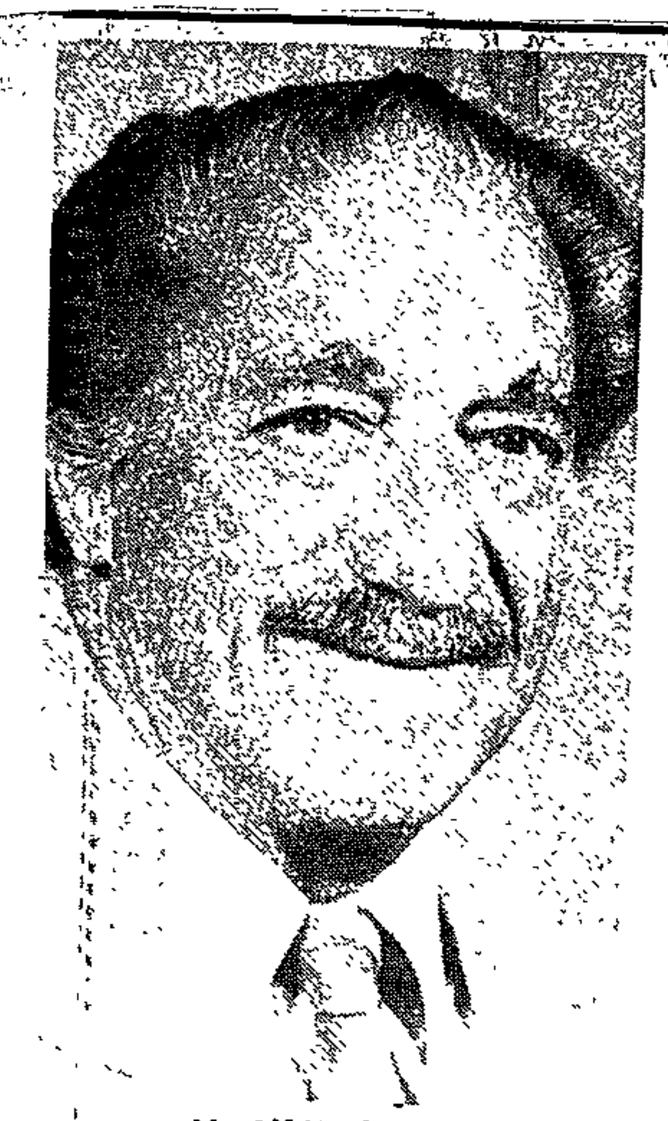
Dr du Plessis questioned who was creating "the pressure on their backs", and called on the outside world to be more discriminating and not to heed the extremists.

"You will always have people screaming for change and reform forever, no matter what change or reform is taking place," he said.

He urged South Africa's "foreign friends to normalise relations with us".

If the outside world did not show a better understanding of South Africa's situation "then we will have to go our own way rather than throw in the towel and turn this country into a loss to us and to the whole world".

27/2/86 (304A)



Mr Alf Widman

Unhealthy state as local authorities struggle for revenue

27/2/86 STAR (304A)

Local authorities are borrowing more and more and the interest on the loans is exceeding the rate income. This is an unhealthy state of affairs.

Does the Minister (the Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly, Mr F W de Klerk) want the local authorities to go broke, or to cut down their services, or to slow down their growth?

Our attitude in the PFP is clear. We do not agree with the concept of "own affairs".

We believe in freedom of choice in the very matters dealt with in this appropriation. That is in local government, education, health and agriculture.

I wish to review sources of revenue for local authorities.

Local authorities have been struggling for years to obtain additional sources of finance. These sources are limited to assessment rates, sales of electricity, sales of water and a few sundries.

However, local authorities are obliged to provide transport, but this is done at a huge loss particularly because of the government's policy of maintaining apartheid in transport.

Local authorities have to provide amenities — recreation facilities such as swimming pools, sports grounds, libraries, museums and theatres.

All have to be heavily subsidised. There is no way these can be viable.

They have to build roads. Again there is no return on the roads.

Borkenhagen sat for 12 years — and local authorities got nothing. It was followed by Driesen, by Niemand, by Browne, by Croeser — still no relief.

Croeser stopped because of the regional services council proposals, but these proposals are not the source of revenue for local authorities, only for regional services councils.

The payroll and turnover tax will not only be a headache for commerce and industry: it will be a headache for local authorities as well as they will have to pay both of these taxes.

This is an edited version of the speech made by Mr Alf Widman, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Hillbrow, during the second reading of the Part Appropriation Bill.

Can the Minister explain what financial benefit local authorities will in fact get out of the deal?

What about the local authorities falling outside the regional services councils? To whom and where do they look for sources of revenue?

Can the Minister say whether Justice Margo is looking at sources of revenue for local authorities and if not, why not?

When can one expect some news?

Some local authorities in overseas countries retained value added tax (VAT) or GST or portion thereof or levied their own taxes.

I am not suggesting this without a thorough investigation. Surely there are more ways than one to skin a cat?

But relief is imperative if you want the important third-tier government to survive and prosper.

I wish to suggest that the Minister consider the establishment of a Municipal Bank.

Backed by government funds, municipal loans could be made available for capital projects. These projects can be monitored and financed at low rates of interest over suitable periods.

In those circumstances there would be no need for overseas loans and money would be available for important projects.

Local authorities should be given more authority to administer their own affairs. There is too much autocracy. There are too many control measures. The Local Government Ordinance in Transvaal contains 96 such measures.

Local authorities with city status should be given a charter to administer their own councils with almost complete autonomy except for a little check and balance. This is necessary particularly now that the provincial councils will be relieved of ther control of local government.

The Minister of Local Government steps in. What form of control does he see should be retained and exercised? What will replace these ordinances as from June 16?

Is there not a hiatus in control between the Minister of Local Government and the Minister of Constitutional Affairs?

