SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. AND POLITICS
1984

JANUARY — MAY

PM warns States on SA arms

Cape Times 3/1/84

304A

THE Republic had not come anywhere near to using the weaponry it could well utilize in the event of greater pressure against it, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has warned.

In his New Year message, Mr Botha said the Republic's security services were today more prepared and any of the neighbouring States which thought they could harbour terrorists operating against South Africa, would only harm themselves.

"That is why it is in our neighbours' interest rather to choose the road of co-operation. Fortunately there are those who accept this."

Africa, Mr Botha said, would not solve its problems with the use of second-hand Soviet weapons or the neglect of government administration and the misuse of land.

'Self-respect'

"How much poorer do many Africa States want to become before they realize this?"

African countries, especially those in Southern Africa, could achieve much for themselves through greater co-operation with the Republic on matters of common interest.

"No self-respecting country, such as the Republic of South Africa, can allow itself to be dictated to by international political opportunism of Soviet-inspired terrorism and revolutionary elements as to how it should handle its internal affairs."

The road to peaceful co-existence in the Republic could only be determined by South Africans.

Mr Botha said the Republic was determined to maintain the integrity of her borders, as well as its responsibility in Southern Africa.

On the economic front, he said he hoped for a positive growth rate in 1984 and a determined effort to bring inflation further down.

Mr Botha said that what happened on referendum day would go down in history as an event of the utmost importance. The white electorate had expressed their determination to serve the cause of democracy, to uphold the principles of orderly government, to maintain Christian civilized values and to apply justice to other population groups in the Republic.

"On this foundation we shall endeavour to create greater stability." — Sapa

New Houses after June?

Cape Times 3/1/84 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's proposed new tri-cameral parliament could meet for the first time during the third quarter of this year, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said on Sunday night.

Interviewed on SABC radio, he said it appeared that the coloured people and Indians would decide to hold elections for the new parliament rather than referendums to decide on the acceptability of the new constitution.

These elections could probably be held by the end of June. In terms of the Constitution Act, the new parliament would have to meet within 30 days of such elections.

Mr Heunis said 1984 would be "the year of the implementation of the new constitution".

Mr Chris Heunis

High priority

On the same programme, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said South Africa was placing a high priority on finding a solution to the SWA/Namibian independence question in 1984.

He said that apart from the United States, foreign nations had very little understanding of South Africa's concern for the security of the territory.

The South African Government also hoped to improve relations with Mozambique in 1984.

During his recent European tour, he had found Portugal very interested in helping foster good relations with this neighbour. The US was also interested in helping in this regard.

'Major problems'

Mr Botha said relations with Mozambique were in danger of deteriorating, although the position could improve if the US and Portugal were serious in their efforts to help.

Major problems that had to be overcome included the distrust between Pretoria and Maputo and the question of a major power "manipulating Maputo from behind the scenes".

As for Zimbabwe, he believed Pretoria and Harare now viewed mutual relations more realistically.

Zimbabwe had not allowed insurgents to operate from its territory against South Africa and this had had an important influence on relations between the two countries. — Sapa

PM opposed referendum

Cape Times 5/1/84

304A

From RIAAN DE VILLIERS

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said he was opposed to a coloured and Indian referendum on the new constitution when he met Labour Party leaders in April last year.

This emerged yesterday from the annual report of the Labour Party's secretary, Mr Fred Peters, which was read to the party's congress here.

Mr Peters said the party delegation told Mr Botha they wanted a referendum on the same day as that for whites. Mr Botha in turn explained why he was opposed to a referendum.

Party leaders still insisted on a referendum at a later meeting with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, but said they were "prepared to reconsider should the congress decide otherwise", he said.

The Labour Party was in a much stronger position than a few years ago, Mr Peters reported. However, he made a number of critical remarks about party representatives and the state of organization.

Growth in both branches and membership had been "fantastic", particularly during the past three months. Some 31 new branches had been established in Natal and the Free State, he said.

Mr Peters congratulated the Port Elizabeth management committee on "having blocked" the United Democratic Front and forcing it to apply for a permit to hold its recent conference in Port Elizabeth in a white area.

Attacks

Mr Peters reported that the party had resigned from the SA Black Alliance after numerous verbal attacks on it by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

"This party will not be dictated to by white or black, but shall decide on its own destiny," he said.

Mr Peters also suggested the appointment of a roving ambassador to counter "false accusations" against it abroad and prevent it becoming "one of the polecats, which I'm afraid we are becoming".

Communities may have to raise own funds

Tax shake-up 'on the cards'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A major shake-up of the taxation system, which would result in a multiplicity of taxing authorities, is being investigated by the Government.

The idea is that under the new constitution each tier of government would be given authority to raise additional funds themselves for projects such as new hospitals.

Thus a homeland like kwaZulu, a local authority like Verwoerdburg, a municipality like Johannesburg, or the Indian or coloured community, would be given the power to raise their own taxes instead of obtaining the money from the central government.

The political thinking behind the move is that communities will be more selective in launching new projects if they must bear the responsibility for raising the money to finance them.

Details of the plan have been "leaked" from the special Kroeser Committee set up to investigate taxation.

They emerged when the president of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, Mr Sandy Morrison, said in the latest chamber information digest that organised commerce was against the new system.

"There are moves afoot to decentralise the whole taxation process, which would result in the establishment of a multiplicity of taxing authorities throughout the land.

"This is something which organised commerce will fight tooth and nail as it will be tremendously expensive both to the public sector and the private sector.

"It will also absorb scarce skilled manpower resources which should be more productively used elsewhere."

One business leader said yesterday that the plan might make sense politically but it had frightening consequences for those who had to implement the new system.

On the collection side alone the cost could be staggering as each tier of government would require its own taxation department, resulting in duplication of duties previously conducted by central authorities.

The Progressive Federal Party's finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, said that if the leak was accurate the concept of decentralised taxation conflicted with the vast differences in wealth between the various race groups.

"There is a heavy price to be paid in future taxation by the haves. Not only must they pay tax to maintain themselves but they must pay an additional amount to maintain and improve the lives of the have-nots as well," said Mr Schwarz.

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, said he understood the proposal meant all communities would be taxed by a central government body. Any additional services and facilities would have to be provided by the communities themselves.

Mr Raw described this as "sound thinking".

SA propaganda war to sway Australian views

The Star's Foreign News Service

BRISBANE — The South African Embassy in Canberra and the recently authorised information office of the ANC and Swapo are poised for a full-scale propaganda war to sway Australian opinion about South Africa.

The federal government has allowed the ANC and Swapo to present the other side of the South African Government's argument which has been forcibly put by Dr Denis Worrall, South Africa's ambassador. He

the rightwing League of Rights, which has been described as a religious-political front organisation through which South Africa can intensify its activities among churches in Australia.

Backing the black African nationalists are several anti-apartheid groups, trade union leaders, human rights campaigners and the Australian arm of the World Council of Churches.

Dr Worrall's opponents are small in number and have limited financial resources.

To maintain the ANC office expected to be located in Sydney, they have launched a public appeal with an impressive list of Australian political, religious and academic figures acting as trustees. The target figure is in the vicinity of R50 000 a year.

An immediate target of the anti-apartheid group is the South African Airways, branded as a "carrier of propaganda" because the airline is used to transport South African Government publications, such as the South African Digest, to Australia.

There is intense lobby-

Call for tough line on SA

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK

Seb's sist

Her big brother Seb may in the country, but Mira most admired. For while S da is quite plainly shaped star's 23-year-old sister w she steps into a leading Piccadilly Theatre next w high-kicking Miranda pl stage with her 96 cm leg

..ay ticket to Par

Faced with waning support, Labour Party gamb

By Peter Mann
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party is set to take up seats in the new tri-cameral Parliament — no matter how few coloureds support it at the polls.

It is gambling that participation will win back dwindling support. And its decision means that Indian people will be dragged into an election — whether they want it or not.

Excitement at the spoils of participation reached fever pitch at this week's Labour Party congress, the biggest the party has held. There were 540 delegates at the congress. Eighty, or about one in every seven, could be MPs by June.

Labour has been accused of turning its back on the black lobby. The giant United Democratic Front (UDF) has termed its decision a "crime".

The party was forced to resign from the South African Black Alliance shortly before it was expelled and the party is accused of collaborating with apartheid.

An indication of the how the party has changed is that this week it admitted as a member, Mr Phillip Sanders, a President's Councillor. This in spite of the fact that in its most recent history the party was expelling its own senior members for joining the President's Council.

And the party is taking over branches and support from the Freedom Party — long known to be the most conserva-

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■ David Curry . . . separated from his followers

■ Wimpie de Klerk . . . offering strategic advice

this week was whether to insist on a referendum or abandon it in favour of

The only option apparently open to the UDF then is to urge its supporters to boycott the election to try to produce embarrassingly low percentage polls.

The trouble with this strategy is that it leaves their opponents a clear run into Parliament.

It seems to be this strategy the Government is trying to promote and resembles closely what has happened in Soweto.

There the Government allowed Mr David Thebehali to become "mayor" of the sprawling 2,5 million city when he had been elected to office with 97 votes.

Dilemma

The Labour Party's dilemma — which forced it into its original decision to participate and into this week's decision to abandon the referendum — was that from a position of almost absolute power a decade ago, it had seen its support

that plan, the Government abandoned it to try again.

So the Labour Party support means that this plan, which may have been abandoned for something better, is now to be implemented.

And there are many who believe that, in spite of Mr Hendrickse's protestations, apartheid is actually institutionalised in the plan.

Before the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and others were simply laws of Parliament.

They could be amended by simple majority vote. Now they are part of the very tissue of the constitution. The system cannot function without them.

Mr Hendrickse, while pledging to fight for their removal is actually endorsing them. He will no doubt bring about cos-

[illegible] a[illegible] the parties.

There are many who believe, in spite of Labour protestations to the contrary, that the decision heralds the onset of conscription for coloured and Indian people.

Underlying the excitement was an air of bitterness, at the UDF, at the liberal establishment and at the Press for criticising Labour's decision to participate in the Government's plan.

The major decision [illegible] was never really in doubt but the Labour Party was taking no chances.

When the delegates registered, they were "randomly" assigned to one of 20 discussion groups under hand-picked chairmen. The debate was then held in each of these groups. The strategy dissipated opposition and prevented bloc formation.

For example Mr David Curry, former national chairman of the party and a man who disagrees with its decision to abandon the referendum, had arrived at the congress with a group of 50. They found themselves spread among different groups, removed from the moral support of their leader.

It was a strategy suggested by Communitel, the group of consultants with strong National Party ties and headed by Rapport editor Dr Wimpie de Klerk, which is raising funds for the Labour Party and giving it strategic advice.

The biggest opposition to the Labour Party, the SAIC, and indeed all who have elected to participate, is the UDF.

By opting for an election instead of both such election and a referendum, its original choice, the Labour Party is, understandably, giving itself the best chance of success.

The UDF would certainly have taken part in a referendum and would probably have urged its members to vote No.

It was a lobby which could easily have won — with embarrassing consequences for all who had already decided to participate.

But the UDF cannot participate in elections. Firstly it is not a registered political party.

To take part in the election it would have to divide its members into racial categories, forming coloured, Indian, white, and black political parties. This would obviously be unacceptable to it.

Secondly the UDF is opposed to "collaboration" in the system. To take part in an election would be such collaboration.

steadily growing.

The Reverend Allan Hendrickse, the Labour Party leader, is as authentic an opponent of apartheid as anybody else in South Africa.

And he has repeatedly said that his party was going into the new three Parliament system to bring about change.

Does he deserve the vitriol presently being heaped upon his head?

Those who say he does, argue that his party's acceptance of the plan has given it credibility and has resulted in it becoming reality.

Had the Labour Party rejected the plan, the Government would have had no allies in its implementation. The dynamics of South Africa and the pressures for change would then have forced them back to the drawing board.

For, in spite of Government bluster that the present proposals are as far as they are prepared to go, the example of 1977 showed that to be untrue.

Faced with overwhelming rejection of [illegible] changes, [illegible] National Party has to give him some reward.

But these changes are likely to be on the lines of "grey areas" and relaxation of the racial laws saying that only whites can run businesses in the centre of cities.

Curtailed

All of these are, no doubt, a softening of apartheid but they do not meddle with its foundations.

The only strength the Labour Party has gained is the ability to walk out of the new deal. It gives Mr Hendrickse a way of pressuring the Government which he didn't have before.

Yet his powers within the system are severely curtailed. He has little room for manouevre. The Government has learned well from the way the Labour Party wrecked the CRC. Mr Hendrickse insists there are loopholes.

It remains to be seen whether his participation will result in apartheid being destroyed or buttressed.