How do you divide control in, sa Johannesburg or Cape Town which part of the Regional Services Counc

This Minister has no jurisdiction the RSCs, but has over the loca orities which are part of the RS

Where is the dividing line?

The apartheid policy of the Nation... tershed in South African politics. Th...

30KA

Slabbert wants more ANC talks

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert is planning to hold further talks with the African National Congress (ANC) to explore the "possibilities of undercutting violence".

"What needs to be established urgently is whether violence is inevitable," he said here yesterday.

Dr Slabbert said he did not see himself in the role of politician, mediator or honest broker.

"I intend talking to a full cross-section of the political spectrum from the Broederbond to the ANC."

Dr Slabbert led a Progressive Federal Party delegation to the ANC in Lusaka last year.

He is visiting Britain to promote the sale of his book "The Last White Parliament".

He is due to meet the Minister of State in the Foreign Office, Mrs Lynda Chalker, tomorrow.

Dr Slabbert said he saw his role now as that of a researcher co-ordinating information from all groupings with a view to publishing it later.

However, he said, he still saw a role for himself in trying to convince whites — and Afrikaners particularly — of the need for dialogue with representative black leaders.

Whites needed to be reassured that there was "light at the end of the negotiating tunnel".

Minister says Act must go

Star 1 Aug
SAPA DISPATCH

CAPE TOWN — The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said yesterday he was in favour of scrapping the Separate Amenities Act.

Questioned about the Act, the minister, responding to Mr Peter Mopp (LP Border), emphasised the legislation — and other Acts — was being studied by the President's Council and would probably be replaced by an Act titled the Act on Land Affairs.

"I hope this is the last time the Separate Amenities Act is going to be debated in this House," Mr Badenhorst said to a chorus of "hear, hears".



MR MOPP

Mr Mopp, after a few interjections, said: "But the minister has not answered my question. Does he, or does he not, support the motion before the House?"

The minister, who was replying to a motion introduced by Mr Desmond Lockey (LP nominated), calling for the repeal of all legislation which determined the reservation of public premises for the exclusive use of certain persons, replied: "My answer to him (Mr Mopp) is, yes".

He urged members, however, to await the PC's report on the matter.

Referring to speeches made by members during the debate, he said hurtful discrimination must be investigated and in this respect the government would stick to its policy.

"I am sorry the discrimination referred to by members has taken place and will probably still take place. It is these kind of incidents that damage the image of South Africa."

Mr Badenhorst emphasised the importance of the right on the part of owners of restaurants to reserve the right of entry to their premises. — Sapa

Slabbert wants talks with ANC, Broeders

LONDON — Former Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert is planning talks with the Broederbond as well as the banned African National Congress and the Pan African Congress.

Slabbert said yesterday he planned the talks in his mission to determine minimum conditions under which "serious negotiation" could begin between black leaders and government.

He told Sapa he did not intend forming a new organisation mor joining an existing one and, after his wide-ranging talks, would publish his conclusions in SA.

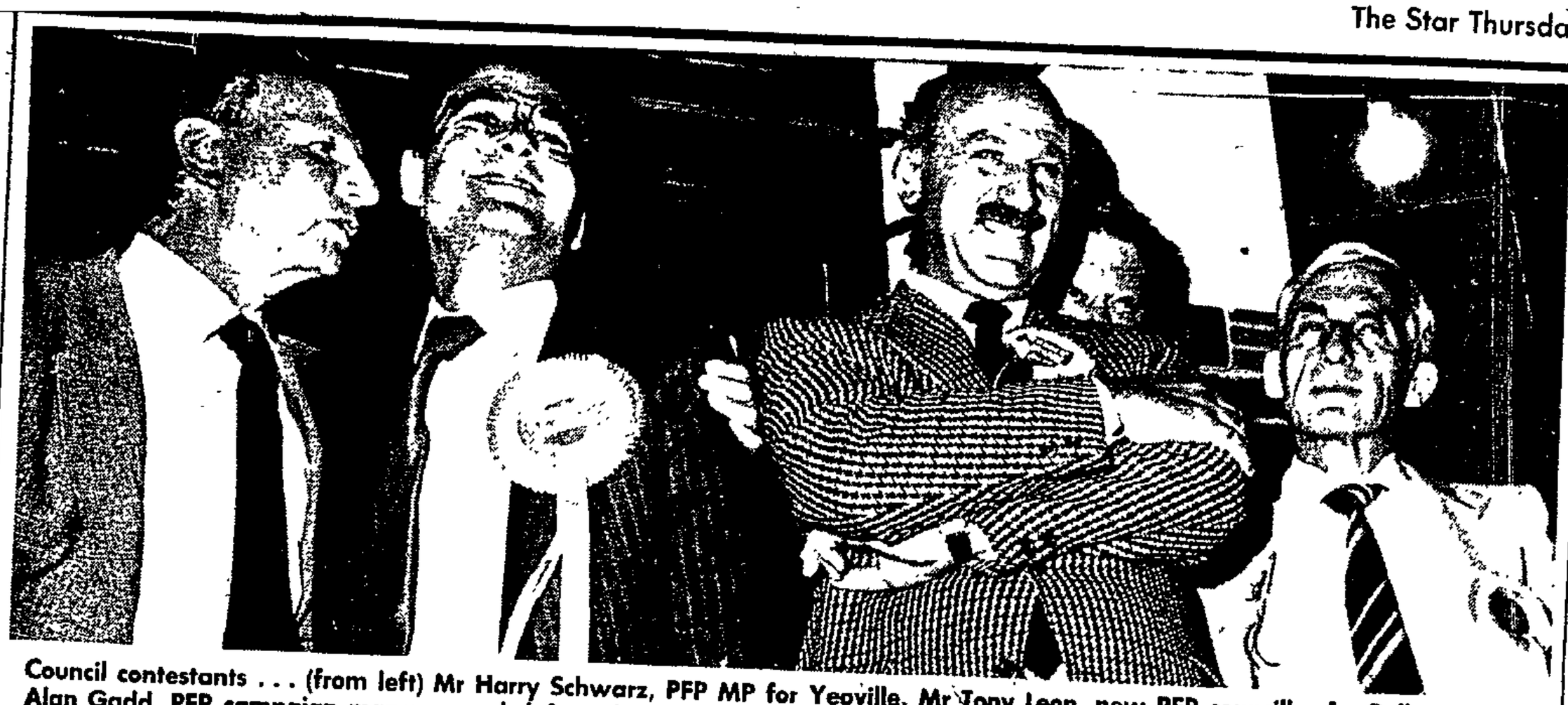
"I'm ready to talk to anyone. The main question is how to undercut the increasing violence in SA," he said.

Slabbert said that from his previous experience — he met the ANC leadership in Lusaka in October — one condition for negotiations would be the total abolition of apartheid.

Slabbert, who resigned the PFP leadership this month because he did not believe government could be persuaded through the parliamentary system to abandon apartheid, listed the Broederbond, ANC, PAC, United Democratic Front, Azanian People's Organisation and black trade unions, as organisations with which he intended talking.

He said he had no time-scale for his mission, and he was prepared to meet the ANC anywhere.

Slabbert, in London to promote publication in the UK of his book, *The Last White Parliament*, said that when he returned to SA next week he would "take stock of the situation and see what I can do". — Sapa.



Council contestants . . . (from left) Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP MP for Yeoville, Mr Tony Leon, new PFP councillor for Bellevue, Mr Alan Gadd, PFP campaign manager and defeated NP candidate Mr Sam Bloomberg outside the entrance to the Masonic Hall after Mr Leon's victory was announced last night. ● Picture by Rebecca Hearfield.

'Alive-and-well' PFP keeps Ward 30

Progressive Federal Party candidate Mr Tony Leon (29) last night won the Johannesburg Ward 30 municipal by-election by 39 votes, narrowly defeating Mr Sam Bloomberg of the National Party.

Mr Leon's win in a 31,2 percent poll brought the PFP its second municipal by-election victory in a week. On February 19, PFP councillor for Blairgowrie South Mr Dick Muller held the Randburg Ward 6 seat by 58 votes.

The result of the neck-and-neck struggle for the Bellevue/Judith's Paarl seat on the city council was: Mr Leon 903, Mr Bloomberg 864. There were nine spoilt ballots.

The results were announced to a crowd of more than 300 outside the Masonic Hall in Hunter Street, Bellevue, at 10.40 pm.

Although figures showed a drop compared to the previous PFP majority of 371 — scored by Mr Aleck Jaffe in 1982 — the number of voters who supported the party in this election increased by more than 140. In 1982, the PFP received 760 votes.

The PFP MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, said the party had gained an outstanding victory considering the resignation of Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, the high quality of the NP opponent and the publicity Mr Bloomberg had received from the SABC.

"This demonstrates that the PFP is alive, well and fighting," he said.

Mr Leon, a Johannesburg attorney and law lecturer, has promised he will move into Bellevue and set up residents' associations.

Mr Bloomberg said he felt the National Party had done "more than well" in an area which had been a PFP seat for 18 years.

Mr Leon's victory does not alter the balance of power in the 47-member city council. The PFP has 23 seats while the ruling Nationalist/Independent Ratepayers' Asscociation coalition holds 22. Two independents regularly vote with the coalition to give it a majority.

● Police were called into the polling station at 8.50 pm when a PFP scrutineer found an unregistered voter trying to use his father's voter's number to cast a vote for the NP.

Mr Schwarz said the man agreed to give the PFP a signed statement apologising for his behaviour. The party declined to prosecute as it felt it would ruin the man's career.

Honeydew

'Unscrupulous'

Support for m

Do not push SA too far, Sanlam chairman warns

CAM- This is 7-7-2/86

304 A

By AUDREY D'ANGELO

A BLUNT warning that South Africa would cut itself off from the outside world rather than give way to unreasonable demands by extremists was given by the chairman of Sanlam, Dr F J Du Plessis, yesterday.

Dr Du Plessis, who is also President of the South Africa Foundation, told the South African-German Chamber of Commerce & Industry at a lunch in a city hotel: "If necessary we will have to go without foreign relations.

In an interview afterwards Dr Du Plessis emphasized that he was not advocating a retreat into the laager.

"It would be a very bad situation for us and it is certainly not what I want to happen, but it is possible.

Warnings

"I am just warning our friends abroad that they must be careful not to try to force us too far.

"I am saying that if the alternative is to throw this country to the dogs we would choose to make a go of the South African situation without foreign relations."

Dr Du Plessis pointed out that the Rhodesian economy had the highest growth in its history under the Smith government, when sanctions were in force and the domestic manufacturing industry was kept busy with import replacement.

"The total foreign investment in this country has only been four percent over the past 15 years.

"I am sure we can manage without that."

Asked how South Africa could manage without essential imports if total sanctions were declared, Dr Du Plessis said sanctions never worked.

"You can always get what you want without foreign relations."

Dr Du Plessis said he was in fact optimistic about the future of this country and did not think South Africa would have to go it alone.

"But one must spell out the consequences of certain actions to people and not wait for things to happen before they understand what they are doing."

In his speech Dr Du Plessis said that representatives of overseas firms doing business with South Africa had told him they simply wanted "the pressure taken off their backs".

Reform

But in a country as heterogeneous as South Africa, "there will always be people who want more reform whatever you do.

"In South Africa we have people screaming for change who will never be satisfied."

Dr Du Plessis continued: "I call on our foreign friends to try and be discriminating about whose pressure they want off their backs."

He said that if South Africa gave way to the demands of extremists, "we would be of very little use to our foreign friends".

Separate Amenities Act is on the way out

SOWETAN Correspondent

DEPUTY Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, has supported a call for the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act.