...ay ticket to Parliament

Faced with waning support, Labour Party gambles on an election

By Peter Mann
Political Correspondent

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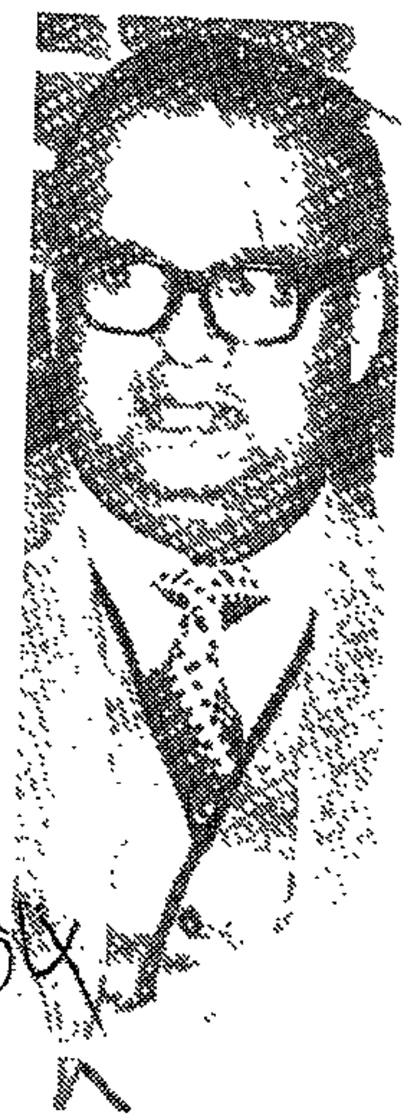

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Military's influence in SA Govt will grow —report

Star 11/11/84 304A

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — An increase in the military's influence in the governing of South Africa is foreseen by an American political scientist, in an article published in Washington.

Dr Robert Rotberg, professor of political science and history at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, makes this prediction in the latest issue of "Africa notes", published by the Georgetown University Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

He suggests that under the new constitution the State Security Council will become "even more central to the functioning" of government, serving as the secretariat of the presidential system.

"If so," he says, "the other three committees of the Cabinet may become less important, even as the Cabinet, the Parliament and the party caucus lose whatever residual powers each retains.

"One can foresee a greater centralisation of power under the new system. The military will run the SSC, involve itself more and more in affairs of State and certainly not lessen its institutional influence on the future shape of South Africa."

In his article Dr Rotberg, a frequent visitor to South Africa, challenges an important conclusion reached by another American academic, Dr Kenneth Grundy, in a recent study also pointing to an increase in military influence in the government of South Africa.

Dr Grundy's conclusion that the SSC is a check on the Defence Force is described by Dr Rotberg as "wildly optimistic.

"Individuals from the Defence Force are at the core of the formal and informal dimensions of all South African policy making," Dr Rotberg says. "The influence of the military is increasing — even if South Africa is still a long way from becoming a 'jackboot state' in the Latin American sense.

"There are importamt countervailing tendencies: the inertia of a bloated bureaucracy will tend to block the conversion of South Africa to Prussian-style Governement. Yet (Prime Minister P W) Botha shares the military's vision of a fortress South Africa, tactically reformed, but strategically sound if not hegemonic.

"The soldiers are his chosen instrument and he is theirs."

In his article, entitled "The process of decision-making in contemporary South Africa", Dr Rotberg traces the development of tighter central control over government from the political revolution brought about by the Info scandal; the growth of the "total onslaught" philosophy, and the shift in decision-making power "from old-line bureaucrats to a cadre largely composed of military-trained technocrats".

Under the system that emerged, he says, important issues do not necessarily come before the Cabinet but are decided at committee level.

At the heart of the management system is the SSC, which "has become the court of virtually final resort for a broad range of national issues".

The future of Namibia, for example, is in the hands of the SSC rather than the elected representatives of the white South African electorate, says Dr Rotberg.

He suggests that Mr Pik Botha and his Department of Foreign Affairs "have relatively little influence in today's decison-making arena".

According to Dr Rotberg "the real levers of formal power in South Africa are no longer controlled exclusively, or as much as they were, by elected representatives of the (white) people.

"Indeed, the National Security management system has superseded the Cabinet, the party and the electorate in many areas."

Complete military dominance is tempered, says Dr Rotberg, by factors including the non-military bureaucrats' awareness of their weakened position and a suspicion of military designs.

A crucial question, he says, is whether the new machinery is actually employed when those who rule South Africa make the decisions that count.

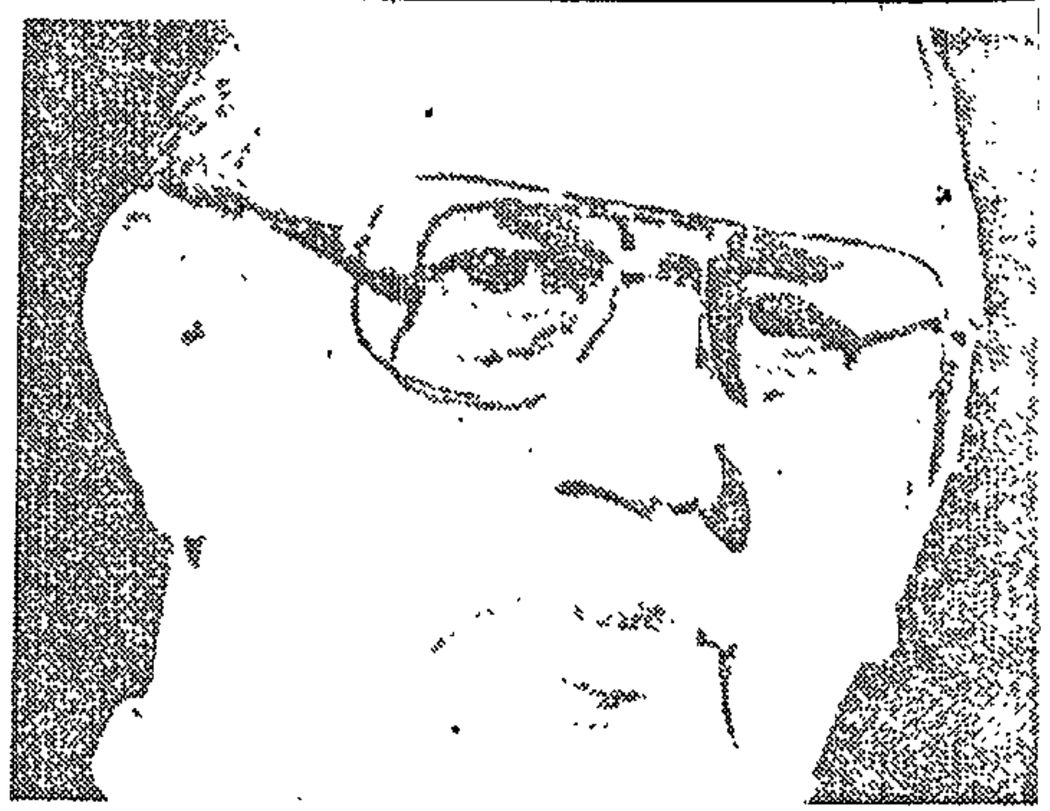
He says Mr P W Botha "does not intend his new military-manned system to transform South Africa. He merely wants the tactical (not the strategic) posture of his administration to be coherent and co-ordinated".

Dr Rotberg says that "aside from the party and the Cabinet, it is obviously the military which is the leading decision-making institution in today's South Africa"

● Mr P W Botha told a Press conference last September that allegations that South Africa was secretly governed by the State Security Council were nothing but "fairy tales and fantasies".

It was also not true that the Defence Force prescribed the country's foreign policy, he said.

The country was run by himself and the Cabinet Ministers, he said.



Mr P W Botha . . . "shares military's vision of a fortress SA".

By David Braun,

Why did 21 SA troops die in Angola?

CAPE TIMES 14/1/84 3044

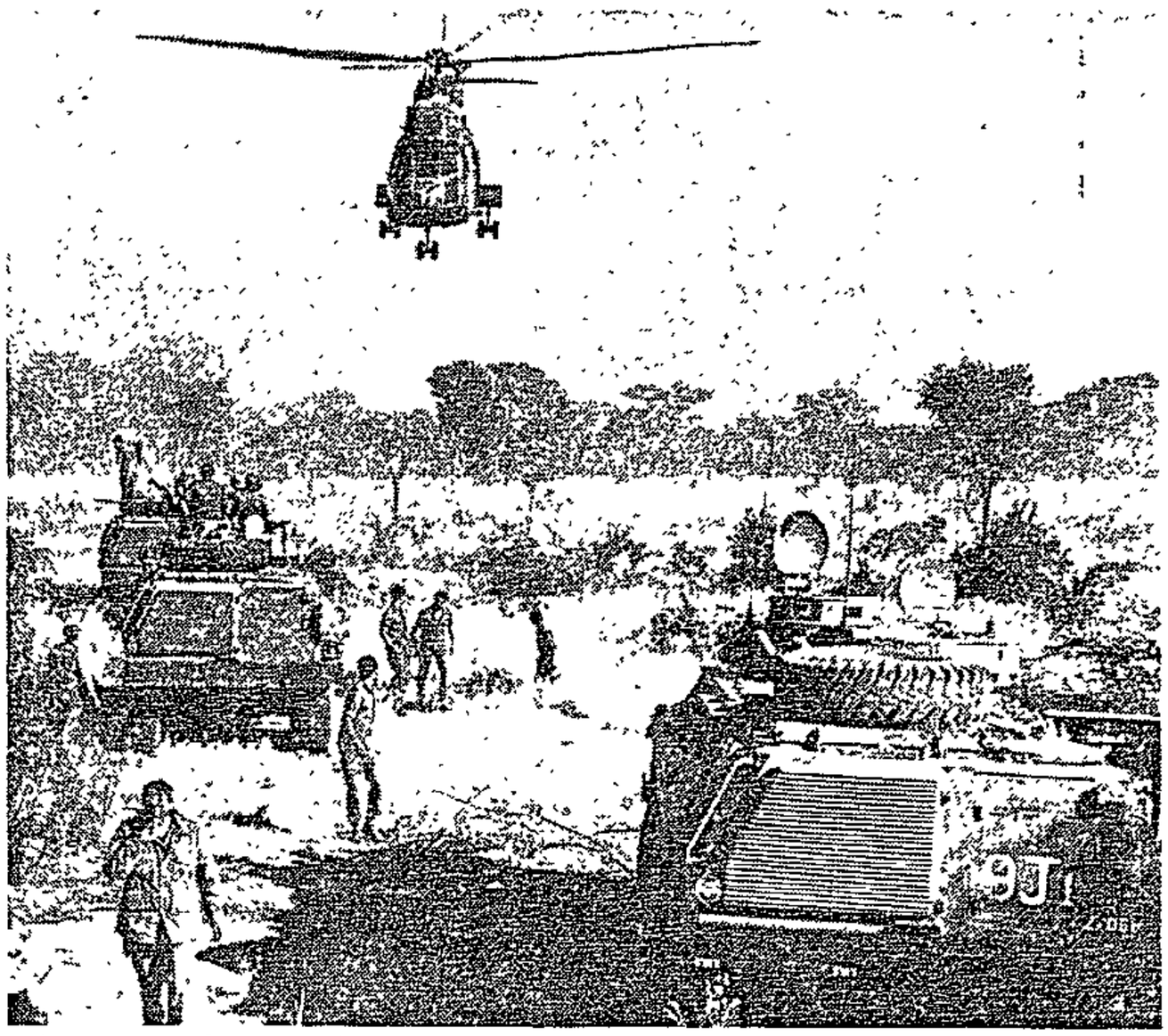
The Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

WHEN a former head of military intelligence criticizes the South African Defence Force for its failure to communicate properly with the public one can be certain that something serious has gone wrong.

Referring to the latest round of fighting in southern Angola in which 21 South African troops died, General H de V du Toit warned that the military was putting at risk the public's loyalty and the "indispensable support of the national will" by not making a timeous and adequate announcement about the operations.

General Du Toit was commenting on the need to inform the public when South Africa is fighting. Inevitably the same applies to the matter of why South Africa is fighting



A scene after the battle during one of South Africa's previous incursions into Angola.

Two questions

Put differently, two questions have recently arisen with respect to the war in South Africa's north-western frontier zone.

Will the SADF continue to maintain the trust of the white public and the parents of the citizens' army if they are ill-informed about where and when and against whom their sons are fighting and dying?

Secondly, will that trust stay intact even if the perception grows that South Africa is becoming trapped in a sterile, no-win, Vietnam-like conflict on and beyond its borders, one that will exact a steadily rising toll in money and lives?

Since the South African invasion of Angola in 1975 the white South African public has shown little opposition to the spreading war on and beyond the country's borders. According to a reliable overseas newspaper South Africa has effectively occupied a substantial area of southern Angola since 1981. Yet, apart from one or two newspapers, few have asked publicly what South Africa was doing there or whether it was in our interests to stay there.

'National will'

The passivity of the public is not difficult to explain. Firstly the death toll has not been high — an average of about 50 whites a year. Secondly it is a public which generally believes the talk about a total (Russian) onslaught and wants the government to use all available measures to stamp out any threat in the region regardless of whether this violates international law or alienates the West.

Yet, as General Du Toit's statement implies, the support of the not consider Namibia (or, for that matter, Angola!) as a white last ditch where South Africa has to fight to prevent a war on its own soil.

Increasingly opinion-formers and the general public want to know whether the fighting in Angola serves a purpose in that both immediate and long-term objectives are being met.

Swapo sweep

On the basis of available evidence one can state that South Africa pursued three immediate objectives in its latest operation in Angola: to thwart a Swapo sweep into Namibia, to force Angola to stop supporting Swapo and thirdly to help the South African agent, Dr Jonas Savimbi, either to topple the MPLA government in Luanda or to become a senior partner in a new government of national unity.

But these immediate objectives are only a means to an end. This end is a generally accepted settlement in Namibia which will help to stabilize the region.