Mr Badenhorst gave his support to a private members' Bill, introduced by nominated Labour Party, Mr Desmond Lockey, in the House of Representatives, calling for the repeal of the Act.

Mr Lockey said this was the only country which practised pigmentocracy, not meritocracy.

Every day this "klein apartheid" politicises people who need not be politicised. It must be scrapped this session so the system can survive.

Mr Badenhorst said the President's Council was considering a law — to be called the Land Affairs Act — which would replace the Separate Amenities Act and certain other Acts.

The new law would be based on two principles:

1. The right of the owner or the manager of any premises or vehicle to allow or refuse admission to anyone he thought fit;

2. The right of a local authority to administer the sea and the beaches within its area of jurisdiction.

Does this mean that the owner of a private business will be allowed to discriminate? asked Mr Arthur Booysen, leader of the Freedom Party.

Warning

If they want to, they can, Mr Badenhorst replies. But I will be very sorry if they do.

He said much of the Separate Amenities Act had effectively been scrapped already, as many facilities such as beaches, sports clubs, cinemas and business districts, were open.

One could say that the motion today is no longer an issue. I hope that the President's Council submits its report soon and that there will be no further need to debate this law, Mr Badenhorst said.

Mr Lockey warned that giving local authorities the say over beaches in the proposed Land Affairs Act, might be another loophole to maintain apartheid.

"The Deputy Minister must remember we are not represented on those local authorities," he said.

28/2/86 (304A) Bus. Day

The 'non-racist' who wants a white fatherland

28/2/86 (304A) BUS DAY

PETER HONEY

EUGENE TERRE BLANCHE leaned across his desk, his eyes narrowing with fanatical conviction. "In the next election we will win the Transvaal, the Free State and northern Natal because that is where the Afrikaner people are, where the Afrikaner heart lies.

"P W Botha has betrayed the Afrikaners. When he said he wanted power-sharing, he was saying he would destroy their way of life. Afrikaners have a wonderful loyalty to their government — up to a point. But just as they have been loyal, so will they fight it now."

It was the first spark of passion from this explosive leader of the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in an interview which found him strangely courteous, even diffident at times.

But put Terre Blanche on a podium before 2 000 ardent supporters and this 42-year-old former policeman transforms into a prophet, steeping his oratory in the atavistic nationalism of the *volk* with such effect that it draws tears from burly farmers and sends some women into fits of sobbing.

His message is the same as when he founded the AWB secretly 13 years ago: government is capitulating to the forces of revolution. The blacks will try to take all. The whites will fight for the land that is theirs. And the whites will win.

This month Eugene Ney Terre Blanche threw himself back on the campaign trail

Schweizer-Reneke and on the industrial outskirts of Johannesburg are "terrible," he exclaims.

"I don't believe it could be AWB members — that's impossible. The AWB is a disciplined organisation. We will never, ever start a revolution. But we will fight against a revolution."

That is why he formed the AWB *Brandwag* earlier this month — a commando to protect white interests in case there are not enough police available. It would not try to usurp the function of the police, he adds.

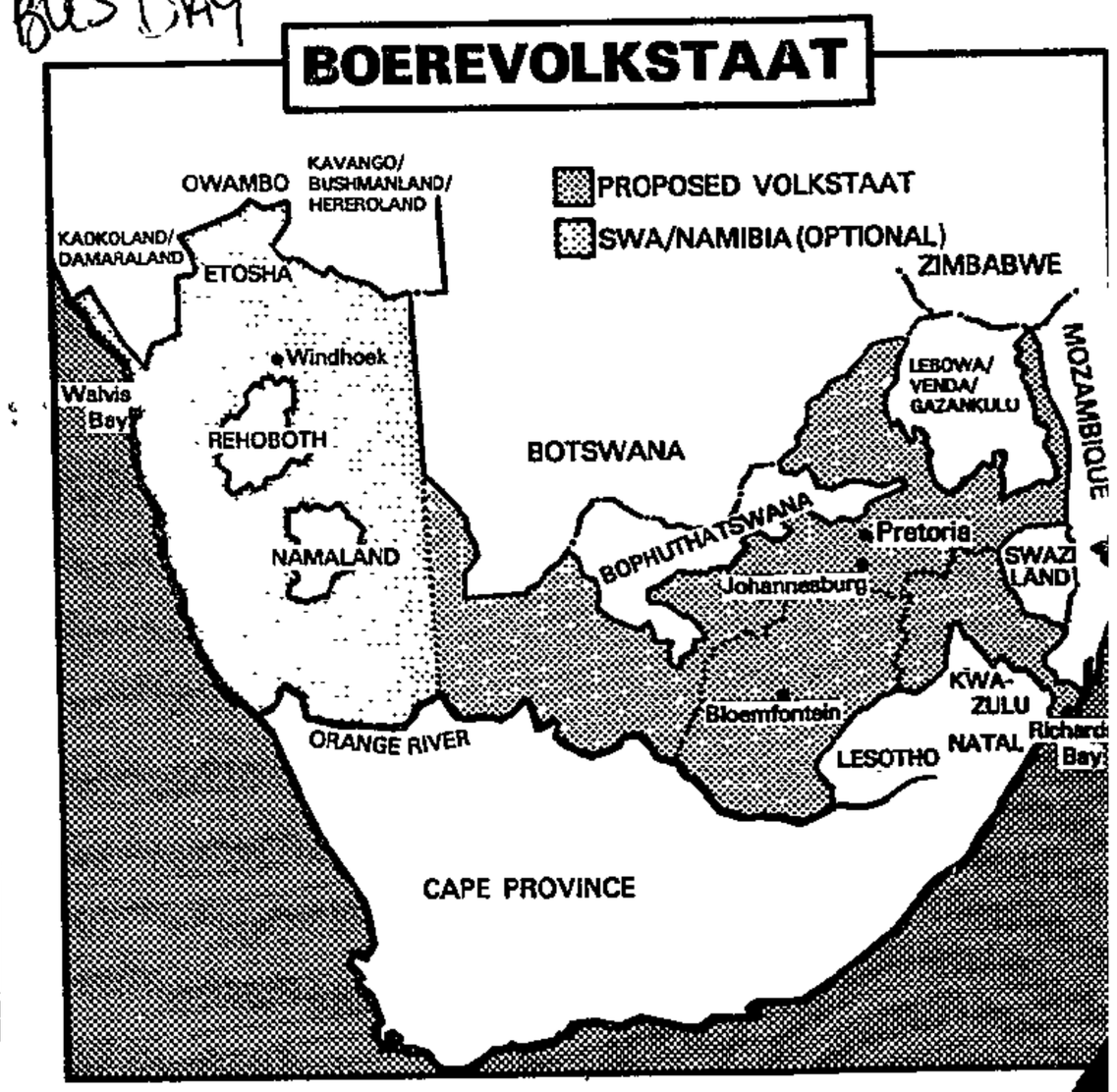
"But if they (blacks or any non-*Boere*) try to take our land, I will counter it with white, *Boer* Afrikaner power — that I can assure you."