It is precisely at this point that growing doubts are surfacing as to whether South Africa is achieving its objective on Namibia and is increasingly nervous about shielding South Africa or playing its mediating role. Once the Reagan administration is gone we will stand alone.

Even that is a price South Africa can pay as long as it attains its goals. But what is being achieved by the fighting in Angola? It is no longer credible to maintain that Swapo can be eliminated. Even if Swapo is dealt heavy blows it keeps on coming back every year.

Abraham Lincoln once said a wise thing which every frontier administrator in South African history will confirm The difficult thing is not to thrash the enemy, but to keep it thrashed. The Russian involvement seems to make it impossible to keep Swapo thrashed

But even more important, it does not look as if South Africa is coming any nearer to a settlement in Namibia

Everyone knows that Swapo will win a free election At the same time the fighting has gone on for so long that a viable internal settlement, which excludes Swapo, is no longer a real prospect.

High cost

The time has come to ask a simple but vital question: Why is South Africa fighting this war in Angola?

Apart from the human lives lost, the cost seems staggeringly high — the alienation of Western support and a war bill of nearly R1 billion a year at a time when inflation is running rampant and when the government needs every cent to make the new constitutional dispensation work

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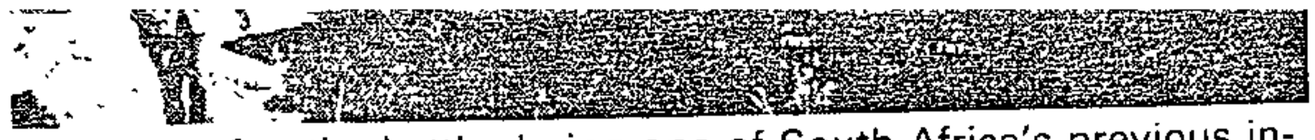

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Yet, as General Du Toit's statement implies, the support of the "national will" cannot be taken for granted. It is my impression that the general public does not consider Namibia (or, for that matter, Angola!) as a white last ditch where South Africa has to fight to prevent a war on its own soil.

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But these immediate objectives are only a means to an end. This end is a generally accepted settlement in Namibia which will help to stabilize the region.

It is precisely at this point that growing doubts are surfacing as to whether South Africa is achieving its objectives in the war on our north-western borders. South Africa, it is true, has had considerable success in forcing the governments on our north-eastern borders, particularly Mozambique, to meet its demands — after subjecting them to considerable pressure.

Internationalized

But Angola is not Mozambique. South Africa could exert pressure on Mozambique or a Lesotho without a real international outcry. However, Namibian independence is a live international issue and because of that the war on our north-western border has become internationalized.

Russia has invested 20 000 Cubans and a considerable amount of prestige in Angola and will not allow the MPLA government to be toppled or pushed around too much.

The West is on the defensive on Namibia and is increasingly nervous about shielding South Africa or playing its mediating role. Once the Reagan administration is gone we will stand alone.

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Why did 21 South African troops die in the last month in Angola?

Heunis: New deal heeds spirit of decentralisation

Argus 8/11/84

Sowetan

Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said today the new constitutional dispensation placed South Africa in the midst of "a universal spirit of decentralisation of power".

It provided recognition of the right of local communities to independent decision-making and of their responsibility to exercise this right "within the framework of Christian and civilised norms".

Addressing a meeting of the Sociological Society of South Africa in Bloemfontein, Mr Heunis said the challenge facing a new constitutional order in South Africa was to provide the means and opportunities for mobilising social initiative.

The kind of initiative he was referring to was that which came from groups, neighbourhoods, localities and voluntary associations within which people lived.

Deep roots

Mr Heunis said recent events in both the totalitarian countries and the democracies of the world showed how deeply the local tie remained rooted in the human spirit.

The new dispensation provided important opportunities for political sociologists to make a contribution to the analysis and interpretation of practical problems.

Systematic sociological research had a necessary and constructive role to play in relation to policy formulation, implementation and evaluation.

Mr Heunis said that if urbanisation were not handled in a meaningful way it could have far-reaching political, social and economic consequences that could threaten the country's stability and progress.

Lobby luxury for Parliament

Argus 21/1/85

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE task of providing suitable accommodation for the coloured and Indian Houses of the proposed new Parliament — and for their accompanying bureaucracies — has become a thorny problem for the Government.

Coloured and Indian leaders are saying openly they want their Houses to be under the same roof as the white House of Assembly — contrary to Government promises to the white electorate during last year's referendum campaign.

And they want members of their Ministers' Councils to be housed in the same style as white Cabinet Ministers — and free from Group Areas restrictions.

Same luxury

They want the same luxury office accommodation as white Ministers — in the same vicinity, close to Parliament and close to their white counterparts.

Coloured and Indian leaders say they have been kept in the dark about this aspect of the constitutional plan and have not been consulted.

Government officials have clearly been grappling with the gigantic jigsaw puzzle of fitting 85 coloured MPs and 45 Indian MPs into the physical structure of a transformed Parliament, and planning office and home accommodation for them and the new bureaucracies.

The Government has been silent about the details and progress of its planning.

Excavations

A spokesman in the Department of Community Development, which deals with this matter, said no information about accommodation could be given at this stage. He confirmed that the department was "investigating various possibilities".

Considerable building activity and excavations in the vicinity of Parliament have led to speculation about the Government's plans.

The national secretary of the Labour Party, Mr Fred Peters, said his party had not been told where the coloured House would be situated.

One building

He believed that Parliament should be housed in one building. If necessary, the existing building should be extended to accommodate all three Houses under one roof.

This was necessary if there was to be close liaison between the three Houses of Parliament, especially in the standing committees to be established.

Mr Peters declined to comment on the issue of home accommodation for coloured Ministers, but said his party would not agree to any restrictions under the Group Areas Act.

Mr Jac Rabie, Transvaal leader of the Labour Party, said he was in the dark about the Government's plans for the coloured House.

Trappings

"As far as I am concerned there will be one Parliament and it must be in one building. The offices of Ministers must be near Parliament and the Group Areas Act must not be applied in providing home accommodation," Mr Rabie said.

The leader of the People's Congress Party, Mr Peter Marais, said: "I don't care where we are accommodated. I am not interested in carpets or in all the trimmings and trappings of the new Parliament.

"I'll be quite happy if they accommodate the coloured Parliament in a tent in Plein Street."

"Enslavement"

"All I am interested in is to free my people from virtual enslavement."

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the South African Indian Council, also said he believed there should be one building for all three Houses of Parliament.

Office and other accommodation should be of the same quality as that provided for other groups.

Military's influence on SA govt

From SIMON BARBER in Washington

POWER in South Africa is coalescing around a central core of military officers and away from the cabinet, Parliament and the National Party caucus.

This trend, which is embodied in the State Security Council (SSC), will likely flourish under the new dispensation.

These are the chief conclusions of a new study by Dr Robert Rotberg, professor of political science and history at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a leading United States expert on African affairs. The study is entitled "The process of decision-making in contemporary South Africa".

Dr Rotberg's paper, published by the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies, is the latest of a series of scholarly analyses that have appeared about the SSC and the role of the Defence Force.

Its findings appear to discourage anyone who hopes the new constitution will broaden real participation in the South African polity.

Fortress SA

Having argued forcefully that the SSC is now paramount in the decision-making process, Dr Rotberg predicts that it will "become even more central to the functioning of the new arrangement, serving (as in a sense it now does) as the secretariat of the presidential system".

"The military will run the SSC, involve itself more and more in affairs of state, and certainly not lessen its influence on the future shape of South Africa," he says.

berg writes, is "the leading decision-making institution in today's South Africa, both because of (Prime Minister Mr P W) Botha's belief in its abilities and its clear-sightedness, and because he ascended to the top without a range of other powerful national connections".

"Individuals from the Defence Force are at the core of the formal and informal dimensions of all South African policy-making ... Botha shares the military's vision of a fortress South Africa, tactically reformed but strategically sound, if not hegemonic. The soldiers are his chosen instrument and he is theirs."

Devalued

The cornerstone of current South African governance, Dr Rotberg states, is "what Botha and the military have conceived of as a national security management system whose purpose is to co-ordinate a 'total strategy' to meet 'total onslaught'" and which "bypasses the cabinet and Parliament to a degree which is new even for South Africa".

Under the system there are four cabinet committees: economic, social and economic affairs, and the SSC.

The last, "given its size, status and direction ... must inevitably influence, inhibit and overshadow" the other three.

"What is immediately apparent is the number of ministers who are not members of the SSC. Furthermore, the notion of cabinet responsibility and their own positions as ministers is devalued within the government by the presence in the innermost decision-making councils of state of non-elected officials."

Monitor

Dr Rotberg notes the heavy military preponderance in the SSC's 45-man secretariat headed by Lieutenant-General Andries van Deventer.

"About 70 percent of the membership is drawn from the military, 20 percent comes from the National Intelligence Service and 10 percent from the Department of Foreign Affairs."

General Van Deventer, assisted by Brigadier John Huyser, a retired intelligence officer, "monitors everything that goes on at the cabinet and sub-cabinet level".

Having served as Chief of Staff of the SADF's finance division when Mr Botha was Minister of Defence, "he considers himself the person chosen because of this association to bring order to a hitherto unco-ordinated government".

Diplomacy

Dr Rotberg suggests that because of its close military associations, the SCC allows the SADF a freer hand in the field than would a purely civilian government.

"Strategy and tactics on Namibia are decided upon in the SSC whenever those decisions have not been pre-empted by a military action of some kind ... the SSC has probably authorized the overall direction of pre-emptive strikes into Angola, leaving the chain of command to work out the precise details."

The SSC certainly dominates South African diplomacy, in Dr Rotberg's view.

"It has sanctioned the ceasefire talks with Angola. It decides how and when to respond to Western initiatives."

Juggernaut

This leaves little room for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and his department.

"Observers are certain that Pik Botha and his department have relatively little influence in today's decision-making arena ... it is understandable why he and his department should feel so powerless beside the juggernaut of the technocratic, military machine."

If the Department of Foreign Affairs is out in the cold, then what about ministers such as Dr Gerrit Viljoen (National Education) who are not even on the SSC? Dr Rotberg asks.

He notes that the council takes considerable interest in areas such as trade unions, social legislation and education well beyond its expected purview.

Koornhof reform

"In the case of the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Persons Bill, representatives of the military staff of the SSC joined forces with civil servants from Koornhof's own department to defeat his reform endeavours in the constitutional committee.

"The Bill that emerged was not one that Koornhof wanted, but security considerations had prevailed. They may yet do so with regard to other aspects of Koornhof's urban reform programme."

Dr Rotberg points out that, although militarily streamlined, the SSC system can be cumbersome.

Individual departments must still implement their decisions, middle-level bureacrats are still capable of exceeding or misinterpreting their instructions, and, in moments of crisis or when quick responses are required (to key US and Angolan diplomatic overtures, for example), decisions are "probably required too urgently to be left to percolate" through the council's various levels.

Technocrats

Finally, Dr Rotberg does not believe the growing influence of the military means South Africa will be ruled by generals.

"The military mind has clearly imposed itself on the workings of the South African government, but that mind appears to be primarily technocratic and functional and not (as yet) given to Latin American designs on the transformation or capture of the state."

New deal doesn't remove that Nat Party domination

CAPE TIMES 21/1/84

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The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, has characterized the new constitution as one which co-opts coloured and Indian people without freeing them from white Nationalist domination. He also foresaw both problems and challenges for opposition parties in the new system. This is an edited extract of his speech to the South African Sociological Association in Bloemfontein.

VARIOUS attempts have been made to counter domination in plural societies. Among the methods are genocide, slavery, assimilation, partition, co-option and consociation.

The President's Council in 1982 recommended partition for blacks and consociational democracy for whites, coloureds and Asians.

The 1983 constitition provides for partition for blacks, but has little similarity with the consociation model (as conceptualized by Lijpaard) for coloureds, whites and Asians.

As far as partition is concerned, it is simply a case of unilateral partition and it is generally accepted that this will not solve the problem of domination.

Conditions

Co-option means a dominant group unilaterally setting conditions for the participation of other groups without fundamentally affecting its own control and domination. The characteristic of co-option is that members are co-opted as part of a group and not assimilated as individuals. The maintenance of group identity, as seen by the dominant group, is a precondition for co-option.

Co-option is only a variation of domination, not a solution for it.

Seen from the viewpoint of domination, the new constitutional system is an attempt by a threatened minority to solve the problem of domination through co-option. It does not solve the problem but only changes the style and quality of domination.

Excluded

As far as coloureds and Asians are concerned, the difference between the previous system and the new one can be described as the difference between what I would call repressive and co-optive domination.

In the previous system they were deliberately excluded from the central decision-making structure.

It is characteristic of plural societies that groups with divergent and conflicting interests compete in the political field to realize their particular objectives.

The new dispensation will not change this. Dominated groups have stated repeatedly that their joint objective is to escape from domination.

For the dominant minority, co-option is an attempt to involve minority groups in the political administration of the system without really questioning it. For the co-opted minorities, it is an opportunity to strive for their own objectives regardless of the intentions of the dominant minority.

Challenges

Herein lies the tension in which new possibilities and challenges will be created. What are some of these possibilities and challenges?

- Can co-option possibly be a transition to true consociation, or finally eliminate it in South Africa?
- What are the possibilities for negotiation politics in a situation of co-optive domination? Without prior negotiation there can be no consensus.
- What are the possibilities for traditional opposition in a situation moving away from a racially entrenched Westminster system to one of co-optive domination?
- What possibilities remain for participation and conflict resolution for coloured, Asian and white groups which are not prepared to be co-opted?
- Can the successful co-option of coloureds and Asians lead to pressure for new co-optive structures for blacks?

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

The objective structure of the new dispensation provides no answers to these questions. The answers will have to be found in political processes unleashed by the new system.

There are also danger signs which can influence these possibilities and challenges. For instance:

- Growing polarization between black and non-black and a strengthening strategic and ideoligical solidarity among blacks.
- The formal and enforced racial and ethnic group structuring of the new dispensation. Group competition is the characteristic of plural societies and the new system perpetuates this characteristic rather than making it more fluid.
- The lack of effective constitutional mechanisms which blacks in the urban centres can use for proper political competition.
- The inadequate economic growth rate which will make it increasingly difficult to solve the problems of urbanization, unemployment and rural poverty.

I said one of the challenges and posssibilities of the new system directly affects the position of the traditional official Opposition.

I sometimes wonder whether the average voter realizes the constitutional shift which took place when we moved from the Westminster system as it existed to the new dispensation.

Whatever the faults of the old system, and they were many, it was more politically neutral than the new one. In other words, the new system is much more the reflection of the basic assumptions of a dominant political party's policy.

The essence of co-option is that participating parties have no option but to do so according to conditions set by the dominant minority.

Mentality

The new dispensation says little about the formal status, duties and privileges of opposition parties in any of the chambers. We will have to create these conventions through interaction between those who govern and those who oppose.

Whatever the result, I believe we as an opposition party must participate to try to promote negotiation politics, to combat domination and racial and ethnic polarization and to try to lessen the laager mentality and the feeling of permanent threat.

Time will tell how successful we will be. That it is desirable to try, I have no doubt.

The adventure of political participation lies between desirability and possibility. The new dispensation undoubtedly started a new adventure around the old problem of domination in plural societies.

The search for consensus and a reduction of conflict continues.

The new dispensation enables them to participate without affecting the dominant minority's position of formal control. As far as blacks are concerned, the problem of domination is largely unchanged.

The new system will inevitably create new possibilities and challenges for those who are included as well as for those who are excluded.

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S. Times 22/1/84

As we'll never rule, what should we do instead?

By BHADRA RANCHOD

Head of the Department of Private Law,
University of Durban, Westville

IT remains an enigma to whites that the Indian community is divided on whether to accept the political rights being offered to them.

Regardless of the form which constitutional changes take, they will always be a minority and behave the way such groups do in societies undergoing rapid and major change.

Minorities usually have no prospect of wielding power and tend to align themselves overtly or covertly to the ruling group or with the group likely to protect their interests.

The disparate views which the new constitution has evoked in the Indian community fit in with this pattern, although it would be a rather simplistic and superficial way of analysing the local situation.

For those opposed to participation, collaboration with the whites could spell disaster as they fear that Indians will become targets for black political aggression.

The belief that Indian participation could lead to conflict is widely held as the two groups live and work in close proximity to each other in the urban areas.

Black leaders, among them Chief Buthelezi, have issued strong warnings against acceptance.

One cannot speak of a uniform response to the constitution.

Indians are not a homogeneous group — there are important differences based on religious, regional, linguistic and class backgrounds.

Target for black anger

The population is youthful — about 60 percent is under 25 years of age, idealistic and rejects all forms of discrimination.

Among the professional classes there are some who hold the view that the time is not propitious to participate — that it may be better to wait until a constitution is produced which accommodates blacks.

Refusal to participate will, it is hoped, lead to further dialogue on the creation of a democratic constitution and would avert antagonising blacks.

The decision of the whites at the referendum held on November 2, 1983, to overwhelmingly support the introduction of the constitution came as a surprise to many Indians.

Following upon the decision of the coloureds and the Progressive Federal Party to participate, many moderates believe that the constitution provides a framework for peaceful reform and urge the community to support participation.

Although Indians are not responsible for the discriminatory laws which apply to blacks — the improvement in their political status and accompanying social and economic condition makes them, in terms of the theory of relative deprivation, a ready and easy target for black frustration and anger.

We are seen as villains to accept a benefit which is ordinarily the right of a citizen. We are accused of getting that benefit at the expense of the excluded group.

It would be unwise, if not irresponsible, for Indian leaders to ignore such warnings.

There is little cause for complacency as long as blacks have a perception that Indians are enjoying a more favoured position than they are and that they have become "co-oppressors" of the blacks.

The first crucial five years

The decision to participate is therefore a complex one which may have long term implications for Indo-black relations.

Participation by the Indian community is, however, now a foregone conclusion as it appears that a referendum to test the level of support for the constitution will not be held.

It is therefore vital that careful thought be given to a programme of action.

The first five years will be crucial in evaluating whether the new constitution can work or not. It is important to the Indian community to make it work and that tangible benefits are produced. If it fails, Indians may well be out on a limb.

Even the most optimistic observer would concede that it will not be possible to attain a truly democratic South Africa within five years after the constitution has come into operation.

Discriminatory practices

What is possible is to ensure that progress is attained in dismantling apartheid and the creation of a more just order.

Indians should use this period to focus attention on laws and practices which seriously undermine the dignity and worth of people.

● The Group Areas Act. This measure aims at achieving total segregation in residential and business areas. Conceived as a major social experiment more than 30 years ago, it continues to cause deep hurt, uncertainty and bitterness by those affected by it.

Another instance where this law has generated bitterness and hardship relates to the prosecution of persons who live in white areas because they are unable to find accommodation in Indian and coloured areas.

Otherwise law abiding citizens find that they have fewer rights than foreigners.

There are many more aspects of the lives of persons affected by this law, such as access to hotels, restaurants, recreation areas and entertainment. Even those who wish to practise their professions — such as doctors and lawyers — are not immune.

The answer does not lie in creating more group areas for Indians and coloureds. This law is an anachronism in a society based on justice and equality between whites, coloureds and Indians.

Furthermore, it is not compatible with the free enterprise system for it results in great disadvantages to businessmen who wish to compete with whites.

● The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act will also have no place in the new South Africa which we would like to see.

● Job reservation continues to limit the upward mobility of Indians and coloureds in spite of recent reforms in the labour field. Discriminatory practices still persist in commerce, industry and the civil service.

The favoured position in which white immigrants are placed — frequently at the expense of a South African who is then denied promotion or training opportunities — is wasteful and generates conflict.

New attitude and values

Attention will have to be given to restructuring the civil service so that opportunities are available at all levels to Indians and coloureds.

● Anachronistic laws which prohibit Indians from living, working, trading or owning property in the Orange Free State and parts of northern Natal are a blot on our Statute Book and ought to be repealed.

● Laws which affect freedom of association and the right to found a family are particularly racist in character. The Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act create a sense of inferiority among persons of colour ,and are of dubious moral value.

● There are a large number of laws and administrative practices which impinge detrimentally upon our social and economic progress.

New measures will be required to promote equal opportunity in education, improvements in health and social welfare facilities, the upgrading of residential areas and the environment in which our children are to be reared. Housing, in particular, will require more substantial funding.

The degree of success achieved in the initial years depends largely upon the willingness of whites to adopt a benign approach to the legitimate demands outlined above.

When the constitution comes into operation, those in the Government will have to confront the problems that face us and work jointly in evolving new attitudes and values to improve and establish sound inter-group relations which are so vital for constitutional reform to succeed.

The primary objective

There are institutional constraints and barriers to be overcome in the difficult years that lie ahead, but unless there is mutual trust and a willingness to dismantle apartheid, the required consensus between the groups will not be attained.

There is much admiration for the Prime Minister's courage in confronting the right wing in the Afrikaner group on the constitutional issue.

May I, however, make it plain that the decision to accept the constitution is substantially more difficult for Indians.

Unlike the whites who will retain power if this effort fails, the Indians will be isolated and placed in the vulnerable position that has confronted minorities throughout history.

It is with trepidation but also hope and faith that some Indian leaders have agreed to participate in a constitution which is far from ideal.

The primary objective of participation will not be to destroy the constitution, but to make it work and to act as catalysts in creating policies which will overcome discrimination.

Indians are willing to share co-responsibility for promoting democratic freedom and justice to all groups in South Africa.

The objective will be to initiate and promote policies which will satisfy all groups in our society so that we may all live in some reasonable degree of harmony.

(Extracted from a speech this week at the SA Sociological Congress in Bloemfontein).

Why we should form a new party

By **DINKIE PILLAY**

chairman, South-East Lenasia Consultative Committee

A CHARACTERISTIC of 1984 so far has been the debate among coloured and Indian political groupings on the advisability of referendums. It would appear, however, as if the majority of them have rejected the idea. What is both inescapable and also highly desirable remains the holding of elections.

The Indians of South Africa are newcomers to the concept of parliamentary elections. We have had elections before. But these were merely for advisory councils with — of late — very limited powers in certain matters that affected our interests exclusively.

The new Constitution that was passed by Parliament in 1983, and also overwhelmingly approved by the white electorate in a referendum, confirmed the Government's intention to draw coloureds and Indians into the mainstream of power politics.

Heartening

The post-referendum attitude of the PFP is particularly heartening in this respect, especially their declared commitment to involve themselves constructively in the new dispensation, despite their initial rejection of the Constitution.

This is certainly the most sensible option for anyone who is entitled to participate. It also applies to Indians.

The political party that is arguably the strongest in the coloured community decided more than a year ago to participate. So have some of the others. But, sadly for Indians, this kind of bold leadership has been lacking, and this has been to the detriment of the Indian community as a whole.

Because of this, the impression might have been created that all of us are either fence-sitters or boycotters. This is decidedly not the case.

There are many of us who believe the opportunity is too good to let slip, that we have been let down by some of our politicians and that the issues at stake are simply too important to be left to indecisive leadership.

Challenges

The time has therefore come for a new alignment of forces in the Indian community. Forces that will tackle the challenges of the new dispensation squarely. It is with this objective in mind that certain members of the Indian community, including members of the President's Council, prominent businessmen, community leaders and others from all the religious and caste groupings in our community, have decided to form a new party.

An official party manifesto has not yet been decided on, but, broadly speaking, the new party would want:

- To participate constructively.
- To end radicalism of the rejectionist kind and also to end the fence-sitting and indecisive leadership.
- To become a force for the development — economically and otherwise — of all Indians particularly, and for socio-political changes generally.
- To unite all Indians of whatever religion or caste for the sake of the general progress of all South Africans.
- To promote the interests of all Indians from whatever walk of life, without forgetting that we are all citizens of South Africa who, through our participation in politics, will also promote the interests of our fellow citizens who are not in government.

Meaningful

We take this position because we believe that a changing society needs the best leadership it can produce. Alternatively, an apathetic electorate will get only what it deserves — nothing. Participation is the vehicle for politics and, ultimately, power. And this Constitution WILL give us some. In that sense, I agree with Alan Paton, who commented that this exercise was not a "gigantic swindle".

Finally, to me, the Constitution offers a meaningful framework for action. There are mainly three reasons:

The State President cannot be a dictator, mainly because his term of office is constitutionally linked to the life of Parliament, which cannot exceed five years.

He is elected by a body of Parliamentarians, which guarantees indirect popular control. In the case of so-called "own affairs" he acts ON THE ADVICE of the Ministers' Councils, including the Indian Minister's Council, which establishes strong control over the State President in those matters that are of particular concern to whites, Coloureds and Indians exclusively.

Beneficial

If this arrangement were regarded as good enough for whites by the NP-dominated Parliament, then it must certainly be beneficial to us as well.

Indian needs in those areas, such as housing, education and community development, cannot be ignored in future for the reasons explained above.

Lastly, the Constitution can only improve. This is because it is a relatively flexible document requiring a simple majority in each House for amendments. And without, for example, Indian (or coloured) consent, no white ruling party can ever return to old-style apartheid.

Future amendments will, therefore, in all probability, be initiated by Cabinet, and I, for one, would be very happy to know that the party had the opportunity to be at this drawing board.

But we must get there first. And we must also get the right people in Parliament.

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22/01/84

How PW tidied up after Vorster

WHEN Mr P W Botha became Prime Minister in 1978 he needed (not least for political reasons) to assert control over BOSS, over what remained of Dr Connie Mulder's empire and over what he correctly regarded as an upper- and middle-level bureaucracy that might well be loyal to Mr B J Vorster.

By ROBERT I ROTBERG
of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

BEFORE 1980, especially during the 12-year prime ministership of Mr B J Vorster, the South African government's decision-making process was less than methodical.

Within conformity to overall policy, Ministers were encouraged to run their departments without interference by the Prime Minister. Such autonomy spawned political rivalry among Cabinet Ministers and among government departments.

Starting from these observations, Professor Robert I Rotberg of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, analyses the changes made by Mr P W Botha to the machinery of government in South Africa.

Professor Rotberg is a frequent visitor to South Africa, and the author of several books on the region. This article has been excerpted from the December 28 issue of Africa Notes, published by the Georgetown University Centre for Strategic Studies.

Mr Botha announced sweeping administrative reforms in 1979.