Police and Defence Force members are



☐ TERRE BLANCHE . . . "I'm not a racist — really not"

BUS DAY



Standerton, Wednesday in Secunda, before that in Klerksdorp and before that in Florida — more than 10 000 will have heard him in the past 28 days.

No option

But how seriously can you take a man who speaks of setting up a white, Christian fatherland in the heart of SA; who would revert to a state a century past; who says he is not a racist but would fight tooth and nail to keep blacks, Jews and all non-Christians out of his government?

Terre Blanche dismisses suggestions that he is out of touch with reality. When enough white farmers have rejected government, he says, P W Botha will have no option but to yield to their will.

He hints at a right-wing military takeover: when the army and police in the powerful placements of the Transvaal and Free State identify with the Afrikaner will, the battle for a white fatherland will be all but won, he says.

"P W Botha and his (Amichand) Rajbansi's and his (Alan) Hendrickse's can have their *Kaapse Korps*," he sneers derisively.

It all seems so laughable, especially since the AWB's strong identification with its leader presents an image of nothing more than an insubstantial vehicle for rightist malcontents and neo-fascists.

Yet some Cabinet Ministers seem to perceive him as a threat: earlier this week Foreign Minister Pik Botha rejected dealings with the AWB in the same breath as with the ANC. Defence Minister Magnus Malan also attacked the movement for its militancy recently.

Terre Blanche disclaims vehemently any suggestions that the AWB espouses violence. This, in spite of the fact that two former members were jailed for 15 years under the Terrorism Act, and that he himself was among three members convicted in 1983 and given suspended sentences for unlawful possession of firearms, which included Kalashnikov assault rifles.

Terre Blanche warns he will sue anyone who accuses him or the AWB of violent intent. He says the two men jailed were not AWB members at the time of trial, and points to the fact that the judge cleared the organisation itself of involvement in terrorism.

The inexplicable spate of shootings and killings recently by whites against black pedestrians in areas such as Krugersdorp, forbidden membership of the AWB. Even the HNP will have nothing to do with it. The AWB is not a political party and claims to have no pretentions to become one, although Terre Blanche once stood unsuccessfully for parliament.

Terre Blanche himself realises his extra-parliamentary role is not enough. He has on several occasions tried to develop closer ties with Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party.

On Monday he will try again. He says he will be addressing the CP caucus in Cape Town on the desirability of forming one, unified political front against government, and to try to persuade the party to accept the fatherland concept.

"The only difference between Dr Treurnicht and us is that he believes in homelands and we believe in a fatherland," says Terre Blanche.

But Treurnicht is not so forthcoming. Terre Blanche will not be talking to the CP caucus on Monday, he says. It will only be an informal discussion on closer links between right-wing groups.

The AWB insignia bears a striking resemblance to the Nazi swastika — a three-cornered array of 7's which, he says, represents a shield against the triple 6's of the anti-Christ in Revelations. Political commentators have compared him to Hitler and Mussolini; a psychologist once said his oratory reflected a brilliant mind, someone authentic but who was locked into the past, who used "denial to deal with his fear of change.

Partyless

Of Hitler, Terre Blanche is reluctant to speak: "I am a *Boer*," he says. "I have no heroes but the heroes of the past of my people. I want to be the same as Generals De la Rey and De Wet, (Presidents) Paul Kruger and Steyn."

It is the key to his concept of a *Boere-volkstaat*, where there would be no party political system as we know it. People would elect their leaders according to their skills and experience to a partyless *volksraad* which will be controlled by an AWB chief executive, known as the *Opperraad*.

Jews, Indians, or any non-Christians could be permitted within the boundaries, but they would be totally excluded from government. "I choose Jesus Christ ahead of popularity with the international money powers.

He draws a line between the Afrikaner *Boer* and the non-Afrikaner *Boer*. "You could be what Hitler called an Aryan, but if you want to stand against me then you will be the same as a black man who wants to stand against me."

Blacks would be allowed to work in the republic under conditions set out by government, but the ideal would be to gradually shift them outside its borders. No nation in the world would be prepared to give away its land to immigrants simply because it has been kind to them, he declares.

Complexity

"We are not interested in dividing people and sharing power; P W Botha and his lot can try their consensus in those parts which are not the historical property of the *Boer* people," Terre Blanche declared.

The powerful multi-national companies and gold mines would be required to pay their "rightful taxes" to the people, or else face nationalisation.

He speaks of developing border industries which could utilise black labour from outside the *Volkstaat* so that the white population could "live in the prosperity and peace it deserves".

"I am not a racist — really not. I only want for myself what I am willing to give to others," he says.

With that sort of complexity it is hardly surprising that Terre Blanche professes to be "not so interested in apartheid"; drawing a distinction between the homeland system and what he calls the establishment of "fatherlands".