Although it has taken until 1983 for the full intent of these changes to be realised, South Africa's method of operation and its ability to accomplish its business have been transformed by the shift from 20 to four Cabinet committees, the primacy given formally and informally to the refurbished State Security Council (SCC), the concomitant expansion of the Office of the Prime Minister and the creation of a Cabinet secretariat, the distribution of agendas and keeping of minutes, the businessness with which the paper flow is regulated, and the role which the military now plays in the entire process.

The Westminster model assumes the sovereignty of parliament, with a cabinet and a prime minister responsible to and acting on behalf of parliament. Nominally South Africa's new arrangements adhered to such democratic principles, but the practise deviates markedly from them.

As it has developed, the system as reshaped under Botha bypasses the Cabinet and Parliament to a degree which is new even for South Africa, 'Info' included.

The untidiness of the past has been replaced, certainly formally, by a new accountability and tightened organisational flows. But if this process serves South Africa well, it does so by elevating the goals of bureaucratic achievement and policy coordination above those of meaningful political participation and development of a national consensus.

South Africa's Cabinet now sits every Tuesday during the parliamentary session from mid-morning until well into the afternoon. There are agendas, and minutes are kept.

Dr P J Roux, secretary-general of the newly renamed Office of the Prime Minister, organises the Cabinet's affairs and sees that its decisions are implemented. In this role he is at the centre of a carefully spun web which encompasses the committees that staff the Cabinet committees, the permanent secretariat and the inter-departmental committees (which also offer questions, and sometimes, answers) to the Cabinet committees.

Dr Roux is charged with the task of prodding and coordinating the implementation of Cabinet decisions by departments and parastatal bodies.

This analysis, and the time (longer than in Mr Vorster's day) devoted to the deliberations of the Cabinet, implies an accretion, not a diminution, of Cabinet-level power. In one sense this is correct, for the Prime Minister spends time in Cabinet meetings constructing a consensus, something which no previous Prime Minister since General Jan Smuts ever sought to do.

The serious issues on which there is substantive discussion are nevertheless few, and the most important do not under the present system necessarily come before the Cabinet at all.

Furthermore, because of the new committee system and the seniority and influence of the Ministers who chair the various committees, decisions made by the committees are by and large merely ratified by the Cabinet, simply noted, or never discussed. (The future of Namibia is an example of a subject that is rarely discussed.)

The less senior Ministers say little, and certainly do not speak on matters outside their own portfolios.

● Mr P W Botha

● Dr Piet Koornhof

● Mr Owen Horwood

The amount of time devoted to Cabinet meetings is therefore largely a reflection of the increasing complexity of government business, the emergence of far-reaching and time-consuming issues such as the new constitution, and (above all) a new emphasis on tactics, on the merchandising of policies, and on devising methods of handling the increasingly acrimonious and acid attacks on the government in Parliament by parties of the Right and Left.

Although the State Security Council has functioned in its new manner since September, 1979, the three other committees of the Cabinet have only in the last year begun to be fully operational.

Whereas the SSC has a secretariat of 45, not counting its subordinate working committees, these other Cabinet committees have small (five-man) secretariats, including some part-time members whose other work is performed directly for the Office of the Prime Minister.

The three committees are Financial and Economic Affairs, Social Affairs, and Constitutional Affairs.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, presides over the first; the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, runs the second; and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has been in charge of the third.

Financial and Economic Affairs has a remarkable degree of autonomy, its decisions being regarded (probably erroneously) as largely technical and non-political. The Social Affairs committee has limited legitimacy, largely because Dr Koornhof is perceived as having lost initiative and influence within the Cabinet and within the ruling circles of the party.

Many, if not all, of the issues which would be presumed to be 'social' (that is, those having impact upon or altering the circumstances and welfare of Africans, coloureds and Asians) are dealt with almost exclusively in the Constitutional committee, over which Mr Heunis presides with a firm hand.

Dr Koornhof sits on that committee, as does the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange and the Minister of Justice, Mr H J (Kobie) Coetsee.

Major decisions concerning the tricameral Parliament to be established when the new constitution comes into force, the President's Council, legislation to change the status of black urban dwellers, and influx control — in general, the shape and pace of reform — have been made by this committee.

At the heart of the system, and central to all of Mr P W Botha's plans for himself, his government and his country, is the State Security Council. The Prime Minister chairs its meetings.

He is joined by the statutory members: Gen Malan, Mr Coetsee, Mr le Grange and Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs. In addition, Dr Koornhof was invited to attend in 1979 and remains a member; so does Mr Horwood.

But the most influential Minister after the Prime Minister is Mr Heunis, who chairs the meetings if the Prime Minister is absent. Other regular members are the directors-general of Foreign Affairs and Justice the head of the police, the Chief of the Defence Force, the director of the National Intelligence Service, and Dr Roux, a total of 14.

From time to time other individuals are invited to address or meet with the SSC. The SSC takes its decisions by consensus, but the forming of a consensus usually follows the lead of the Prime Minister, Mr Heunis and Gen Malan.

What is immediately apparent is the number of Ministers who are not members of the SSC. Furthermore, the notion of Cabinet responsibility and their own positions as Ministers is devalued within the government by the presence in the innermost decision-making councils of the state of non-elected officials, three of whom are responsible for implementing "total strategy".

Even if its subject matter and membership did not give the SSC a pre-eminent status in the government, it would still be able to achieve significant leverage by virtue of its size, organisation and bureaucratic resources.

Lieutenant-General Andries van Deventer, secretary of the SSC, commands the 'working committee' (which corresponds to the 'working groups' of the other Cabinet committees) of the SSC, which itself is composed (as far as anyone can find out) primarily of officials from the military and police, Justice and Foreign Affairs. But Gen van Deventer also has a staff, which serves him, and which is nine times the size of the largest of the staffs servicing the other Cabinet committees.

Gen van Deventer monitors everything that goes on at Cabinet and sub-Cabinet level. He sits as a member of the working groups of the three other Cabinet committees and shares with Brigadier John Huyser, a retired intelligence officer, the responsibility for vetting and channeling all policy papers destined for sub-Cabinet or Cabinet consideration.

They perform this latter task as directors of the permanent Cabinet secretariat. Seventy percent of the membership of the secretariat is drawn from the military, 20% comes from the NIS and 10% from the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Gen van Deventer's deputy is General G J F van Rensburg.

Below the secretariat, and also subordinate to the working groups and the working committee, are 15 inter-departmental committees. Organisationally, they emanate from and report to the SSC, and are the originators of nearly all police recommendations.

Membership of the inter-departmental committees consists principally of heads of departments and of their senior deputies, legal advisers and so on. A representative of the Defence Force sits on each committee and reports to Gen van Deventer. Foreign Affairs is represented on only four of the inter-departmental committees; other ministries are represented on no more than and usually less than that number.

Gen van Deventer (now 53) was chief of staff of the finance division of the Defence Force before 1979. He worked closely with the Prime Minister when Mr Botha was Minister of Defence under Mr Vorster, and regards himself as the person chosen because of this long association to bring a military-style order to a hitherto unco-ordinated government.

Gen van Deventer thinks of himself as a careful planner, as a facilitator, as a good manager of paper flow on behalf of a Prime Minister who appreciates meticulous, precise management, good staffing and appropriate follow-through.

The Prime Minister insists on fully researched options before decisions can be contemplated. However the extent to which "fully researched" means "objective analysis" cannot be ascertained.

In any case, sloppy thinking is less often tolerated in the national security management system than it was before Mr Botha came to power.

The military mind has thus clearly imposed itself on the workings of the South African government, but that mind appears to be primarily technocratic and functional, and not (as yet) given to Latin American-type designs on the transformation or capture of the state.

Those kinds of prescriptive possibilities have doubtless occurred to some officers now serving at the heart of the bureaucratic endeavour, particularly if they have viewed inefficiency and (perish the thought) chicanery in the ranks of civilian government.

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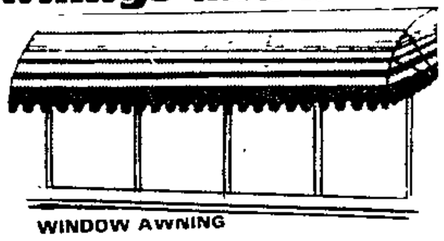
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SUN PROTECTION EQUIPMENT

(304A)

PFP has 'useful' meeting

RDM 23/1/84

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The Progressive Federal Party and the five leaders of non-independent "homelands" are considering regular meetings after discussions in Cape Town yesterday.

Three of the five leaders who earlier had talks with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had an hour-long discussion with 16 members of the PFP parliamentary caucus.

Mr Colin Eglin, who led the PFP delegation as caucus chairman, said afterwards that the meeting was useful.

While the possibility of regular formal meetings was being explored, the PFP and "homeland" leaders had agreed to improve communications immediately on a personal basis.

Leaders at the meeting yesterday were Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Mr Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa and Mr Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane.

"My impression was that they are firmly against independence and in particular against the loss of South African citizenship that this entails," Mr Eglin said.

Dr Cedric Pathudi of Lebowa and Mr S S Skosana of KwaNdebele were unable to make yesterday's meeting with the PFP because of other commitments.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the sixth non-independent "homeland", KwaZulu, did not come to Cape Town for the meeting with Mr Botha and the cabinet committee on urban blacks.

SAIC chief promises a bombshell on election issue

Star 24/1/86

By Yussuf Nazeer

The South African Indian Council's emergency meeting today to decide whether to opt for an Indian referendum or an election will end in a "surprise decision", says the SAIC executive chairman and leader of the National People's Party (NPP), Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Before the meeting today Mr Rajbansi said he would "drop a bombshell" into the laps of the newly formed political opposition party Solidarity and the Transvaal and Natal Indian councils, vehement critics of the NPP.

Mr Rajbansi accused them of "dragging the NPP's name through the mud by making political capital out of the fact that we want to sidestep a referendum for Indians to test their feelings about the new constitution".

REFERENDUM

Asked why he had first called for a referendum and then announced that the SAIC's referendum resolution was to be rescinded at today's meeting, Mr Rajbansi said: "Changing events controlled our day-to-day decisions."

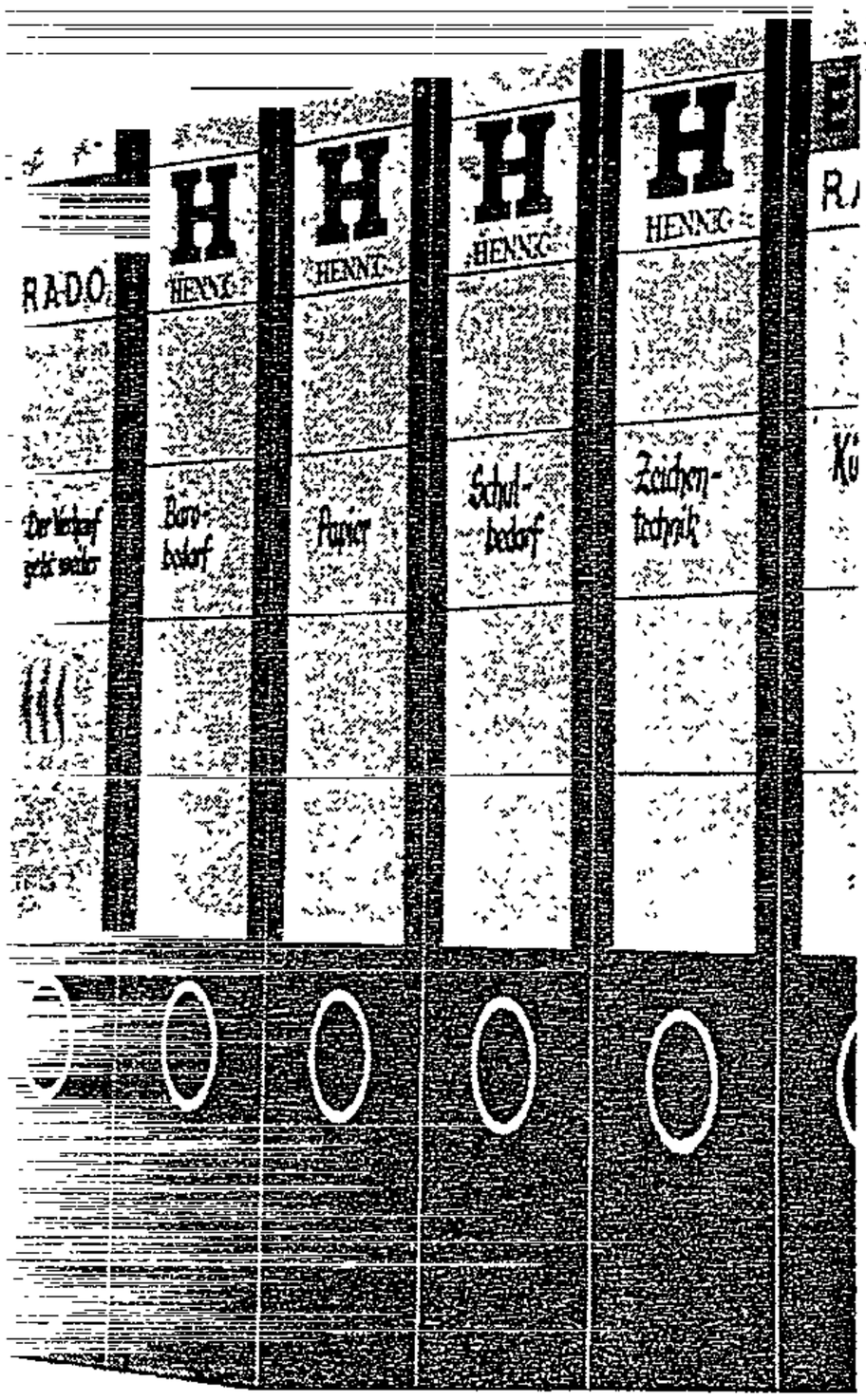
He said his party had decided against the referendum when it became apparent that the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the TIC were "plotting" to disrupt a referendum, preventing a true reflection of Indian opinion.

PROTEST CAMPAIGN

● The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) is to launch a protest campaign against the SAIC's acceptance of the tricameral constitution, the TIC's secretary-general said today.

Mr Ismail Momoniat said it would be similar to the TIC's countrywide protest against the SAIC elections launched last year.

The TIC plans to assemble its own leaders and spokesmen of organisations such as the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) to call on the Indian people to reject both the referendum elections.



this is not Lilliput, it is Dusseldorf, West Germany. The to cover the front of an office equipment shop. The ctor through the firm's front door.

NP's policy 'no solution'

Homelands a failure, admits Betsie Verwoerd

304A

Political Staff

The widow and son of former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd are among the co-authors of a new book which admits the homelands policy has failed to address the problem of the black majority in South Africa

Mrs Betsie Verwoerd wrote the foreword to the book, "Witman, waar is jou tuisland?" It is published by the Vereniging van Oranjewerkers, the organisation promoting the establishment of a homeland for whites only.

Her son, Mr Hendrik Verwoerd, was one of the co-authors. Her son-in-law, Professor Carel Boshoff, and his wife, Anna, are founder members of the Vereniging van Oranjewerkers.

The close family members of the grand architect of the homelands policy put their signatures to the book which clearly states that "the homelands policy as implemented by the National Party was no solution to our problems".

The authors of the book argue that the original intention of the homelands policy — to allow blacks into white South Africa as guest labourers but to compel them to practise their political rights in the homelands — was never carried out.

White dependence on black labour, not only in the country's industries and on the farms, but also in white homes, gave blacks an irreversible permanence in white South Africa

They argue that the process set in motion when blacks obtained permanence in white South Africa because of their indispensability as labourers will end in black political representation at the highest government level.

"This is the road the National Party has built for us since 1948," the authors say.

Mrs Betsie Verwoerd

"When we made the national states independent, we took the blacks of these areas off our books while they were still living in our territory.

"We gave our territory away by settling and importing blacks.

"All that we have retained are judicial definitions and absurd political slogans such as: 'We are against integration — against grey areas', 'the blacks are guest labourers in white territory', 'a white territory exists and blacks must practise their political rights in the black national states'," the authors say.

Harare's landing gear has MP up in the air

The Star Bureau

HARARE — Instrument landing equipment at Harare Airport had broken down and international carriers would not land if the situation was not rectified, Parliament was told here yesterday.

A Republican Front member, Mr Geoffrey York, said that last Friday he had checked to see what equipment was in working order. All of it was out of action.

ACTION

The two radar channels were out of action as was the equipment which translated radar messages on to a visual screen.

The non-directional beacon which sent out signals to enable pilots to establish the position of the airport had broken down and equipment which provided pilots of incoming aircraft with a continuous fix on their exact position was not working.

Mr York said the present fine weather had made it possible for aircraft to use the airport but in bad weather an instrument landing system was essential to bring aircraft down. In those circumstances international carriers would be prohibited from landing at Harare.

Mr York said foreign aid had been offered to update and replace equipment and he urged the new Minister of Transport, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, to stir things up.

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on, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

NIC calls for 'no' vote in referendum

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Natal Indian Congress would demand an emphatic "no" vote from the Indian community in a referendum on the new constitution, Mr George Sewpershad, an executive member of the NIC, said today.

Speaking at a Press conference at which the NIC spelt out its policy, Mr Sewpershad it was confident that the Indian community would reject the Government's new deal of a tricameral Parliament.

He said the new constitution was formulated by a white minority without the participation of the other peoples of South Africa. It was designed to maintain apartheid, albeit with a new face, and to break the unity of Indian, coloured and black people.

The NIC, he said, viewed the constitution as a strong challenge to the Indian community.

"This community is being asked to become a junior partner in the crimes of apartheid against the African majority."

The NIC challenged the Government to refrain from the use of all forms of intimidation and harassment in a referendum.

"There must be total freedom of speech; meetings must not be banned; open-air meetings must be allowed; the Security Police must stop all harassment. Without these guarantees, any referendum will be a farce."

Heunis hints Indians could be left in cold

Jan 1984

304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A member of the President's Council, Mr S Abram-Mayet, has disclosed that a group of Indian community leaders were told by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, that if the Indian community rejected the new constitution at a referendum "the status quo in respect of this community will probably be maintained".

Mr Abram-Mayet, who led the delegation, claimed in a statement today that Press reports saying the Minister had warned the delegation that the Government would go it alone with the coloured community if the Indian community rejected the plan, were "not absolutely correct".

His statement said: "In consequence of various house meetings held in the Transvaal regarding the new constitution, many problem areas were identified. A group of Indian community leaders then sought a meeting with Mr Heunis.

"In fairness to the Minister, Press reports to the effect that he had warned the delegation that the Government would go it alone with the coloureds, were not absolutely true.

"What the Minister in fact said was that should the constitution be rejected by the Indian people at a referendum, the status quo in respect of this community will probably be maintained.

"No member of the delegation was to issue any statement. But one member did and the matter was reported out of context."

(Report by H S Roberton, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

A warning by Rajbansi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — If the majority of the Indian community gave a resounding "no" vote to the Government's new deal, then Indian leaders should not take part in the new tricameral Parliament, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, executive chairman of the South African Indian Council, said today.

Mr Rajbansi said he was glad that the Natal Indian Congress had decided to take part. It will advocate a "no" vote.

"However, the National People's Party will urge the community to vote 'yes' because we believe that by participating we can create a better South Africa for all its people." he said.

Last Parliament live

Cape Times 26/1/84 (3044)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — SATV cameras will be rolling in Cape Town tomorrow to record live the historic last opening of Parliament in its present form.

The fourth session of the seventh Parliament will be the last before Parliament becomes a tricameral system under the new constitutional dispensation.

Under the new constitution the functions of State President and Prime Minister will be combined and the nation will have an executive State President.

TV1 opens at 10.15am for direct coverage of the ceremony. Transmission will last until about 11.45.

● **More reports on the opening of Parliament, page 10**

CAPE TIMES 26/1/84 (304A)

Joburg Nat row: Venter quits post

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The leader of the National Party in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Carel Venter, may have to resign after allegations concerning his relationship with a young secretary of the city's Centenary Festival Association.

According to observers, it could also lead to his resignation from even more powerful positions in the party.

On Monday night Mr Venter was forced by the National Party caucus to resign as chairman and member of the festival association.

It is believed that the matter is not closed as far as National Party Transvaal leadership is concerned.

Officially the party line this week was that Mr Venter's festival association activities should be seen as totally divorced from his position in the council. But our correspondent has been told that Mr Venter's position had become "untenable" — both as the deputy chairman of the city's management committee and as the leader of the party in the council.

'Lack of leadership'

Meanwhile Nationalists are unhappy with what they have termed "lack of supportive leadership" from the Transvaal leader of NP, Mr F W de Klerk.

Sources in the NP this week said that the scandal involving Mr Venter and the secretary, Miss Ira Wandrag, has caused a breakdown in confidence between Mr Venter, his colleagues on the management committee and party members.

On Tuesday Mr Venter left for a vacation with family in East London after the NP caucus is said to have demanded his immediate resignation from the festival association on Monday.

According to our correspondent's confidential sources it is privately felt in the NP that Mr Venter should resign from the management committee as well as leader of the party.

Mr Francois Oberholzer, chairman of the management committee and leader of the Independent Ratepayers' Association, said however, that he did not believe that Mr Venter's position on the City Council was in jeopardy.

He said the allegations concerning Mr Venter's relationship with Miss Wandrag only concerned the festival association.

Mr Jannie Burger, chairman of the NP caucus, said the NP and the IRA were "united as never before" in its belief that the issue was "politically motivated" and fairly dealt with.

But the leader of the PFP council opposition, Mr Sam Moss, rejected the claim that the issue was politcally motivated.

"Mr Venter's problem cannot be attributed to the PFP. In public life it is impossible for a public figure to divorce his private actions from his public responsibility.

"This is not a party political matter. And the ball is entirely in the court of the NP. They are responsible to the public, their party and the council to solve the problem."

Mr F W de Klerk said in a statement on Tuesday that he was giving attention to the matter on an ongoing basis "insofar as it may concern the NP as a party".

He said that he would not comment on the matter at this stage.

SAIC poll move called 'cunning'

304A

25/1/84 Star

By Yussuf Nazeer

The South African Indian Council's decision yesterday to stick to its initial call for a referendum on the constitution was described as a "cunning move" today.

The Solidarity Party also said the decision had been made to prolong the SAIC's stay in power.

The move by the SAIC's ruling National People's Party, under Mr Amichand Rajbansi, which had been calling for an election, took the SP by surprise.

SP chairman Mr Pat Poovalingum said opposition against the NPP "is prophesying the end of this sellout group".

"Their days as spokesmen for the people are finished."

Mr Rajbansi said he decided on a referendum to put "nails in the SP coffin".

Durban demo: 43 in court

Star 26/1/84 304A

DURBAN — Forty-three people apppeared in the Durban trate's Court today on an allegation of contravening the Internal Security Act.

Their appearance followed the picketing of the meeting at the Durban City Hall on November 14 when the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, addressed more that 3 000 Indians on the new constitution.

The accused are alleged to have contravened the Act by holding an illegal gathering.

They were not asked to plead.

The case was ajourned to March 1 and bail of R50 each was extended. — Own Correspondent.

PFP backs SAIC's call for referendum

CAPE TIMES 26/1/84 (206A)

Political Staff

THE South African Indian Council's decision to call for a referendum on the new constitution has received a mixed reception from white opposition political parties, the Progressive Federal Party agreeing with it and the New Republic Party describing it as unwise.

Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the PFP, saw it as the best way of gauging public opinion while Mr Vause Raw, the NRP leader, said a general election would have been just as good a test.

Mr Swart said: "It is an interesting decision, particularly if it means that all the Indian parties favour a referendum.

"Clearly it is the best way of gauging public opinion, as it was with the whites, and one hopes there will be full participation."

Mr Raw said: "It is the right of the council to take such a decision although I feel it is unwise as a full test of Indian opinion could equally be obtained in a general election.

"It will delay the start of a new parliament and place a tremendous organizational and financial burden on the participants through having to have a separate referendum followed by a separate general election."

Meanwhile, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) is expected to break its silence on the referendum issue when its president, Mr George Sewpersad, spells out the NIC standpoint on the new constitution at a press conference in Durban today.

Although the NIC had taken a decision several weeks ago to support a referendum, it withheld it until the United Democratic Front met in Johannesburg at the weekend.

The NIC is affiliated to the UDF, an umbrella body representing organizations opposed to the new tri-cameral parliament.

Pressure 'forced SAIC to back off'

304A

RDM 26/1/84

Political Reporter

THE South African Indian Council's surprise decision to continue to call for an Indian referendum is believed to be the result of increasing political pressures facing the ruling National People's Party.

In recent weeks Mr Rajbansi appeared to have laid the ground for the SAIC to change its stand and call for an election rather than a referendum.

He issued a challenge to the United Democratic Front to commit itself to participating in a referendum, saying there would be no point in a referendum if the UDF called for a boycott.

When the UDF ignored the challenge, he called a special meeting of the SAIC to consider a motion, proposed by the secretary of his party, rejecting a referendum.

But SAIC sources said the formation of the new political party, Solidarity, and indications that the Natal Indian Congress was going to call for a referendum, put pressure on Mr Rajbansi.

Mr Rajbansi yesterday denied this, saying the NPP had always supported a referendum. He called the special session of the SAIC only to give members a chance to reconsider their views, he said.

Mr Pat Poovalingham, the interim leader of Solidarity, said Mr Rajbansi had been telling SAIC members that to go straight into an election would make the campaign easier for Solidarity.

The real reason, Mr Poovalingham said, was that Mr Rajbansi knew he would lose power.

Mr Rajbansi said the NPP would participate in the new constitution even if there was no referendum.

If there was a referendum and the Indian community voted against it, he would expect the Prime Minister to officially exclude the Indians from the constitution, he said.

Rajbansi foils Govt plan

Star 26/1/84

By Yussuf Nageer

The decision of the South African Indian Council to opt for a referendum on the constitution has proved to be a major embarrassment to the Government.

It has been learnt that the Government wanted to call general elections for all three groups in the tricameral Parliament in the first half of the year.

But the change of heart by Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party, which has joined anti-election groups in the SAIC, has upset the Government's plans.

After the white referendum, Mr Rajbansi's NPP in the SAIC called for an Indian referendum. Under pressure that the referendum would be disrupted he then switched to favouring an election. This would have suited the Government.

But on Tuesday Mr Rajbansi surprised everyone by again opting for a referendum.

Political sources said today that the Government was unhappy about the referendum decision because it was to announce the tricameral elections shortly.

Sources disclosed that SAIC members were called in yesterday by the office of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and reprimanded for their stance.