"I don't think apartheid can work. You cannot decide for other groups what their futures should be. But this land — the Transvaal, Free State and northern Natal — was payed for in the blood, tears and bitter sweat of my forefathers. It is historically the land of the *Boere* Afrikaners to which they have a right and for which they will fight," he says.

Bold but futile words? They echo uncannily like those of the Malans and Verwoerds of the Forties and Fifties.

But as the long-contained wave of black nationalism begins to sweep across the southern tip of Africa, it is hard to see how the pretensions of the Terre Blanche's of this world can be regarded as more than rocks on the beach of change.

Slabbert explains "bugged" insults

STAR 26/2/86 3044

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert says he would want to apologise to anyone who may have been "insulted, patronised or demeaned" by statements he made during a "bugged" conversation with President Botha.

Questioned about the "tape controversy" and the sharp response from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Dr Slabbert said: "It is inevitable when a confidential conversation is bugged, made public and considered out of context that there will be misunderstandings and people will be unhappy about statements made.

"The only explanation I can give is that it was a highly unsuccessful attempt by two Afrikaners of different generations to try and establish a level of communication. This should explain why I was so disappointed and frustrated."

Alexandra: British envoy row hots up

Argus 28/2/86

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

BRITISH Ambassador Sir Patrick Moberly was under heavy fire today as two more South African Cabinet Ministers rebuked him publicly.

The diplomatic row erupted after details of Sir Patrick's message to Deputy-Foreign Minister Mr Ron Miller this week were released in London.

Mr Miller hit back with a sharp Press statement in which he said Sir Patrick's allegations about events in Alexandra were based mainly on hearsay and unreliable Press reports.

Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange was reported by the SABC as saying yesterday that he was astonished by Sir Patrick's attitude, and that the ambassador appeared to have conveniently forgotten the race riots in Britain only last year.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, approached for comment, said South Africa "did not like the way the British had interfered and acted without a solid basis of facts".

He also said that although it was not unusual for one government to express concern privately to another government, it was an "unfortunate new and bad habit to leak the contents of talks".

Sir Patrick could not be contacted for comment today.

Violence

However, British diplomatic sources were careful to emphasise that Britain had not changed its policy towards South Africa and that Sir Patrick had acted routinely in his actions with Mr Miller.

"We deplore violence on both sides and we didn't allege there were necessarily excesses on the side of the security forces," a British Embassy spokesman said.

"Our statement did not say that and we did not say that to Mr Miller. We said simply that we regretted the events and circumstances in Alexandra over the last few weeks."

The spokesman said he had been surprised that this had caused such a flurry. It had obviously touched a nerve.

"It is not unusual for us to approach the South African Government like this. We have done it before and we have made statements to the Press afterwards.

Humanitarian

"It does not signal any change in policy at all. We have always had this aspect of our policy."

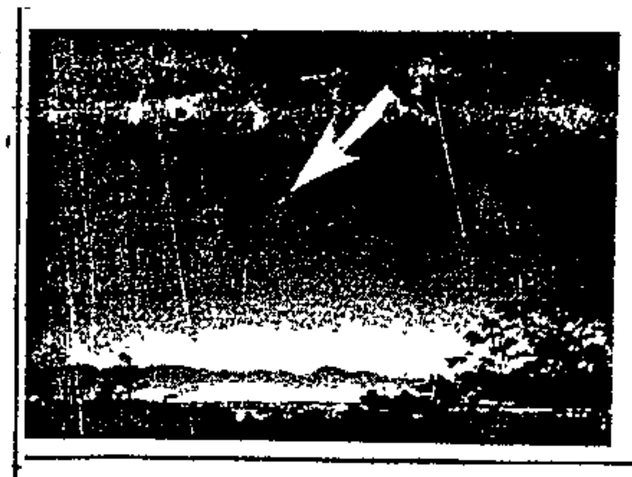
It is understood that London has felt itself under considerable pressure in England and from black African states in recent months over its relationship with South Africa.

One way of staving off such pressure, it is apparently felt, is to emphasise the humanitarian aspects of British policy.

Sir Patrick was accordingly ordered to convey a message of concern to the South African Government.

"One could argue that we must do this in order to keep our policy in place," a local diplomat said.

"However, with the Commonwealth group meandering about the last thing we want to do is antagonise the South Afri-



Above: Halley's Comet is becoming clearer and clearer. close-up of the comet was taken by the Astronomical vatory in Sutherland this week.

Left: A view of the eastern sky from Constantiaberg 5.10 and 5.30 am on Monday. The arrow points to the

Second sight of comet

Staff Reporter

A WOMAN has seen Halley's Comet from Fish Hoek — for the second time. Mrs Hope Hagens, 85, said she saw the comet with binoculars early yesterday in the south-

Koos in 'dogs and hyenas' row

28/2/86 3041A 5TAR

PARLIAMENT — A Conservative Party member was ordered to leave the House yesterday following a series of interjections and points of order in which he said National Party members were implying he was a dog and later refused to withdraw a statement that a Nationalist MP was a "falsifier".

In the Second Reading debate on the Transport Budget, **Mr Keppies Niemann (NP, Kimberley South)** was dealing with the plight of the disabled on public transport when **Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP, Jeppe)** rose on a point of order to ask for the protection of the chairman, **Mr Rex le Roux**.

"The honourable member for Heilbron (**Mr A J Terblanche**) has been saying "hok toe" (go to your kennel) with the clear implication that I am a dog. And those other (NP) members are sitting there laughing like hyenas," Mr van der Merwe said.

Mr Terblanche rose to confirm he had made the remark to Mr van der Merwe, but that he had not implied the member should go to his kennel.

After telling Mr van der Merwe he should not refer to honourable members as "hyenas," Mr le Roux allowed Mr Niemann to continue.