It is believed that pressure is now being put on Mr Rajbansi to change his mind about the referendum.

See Pages 3 and 11, World section.

Blacks won't share power says Suzman

304A Star 26/1/84

DURBAN — There was no chance whatever that blacks would be brought into the new political dispensation, Mrs Helen Suzman, veteran Progressive Federal Party MP, said at the Westville Civic Centre last night.

No amount of pushing would bring this about as the new three-house system was limited to the minority groups of whites, coloureds and Indians, Mrs Suzman said.

Speaking in support of the Pinetown by-election candidate, Mr Roger Burrows, she said: "There is no hidden agenda that can include blacks for the Goverment has made it abundantly clear that it considers that black political aspirations have already been accommodated in local government bodies set up in urban areas and by elections for homeland goverments."

Mrs Suzman said the PFP would continue to fight for an improvement in the quality of life for blacks. The critical need for black housing, education and recreational facilities was part of the normal responsibilities of a modern state.

She went on to say that while she had spoken against disinvestment in South Africa in the United States last year, Press reports about the forced removal of the Magopa people had made her task difficult.

"While people overseas can appreciate the problems of a country like ours they are quite unable to accept the disgusting brutality that so often accompanies the implemenation of apartheid," she said.

Mrs Suzman said she had often been accused in Parliament of putting questions to Ministers that provided ammunition for South Africa's enemies abroad.

"I tell those Nat gents that it is not my questions but the answers which provide the ammunition."

The only factor to offset the damage done by the Government and give South Africa some respectability abroad was that 22 percent of the white electorate had supported an energetic opposition at the last general election, Mrs Suzman said. — Sapa.

(Report by L Tulleken, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

304A

Pressure mounts on Indian referendum

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

PRESSURE for a referendum in the Indian community mounted sharply yesterday with the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) adding its voice to the call for a referendum and the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) expected to do so today.

This follows the surprise decision by the SA Indian Council (SAIC) on Tuesday to stand by their call for a referendum to test Indian opinion on the new constitution.

The NIC announcement will mean that the only Indian political organisation that has not called for a referendum will be Solidarity, the new political party due to be launched in Durban this weekend

The Prime Minster, Mr P W Botha, indicated last year that referendums for Indians and coloureds would be held if these communities requested them.

But Government sources indicated yesterday that a decision would not be made until Solidarity had announced its viewpoint.

The source also said the Government was most unlikely to make different decisions for Indians and coloureds.

Mr Pat Poovalingham, the interim leader of Solidarity, said yesterday his party would only decide its viewpoint at its first congress in March.

He felt a referendum was not necessary, but ther decision would be up to the congress, he said.

If referendums are held, the Government will find it extremely difficult to implement the new constitution by mid-1984 as planned.

There would have to be a break of at least three or four months between a referendum and an election. To add to the difficulties, the Government has been asked to avoid an election in June, the Muslim holy month of Ramadan.

One possible solution that may be considered, according to the Government source, is the holding of referendums and elections on the same day. This would mean two ballots for each of the communities, with those who voted "yes" in the referendums then going on to vote for candidates.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs and Development, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday declined to comment until he had received official notification of the SAIC decision.

The TIC and NIC decision came after last weekend's meeting of the national executive committee of the United Democratic Front, to which both TIC and NIC are affiliated.

In a statement yesterday, the UDF executive called for the holding of a nonracial referendum "in which the majority of South Africans may clearly state their opposition to the so-called new dispensation".

But the executive also called on its affiliates to "mobilise and organise the people to oppose the new constitution on the basis determined by local conditions and in accordance with the aims, objects and principles of the UDF".

This was seen by observers as a compromise decision, allowing affiliates to choose separate tactics according to "local conditions".

SAIC warned on opinion poll call

304A

C. Herald 26/1/84

By Political Editor Warren Ludski

THE Natal Indian Congress has called on the South African Indian Council to give a firm undertaking that it will not take part in the Government's new deal if the call for a referendum is refused — or if Indians reject the New Deal in the event of a referendum.

"If such an undertaking is not given, then their call for a referendum is merely empty rhetoric," Mr George Sewpershad, the president of the NIC, said this week.

He was reacting to the Indian Council's decision to ask the Government for a referendum to test Indian opinion on the new constitution.

ELECTIONS

It has been generally expected that the SAIC would ask the government to hold elections for the House of Delegates (Indians) in the three-chamber parliament.

This was the line taken by the Labour Party, Freedom Party and Congress of the People (Cope) when they had to indicate to the Government whether they wanted to a referendum or an election for the House of Representatives (coloureds).

The SAIC called a special meeting this week to debate the issue. The executive chairman and leader of the National People's Party in the council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said that they would go back to their original decision of asking for a referendum, and would be guided by the will of the people.

ACCUSED

But now the newly-formed Solidarity Party has accused Mr Rajbansi and his party of trying to prolong the SAIC and their stay in power.

Mr Pat Poovalingum, a former Presidents Council member and chairman of the Solidarity Party, said that Mr Rajbansi's party knew that they wouldn't win an election because the Indian community had rejected them and the SAIC.

NIC sets out conditions for Indian referendum

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE Natal Indian Congress (NIC) yesterday demanded a referendum to test Indian opinion on the new constitution, but set preconditions on participation in such a vote.

According to Mr Mewa Ramgobin, an NIC executive member, the NIC had demanded guarantees that there would be freedom of speech, meetings would not be banned, open-air meetings would be allowed, and the Security Police would stop harrassing NIC members.

"Without this guarantee, any referendum would be a farce," the NIC said in a statement.

The NIC also said there must be careful and vigilant monitoring of the referendum in all its stages and impartiality must be ensured.

Asked what would happen if these conditions were not met, NIC president Mr George Sewpersadh said last night the NIC would consider its position on participation if and when the terms of a referendum were announced.

The NIC would demand an emphatic and resounding "no" vote, he said.

This announcement means that Solidarity, the political party due to be launched this weekend in Durban, is the only Indian political organisation that has not called for a referendum.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has said he would hold referendums for Indians and coloureds if requested.

No announcement is expected, however, until Solidarity holds its first congress in early March.

Meanwhile the chairman of the SA Indian Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said he would meet the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, to discuss the need for many Indians to get Books of Life in time for a referendum.

The NIC statement said it was the inalienable right of all South Africans to decide on the constitution of the country. The NIC endorsed the United Democratic Front's call for a national non-racial referendum.

Indians were being asked to become junior partners in apartheid, to send its youth to the borders to defend apartheid, to forget the ravages of the Group Areas Act, and to accept its existence today, it said.

"Congress therefore demands a referendum in which the community will be asked to give an emphatic 'no' to apartheid and its constitution."

27/1/84

RDM

304A

Unions must go further than shop floor politics

OPINION

A WEEKLY FEATURE PRESENTING A WIDE VARIETY OF VIEWS

By LYBON TIYANI MABASA

President, Azapo

MUCH excitement has been generated by the growth of the labour movement in this country — growth which has been seen as heralding a new era in our political scene.

As was to be expected, this movement has been greatly influenced by the dominant political thoughts and, as a result, it has developed in two distinctive trends: the "non-racial" trade unions on the one hand and the black consciousness-inspired trade unions on the other.

Those who rally round the banner of non-racialism argue that the instruments of change should be embodied in the envisaged change, whereas those under the Black Consciousness banner believe instruments of change need not necessarily be embodied in the envisaged change.

In Black Consciousness, we believe in taking into cognisance the material conditions.

Racism in this country is not just an attitude, but it exists in structures and institutions we have to contend with on a day-to-day basis.

These structures are built to enhance and foster the false superiority of white people in this country and experience has shown that, in any partnership of blacks and whites, white people feel it is their natural duty to occupy positions of leadership, power and control.

Education, and exposure to better facilities and life, are used to justify this position.

The trade union or labour movement has been seen by some as the most revolutionary movement capable of ushering in a new social order, while others have dismissed it as a reactionary product of a capitalist society.

Both views are inaccurate and misleading.

While, on the one hand, it is true that trade unionism introduces workers to democratic processes of accepting joint responsibility and joint decision making, it also sharpens their consciousness to the relationship that exists between them and the means of production and exchange.

This should not be misconstrued as a complete revolutionary process that needs no direction and guidance.

A revolution has been described as: "a dilectical progress of historical development" which is "the sum of varied and diverse circumstances, of multiplex elements that together add up and lead to the solution, in a given historical moment, of a crisis that has stubborn and deep economic causes".

With that in mind, the working class as such is not synonymous with a revolutionary phenomenon. If this were true, the picture of the society in our country would have been otherwise.

As many scholars would have it — and we agree with them — the dominant ideas in any given society are those of the ruling class, and sections of the working class in this country have absconded from their fundamental worker-responsibilities and embraced the values of the ruling class.

Nay, they have been boistering the status quo through the exercise of their bourgeois democratic right — the vote.

We know the rule of one class over another does not necessarily depend on economic or physical power alone, but rather on persuading the ruled to accept the system of beliefs of the ruling class and to share its social, cultural and moral values.

In our country, the labour union movement should be influenced by revolutionary consciousness to transcend its limitations, that straightjacket it into assuming "a pressure group" character that concerns itself with the amelioration of working conditions.

The movement must discard its reformist character, that is being solely concerned with factory-floor grievances and turning a blind eye to both the existential situations in which the workers find themselves, and the material conditions that determine their respective backgrounds.

It should never be divorced from day-to-day rigours and vagaries of living in a racist capitalist society and, for the direction of its programmes, it must draw from the ethos and pathos of the workers' experiences at both factory-mass and not work systemati- floor level and beyond.

Workers do not cease to be — or to exist — as people after downing tools at knocking-off time.

As the political writer, Sorel, has said, we believe "the working class alone" — by virtue of its being the most down-trodden and oppressed people in our society — has the moral virtues necessary to rejuvenate society, and that to perform this mission it must have a faith in itself and in its purposes.

Our duty is to raise its revolutionary consciousness.

In conclusion, on this potential revolutionary phenomenon — the labour movement, Gramsci has lessons for any serious activist or student of society to ponder upon when he writes: "To expect that a mass, reduced to such conditions of physical and spiritual slavery, could embody a spontaneous historical development; to expect that it would spontaneously begin and continue an act of revolutionary creation — is an illusion of ideologists.

"To rely on the unique creative capacity of such a cally to organise a great army of disciplined and conscious militants, ready for every sacrifice, educated to put their slogans into practice simultaneously, ready to assume effective responsibility for the revolution, ready to be agents of the revolution — not to do this is a real betrayal of the working class and an unconscious counter-revolution in advance."

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation, Azapo's, policy statement on trade unions reads: "Realising the imbalance of power between the owners of capital and black workers, we acknowledge trade unions as instruments that can bring about the redistribution of power.

"In the unique situation that is South Africa, trade unions should go beyond the problems of management and labour.

"We envisage a persistently militant system of trade unions which will challenge the discriminatory labour laws of the white minority Government and thereby bring about change."

Cold-blooded intensity in heat and dust of 'Berg'

W/E ARGUS 28/1/84 (304A)

2. SOUTPANSBERG

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The replay of the "Battle of the Berg" in the sweltering heat and dust of the Soutpansberg constituency features not only new faces, new scenes and new talking points, but also a new and somewhat cold-blooded intensity.

The Conservative Party, which suffered a resounding defeat in the referendum last year, is now frantically seeking redemption in a victory at the Soutpansberg by-election poll on February 15.

To Mr Tom Langley, the CP candidate who slashed former Manpower Minister Fanie Botha's majority to a mere 621 votes in the previous by-election less than nine months ago, it is "only a matter of the 311 votes" (half plus one from 621) he needs to send him back to Parliament.

He is preparing a full-scale war to get them.

But the stakes are much higher for his party and his leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The vast Northern Transvaal constituency of Soutpansberg lies in the only referendum region where the "No" vote triumphed.

stigte Nasionale Party candidate, Mr Gert Beetge, claiming his share of the beleageured hearts and minds of the Soutpansberg conservatives.

His presence in the campaign spells disaster to the CP, who now not only has to cope with the mighty organisational machinery of the NP, but also with the added problems of a split right-wing vote.

Total war

The absence of an HNP candidate in the previous by-election contributed to the CP's near success in the constituency where the former Minister of Manpower reigned supreme for a quarter century.

The HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, withdrew his candidate during the previous election to provide the CP with the ideal conditions to capture the seat. This time the CP goes into the election campaign not with the HNP's insistence on an advance 50-50 division of electoral seats country wide — Mr Marais has made it clear th

torate has this time been spared a long drawn-out election campaign.

Although the election date had been announced last year, the Christmas season inhibited any intense political activity.

The result was that all three parties started their rather belated campaigns last week, leaving barely enough time to complete one full round of canvassing before election day.

In the constituency where life has been dominated by politics for nearly a year now, a short, fast election campaign is not as inadequate as it may sound.

The issue of the new constitution was chewed to bits in the campaign preceding the May by-election and the referendum in November last year.

Ideology

The political parties agree that little remains to be said about the issue.

The right-wing parties can do no more than again attack the ideological deviation in National

Fanie Botha, and the former Development and Land Affairs Minister, Mr Hennie van der Walt, as serious lapses concerning the Prime Minister's promise of clean administration.

Both have declared that they would refrain from attacks on the persons of the two former cabinet members but that they had every intention of seriously questioning the integrity of the current administration.