Mr van der Merwe rose again shortly afterwards on another point of order in which he started to describe **Dr Jan Grobler (NP, Brits)** as a "falsifier" (vervalser) before being interrupted by the chairman who ordered him to withdraw this.



Mr Koos van der Merwe
. . . told to leave

Mr van der Merwe refused, gathered his papers and walked out while Mr Niemann continued his speech. — Sapa.

'Move away from violence possible'

By Michael Morris, The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert has had talks with senior African National Congress (ANC) officials and believes progress can be made towards peaceful negotiation in South Africa.

The ANC, he said, did not believe violence was inevitable.

Speaking in London, where he is promoting his new book, "The Last White Parliament", Dr Slabbert said: "I have met members of the ANC executive here and I believe a move away from violence can be found. I will communicate this to whoever is interested.

"I made it clear during our discussion that I abhor violence and do not see it as an effective instrument for achieving political objectives.

"I talked at length to see to what extent they themselves would be prepared to reconsider their stance on violence.

"They made it clear to me they did not regard violence as inevitable, but something they resorted to when all other channels of peaceful opposition had been closed down."

He said he would continue to hold talks with the ANC as long as this "served a useful purpose".

Emphasising his refusal to accept that "it is inevitable that South Africans should kill each other", Dr Slabbert broadly outlined a role he is eager to play.

BILATERAL

"Given my 12 years' experience, I intend to explore across the political spectrum to what extent negotiation is possible and to what extent the cycle of violence can be reduced.

"With this in mind I am prepared to talk to anybody — the ANC, the Broederbond, the SADF or any right-wing group."

He said he believed the Government's principal defect was its tendency to view reform as a unilateral process, "where they decide what reform means, how far and how fast".

"History shows reform is bilateral, an interaction between those bringing it about and those experiencing it. Reform does not depend on the good intentions of the Government, but on the reactions of the intended beneficiaries.

"If you want to judge if apartheid is dead, you cannot rely on newspaper advertisements, but on events in the townships.

"Right now, it is a question of being committed to take action that will undercut the violence," he said.

Discounting a right-wing electoral threat, Dr Slabbert does believe there is a threat of right-wing violence through the formation of vigilante groups. But he feels white people "generally" are prepared "to go much further than the Government".

Besides his contact with the ANC in London, Dr Slabbert has also met top British politicians. On Monday, he leaves for Paris, where he will meet officials from the French Foreign Ministry and spend time with poet Breyten Breytenbach.

He will then fly to Germany and will return to South Africa towards the end of next week.

Acknowledging that his departure from conventional politics and especially his resignation as leader of the PFP had given South Africa a shock, Dr Slabbert discounts the suggestion that it was an "act of political lunacy".

"I regret the upset it has caused the party, but I do not regret my decision from a political point of view."

NAMIBIA

FEATURE

Superpowers' egg-dance

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's meeting a fortnight ago in Geneva with US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, prompted speculation that, among other issues, a new South African offer on Namibian independence was discussed.

However, accounts of the talks suggest the Namibian issue is considered only in the broader regional context; more emphasis is being placed on Angola, the position of Unita and the Cuban troop issue.

It is true that a scenario can be sketched in which some of the interests of the parties involved favour increased flexibility. For example, there are signs that Pretoria has been doing some thinking about Unita's ability to survive a continuing conventional onslaught by Soviet-led Cuban and Fapla forces. Linked to this is the threat posed to irreplaceable South African aircraft if the SA Defence Force continues to actively support Unita. Greater flexibility on Namibia, it is further argued, might relieve international pressures on SA. And there is, of course, the cost burden of a continued presence in the territory to be considered.

Aside from its controversy, the somewhat confusing American egg-dance on aid to Unita might also be explained if any real hope of a Namibian settlement favoured the US limiting that aid to the agreed US$15m. This would provide just enough incentive to encourage Angola and the Soviet Union to step up negotiations with the US.

Mikhail Gorbachev's conciliatory December 27 response to American President Reagan's UN call for bilateral talks with Moscow on regional issues, suggested the possibility of progress. This view is supported by the moderate tone of the January 27 meeting between the Soviets, Cubans and Angolans in Moscow, and Crocker's admission soon afterwards that the US was engaged in bilateral talks on Angola with the Soviet Union.

Certainly, rapidly diminishing oil revenues as a result of tumbling world oil prices will strain Angola's ability to pay for Soviet and Cuban military aid. It will also increase the lure of American diplomatic recognition and greater economic aid and investment from the West.

And some observers argue that the Soviet Union, in an increasingly urgent search for an arms control agreement with the US, and even more economically threatened than Angola by the oil price slump, might be willing to bargain what is, after all, one of its more marginal regional interests.

But the arguments to the contrary remain strong.

The retention of Namibia, and particularly the Caprivi Strip, remains central to the South African military's strategic assessment of the region, governed as it is by an enduring perception of a "Communist onslaught."

Pursuing an ambivalent twin-track policy of commitment to UN Resolution 435, while developing an internal settlement alternative, it seems unlikely that Pretoria would now wish to substantially tilt towards the former. The internal Multi-Party Conference's Constitutional Council is underway and will not report before mid-1987. Also, Swapo, under ever greater military pressure, has shown signs of growing military weakness and a greater willingness to enter the domestic political arena.

There is also a strong temptation for Pretoria to wait and see whether conservative America can swing American policy towards full-blooded aid for Unita. (There are some eerie echoes of 1975 here.) Finally, Pretoria could ill-afford the impact of being perceived to be weak in Namibia at a time of domestic turmoil.

After the humiliation of the Nkomati Accord it is hard to see Moscow contemplating a retreat from the strategically more valuable Angola, particularly if SA and the US were seen to be benefiting. There seems little reason why Moscow should not encourage Luanda to press home its advantage by renewing the onslaught against Unita once the rains are over in March-April. Small adjustments to tactics and deployment of Luanda's forces will gravely threaten Savimbi and make South African intervention difficult and probably highly costly. The temptation to do so before Washington's aid to Unita is fully effective must be great.

The stage is therefore set for an interesting few months in Namibia and Angola. In Namibia, the projected Swapo conference slated for April will, if it proceeds, give notice of the movement's morale and future strategy. In Angola there are a number of imponderables. It remains to be seen if the US will intervene decisively, whether Luanda will press its campaign backed by Moscow, if SA will be prepared to run heightened risks, and if Unita will survive to continue its conventional role, or revert to its earlier guerrilla mode of operations. Perhaps the most interesting question of all is whether circumstances are compelling the Soviet Union to sacrifice its interests in Angola and, if so, to what extent a face-saving formula will be needed to tip the scales.

28 FEBRUARY 1986

Financial Mail

DEBT SETTLEMENT

Limiting the options

304A F. MAIL 28/2/86

Were Chris Stals and Fritz Leutwiler talking about the same meeting in London last Thursday? One would hardly think so after hearing their different accounts.

To Stals, it was an agreement with no political implications, a major step to normality and a solution to a simple technical problem which can be a base for new negotiations for new loans. Leutwiler, on the other hand, stressed that "something must happen — promises must be delivered and implemented" on political reform over the 12 months of his immediate plan — which, he stressed, does *not* represent a rescheduling agreement.

With Swiss realism, Leutwiler also saw no chance of SA going to international markets for new money.

No doubt, discrepancies are to some extent explained by the different constituencies the two men were addressing. European bankers may be furious at the Americans for pulling the rug from under SA for political reasons. But the fact remains that having got themselves into a mess, their own domestic political needs force the Americans at least to be seen to exert pressure for political reform.

Stals, on the other hand, for equally pressing political reasons in SA, above all needed to divorce the settlement from political concessions. He may also be much more in tune with the Swiss and German bankers, among whom will be found those who do *not* insist on repayment of 5% of their debt within a year (see *Economy*).

But irrespective of any overt political linkage, and regardless of whether the upshot of the meeting was a settlement, a quasi-settlement, a non-settlement or just a broad consensus, let us not kid ourselves that the problem is over.

On the Reserve Bank's own figures (and what exchange rate were *they* based on?) debt repayment will absorb all but $300m of our likely current account surplus this year. Even if this delicate balance is not disturbed, it leaves precious little inflow to stimulate economic growth.

And while the structure of our foreign debt will be improved if lenders take the option of conversion into medium-term (three years-plus) negotiable loans, that raises problems of its own.

How negotiable would such paper in fact be? And what coupon would it bear? At present, SA Deutschemark issues carry premiums of two to three percentage points above other comparable paper.

The strength of the rand may show that we have won a battle — even if the scale of victory was not as great as the first proposals SA put forward last year. But the war continues; and it is naïve to think that it carries only financial, not political, undertones. As well as restricting room to manoeuvre on the domestic economic front, the settlement requires real progress on political reform. However much P W Botha may be looking over his right shoulder, if he does not accept that, he will find the international bankers much less amenable at the promised "major review" in 12 months' time. ■

DEBT STANDSTILL

Breathing space

Last Thursday's meeting in London seems to have gone off remarkably painlessly, though mediator Fritz Leutwiler stresses that the "broad consensus" is not a formal rescheduling agreement. In terms of the arrangements:

☐ The moratorium will end on March 31;

☐ Banks will enter into individual arrangements for the repayment of up to 5% of their debt in quarterly instalments over the next 12 months. This could total $700m, although some banks are likely to roll over their loans;

☐ Interest rates will be up to 1% higher than during the standstill;

☐ There will be an interim review in six months' time at a special meeting between SA and the creditor banks, and a full review next February; and

☐ A technical committee has been set up for direct negotiations between the Standstill Co-ordinating Committee (SCC) and the 30 major creditor banks.

SCC chairman Chris Stals said at a press conference in London after the talks that the $500m repayments likely this year, plus a further $1,5 billion to be repaid outside the standstill, will be an "additional burden" on the balance of payments. The Reserve Bank projects a current account surplus of $2,3 billion this year, so SA should be able to handle repayments of $2 billion. "But it is really tight. There is not much more scope."

In a simultaneous press conference, Leutwiler said the arrangements allow for creditors to provide medium-term loans of not less than three years' maturity, instead of just rolling over short-term debt, which will improve the structure of their South African debt. Such loans will not be subject to the 1% interest rate ceiling.

He said the 230 smaller banks not represented at the meeting would channel their reactions through him.

3044 [redacted] 28/2/86

Slabbert sees alternatives to violence after fresh ANC talks



● SLABBERT

LONDON — Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert held more than six hours of talks with a delegation from the African National Congress (ANC) in London yesterday.

In an exclusive interview after the talks with members of the ANC executive, Slabbert said he was now convinced there was a way out of the violence in SA.

Slabbert also apologised to anyone whom he had offended — particularly ANC members and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — with remarks he had made in the bugged tapes of his confidential meeting with President P W Botha.

JOHN BATTERSBY

He described his talks with the ANC as "extremely useful", but was reluctant to elaborate on the substance of the talks.

The talks, Slabbert's second formal contact with the ANC executive, began on Wednesday night and ended in the early hours of yesterday morning at an undisclosed venue in London.

The ANC delegation included ANC director of information and publicity Thabo Mbeki, and Aziz Pahad, a London-based member of the ANC executive.

Mbeki was part of the ANC delegation which met an official delegation of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) in Lusaka in October last year.

It is understood that the talks were held in a cordial atmosphere and that the way could soon be opened for further contacts between the ANC and various groupings within Afrikanerdom.

"I expressed my deep concern about the increasing violence in SA and my dismay at the fact that the ANC seemed determined to continue with the armed struggle.

"They then assured me that the armed struggle was a last resort, because of government's denying any legitimate channels which they could use — other than those predetermined by government itself — and be-

● To Page 2

P.T.O.