This could be a decidedly one sided debate. The NP has no intention of being drawn into disputes about the alleged indiscretions of Mr Fanie Botha, any allegations in this direction would be ignored, says Mr van Tonder.

The right-wing candidates have also declared that they had plenty of ammunition regarding economic issues, especially those relevant to agriculture.

They furthermore intend to air local gripes

about inadequate infrastructure, such as roads and electricity in certain areas.

Advantage

All parties may have equal opportunities in the poster pamphlet battle, but the NP's vast organisational resources countrywide provide it with an important advantage with regard to the large number of Soutpansberg voters who have changed their addresses.

Between 3 000 and 4 000 of Soutpansberg's 15 990 voters are missing.

The NP is the only party adequately equipped to find its missing voters before February 15.

Only Mr Kruger and Mr Langley have previously fought elections in Soutpansberg.

Mr Kruger has peviously represented the constituency in the Transvaal Provincial Council. His career has been characterised by efficiency and rapid pro-

motion and he is currently MEC for Local Affairs.

Mr Langley, who represented the CP in the previous by-election, has again been nominated the party's parliamentary candidate.

He represented the Pretoria constituency of Waterkloof in Parliament for about 15 years before he left the NP with Dr Andries Treurnicht to establish the CP.

Mr Beetge, chief of the Blanke Bouwerkersvakbond, is a veteran combatant of about half a dozen previous elections but a winner of none.

Which puts the CP under a heavy obligation to prove not only that it can sustain, but also increase its reputed support in this conservative haven.

The National Party, though anticipating a tough, equal battle in Soutpansberg, is operating on the optimism that the referendum results have initiated a growing "change of climate" even in conservative areas.

Veteran NP politician and chief of the party's Soutpansberg campaign, Mr Tonie van Tonder, believes this change to be *the factor that will* carry his candidate, Mr Hein Kruger, to victory on election day.

At the fringe of the battle stands the Her- against its ideological brothers in the CP.

Mr Langley, however, says he has not lost any sleep over the possibility that the split right-wing vote may cost him him a victory.

According to him, the CP has estimated that the party could gain more votes from NP and English-speaking ranks if it refrained from being associated with the HNP than it could gain with the active support and help of the HNP.

"We don't consider the HNP a force in Soutpansberg, *says Mr Langley.*

The HNP concedes that it cannot win or even come second in the by-election.

The Soutpansberg elec- tows a constitutional system of power sharing with other races and perhaps spell out how they will effectively oppose the system once it comes into operation.

But the right-wing parties have at the same time been forced to admit publicly that they are, abhorent as it may be to them, full participants in the new dispensation.

Another issue which the right-wing candidates say they will introduce into the current campaign, concerns the reasons behind the resignations of two Cabinet members late last year.

Both Mr Beetge and Mr Langley regard the resignations of former Manpower Minister, Mr

W/E ARGUS 28/1/84 (204A)

BY-ELECTION BATTLES BUILD-UP

IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL CONSTITUENCY OF SOUTPANSBERG THE NATIONALISTS ARE LOCKED IN BY-ELECTION BATTLE WITH THE CONSERVATIVES, WHILE IN NATAL THE PFP AND THE NRP ARE FIGHTING EQUALLY HARD OVER THE PINETOWN SEAT. AS THE FIRST ELECTORAL TEST SINCE THE REFERENDUM, THE BY-ELECTIONS TO BE HELD ON FEBRUARY 15 ARE OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO ALL THE PARTIES. WEEKEND ARGUS CORRESPONDENTS WHO VISITED THE CONSTITUENCIES HAVE THESE ACCOUNTS OF HOW THE BATTLES ARE GOING.

Personal contact v party politics

1. PINETOWN

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — With just under three weeks to go in the Pinetown by-election, the indications are that there is going to be little separating the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party on polling day.

To date it has been a quiet campaign, with the PFP conducting an intensive door-to-door campaign, while the NRP is relying on a telephone canvass.

NRP election agent Mr Alec McMaster is absolutely confident that with the backing of National Party suporters in Pinetown there will be an overwhelming majority, in excess of 3 000, for his party's candidate, Mr Frank Martin, on February 15.

Much of the NRP campaign has been directed at National Party supporters. The most clear statement in this respect came from Natal NRP leader, Mr Ron Miller, who said when speaking at an election meeting in Pinetown that the NRP was quite prepared to walk hand-in-hand with the NP.

The NRP's name does not appear on Frank Martin's posters and observers believe this is another attempt to persuade NP supporters to vote for him.

Generally there is a mood of complacency in the NRP camp and this could well count against it on election day.

The party has had difficulty in recruiting campaign workers and earlier this week the PFP threatened it with legal action after it discovered that the NRP had been offering between R10 and R15 a day to people to canvass for it.

PFP national organiser, Mr Neil Ross, believes the tide is beginning to turn in his party's favour.

"Obviously with the NRP receiving the support of the Nats we are coming from behind, but organisationally we are in an infinitely superior position."

This is borne out by the fact that the PFP has taken a lead of almost 600 in the lodging of postal vote applications.

Mr Ross believes that the personal contact established with voters in the PFP's door-to-door campaign is paying dividends.

The PFP's candidate, Mr Roger Burrows, has addressed 13 house meetings to date and will address a further 19 before election day.

Only about 50 people attended the PFP's first public meeting in the constituency, which was addressed by Mr Burrows and party chairman Mr Colin Eglin.

However, the meeting was held during the holiday period.

A meeting addressed by Mr Burrows and veteran MP Mrs Helen Suzman this week attracted about 180 people.

About 100 people, many of them prominent Nationalists, attended the first NRP meeting of the campaign in the constituency.

The Tricameral system is in jeopardy

Indian call for referendum tests dispensation

30/1/84 Star

304A

By David Braun,
Political Reporter

Indians and coloured people are at odds about their approach to the Government's new political dispensation. This could leave the National Party with a major headache as it tries to forge an alliance between these groups and the country's whites.

The coloured parties favour elections — without a referendum — and this would seem to fit in with the Government's plans. But last week it became clear that most Indians want a referendum first, and that could delay implementation of the new dispensation.

When the whites voted overwhelmingly in their referendum to give the dispensation a try, and the three coloured political parties declared they were in favour of the system and wanted to proceed directly to elections, the general feeling was that the Indians too would opt for elections without a preceding referendum.

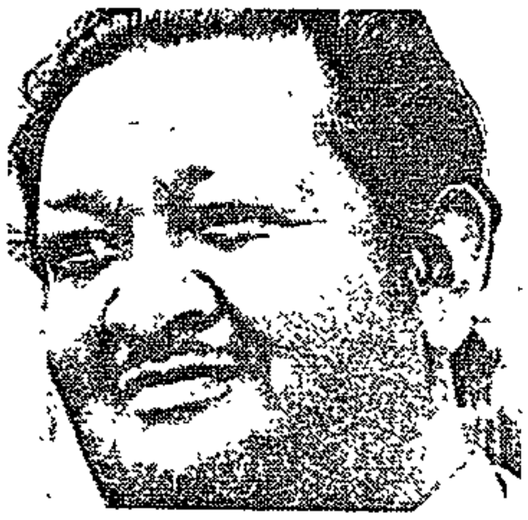
From the Government's point of view, the major problem was how to stimulate enough interest in the coloured and Indian elections to make the participation by these groups as legitimate as possible

Three out of every four white voters took part in their referendum and, of those, two in every three were in favour of the new system. That meant at least half of all white voters wanted to give the proposals a good try. If similar percentages could be achieved in the "brown" elections, the Government could argue at home and abroad that the new system was desired by a clear majority of the three groups, tested in truly democratic polls.

The major risk in holding elections was that poor interest, and possible intimidation of voters by opponents of the new constitution so that the percentage polls would be very low, would rob the participation of the Indians and coloured people of much of its legitimacy.

The danger in holding referendums was that the forces ranged for a "no" vote would so outweigh those prepared publicly to campaign for a "yes" that the outcome could not be interpreted as anything other than total rejection of the new system.

In that event the National Party's constitutional initiative would be crippled while its standing with right-wing white voters would plummet. The Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party would love to be able to say that after all the NP put the white electorate through to get its constitutional plans off the ground (even causing the split which led to the formation of the CP), it was not acceptable to the Indian and coloured people.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has said that his party opted to co-operate in the system because it believes that participation within the tricameral arrangement and consequent standing committees, commissions and councils can assist in achieving its goals and constant objectives. Its leaders can also continue on the road of negotiation with the government of the day.

So the stage is set for a three-cornered contest between the three coloured political parties, all of which have opted to fight elections for the new tricameral parliament.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi

Analysts expect the LP to win the majority of the 80 seats in the House of Representatives, leaving only a handful to the traditionally poorly supported Freedom Party and People's Congress Party.

The Indian outcome is not nearly as predictable. The big debate is not whether there should be an election or a referendum, but whether the various parties should take part or boycott any poll.

During recent months the debate over participation in the constitutional proposals reached fever pitch in the SA Indian Council, which in November called for an election.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the council's executive committee and leader of the National People's Party, said early last year that his party would participate in the constitution only after Indian opinion had been tested in a referendum.

Then, after the LP decision to opt for elections and because of a certain amount of lobbying by the Government, Mr Rajbansi announced that the SAIC would probably rescind its decision and also go for an election.

But last week he again surprised everyone by reverting to the original decision and the SAIC confirmed its call for a referendum.

Mr Rajbansi has since announced that his party will fight for a "yes" vote in the referendum because his party believes that by participating it can create a better South Africa for all its people.

The SAIC opposition Reform Party, a member of the SA Black Alliance, has said it will not take part in any poll to do with the new system. It is not clear if it will change this view if a referendum is announced.

But should the majority of Indians vote "no" if the referendum goes ahead, the new dispensation will lose much of its impetus.

Botha's new deal: Where will the cash come from?

CAPE TIMES 30/1/84 (304A)

The Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

THE new parliamentary session has started with high political hopes and grim economic realities. The goverment's resounding referendum victory has created great expectations that it will finally muster the will and courage to embark on systematic and comprehensive reform.

Tragically, the government's inability to control state spending leaves it with little scope for backing the political initiatives with hard cash.

The first thing the coloured and Indian representatives will look for in the new dispensation is whether they can "bring home the sweets", to use Mr David Curry's colourful phrase.

This means substantial amounts of money allocated to remedy the flawed educational system, wipe out the housing backlog and improve the poor township services and amenities. At the same time, the low polls in last year's black local authority elections have sent a clear signal that these institutions will remain hollow shells unless the state diverts adequate financial resources to them.

Military

The government has, however, been spending on other things. Firstly there is military expenditure taking "accountable authority" (rather than the formal budget) as yardstick, military spending has been steadily rising and is now over R3 billion. More than R1 billion a year has been spent on administering SWA/Namibia and waging a war that looks less and less justifiable, unless a satisfactory settlement is reached soon.

Secondly, there are civil service salary increases. After taking a strong stand in 1979 against unreasonable demands from the civil service, the Botha administration has all but capitulated to this sector.

In 1981, when the 13th cheque bonus was introduced, the increase in civil servant's remuneration was 35,5 percent. In 1982 it was 25,5 percent. According to Prof J L Sadie it will rise by a total of 27 percent for the two years 1983/84.

All this while the present GDP is at about the same level as in 1981 after a decline of five percent in the two years 1982/83.

Thirdly, there is the economic decentralization programme. Carlton and Good Hope have been spurred less by economic considerations than the ideological goal of providing jobs in or just outside the homelands.

Critics calculate that the cost of creating jobs in terms of this programme is five times that of doing it in the metropolitan areas.

Nevertheless, the state has offered industrialists huge benefits and concessions to relocate. Mr Harry Oppenheimer in 1983 bluntly called it "bribing people to put industry in the wrong places".

Drought relief

Lastly, the government has had the unavoidable task of providing drought relief to the farmers. Yet it should be remembered that, purely in economic terms, South Africa's 70 000 white farmers are still far too many, with 80 percent of them contributing only 20 percent of their output.

In a state budget of R20 billion, a misspent billion here and half a billion thrown away there soon begets a situation where the state has very little left for new constituencies eager to be co-opted. And this does not even take into account the failure to create conditions for real economic growth by spending money on non-productive goals.

Partly through tax dodging by companies, the man in the street has been saddled with a bigger tax burden than ever while individual taxpayers in 1978 contributed 31 percent to the state's coffers.

Their toll rose to nearly 50 percent in 1983/84. The contribution in the same period of companies not involved in mining has hardly changed at a level of about 20 percent.

Who will suffer and who will benefit from this politically? The Conservative Party, in the false anticipation of easy political gains, has turned out to be a rather amateurish bunch and is not yet capable of exploiting the real discontent among voters in the low-income groups.

The Progressive Party is in a much better position organization-wise to appeal to the higher income groups but it has a problem in that most voters simply don't understand its referendum strategy or for that matter its policy (like Christianity, consociationalism tends to win minds rather than hearts).

Pragmatic

Nevertheless, contrary to post-referendum interpretations, the party has not lost its existing support. Party canvassers and experienced opinion pollsters now firmly believe that the PFP supporters who voted yes have done so on a purely pragmatic, one-time basis and are now, almost to a man, returning to the PFP fold for the sake of a strong opposition.

Thus the referendum has not brought about a real political realignment except in the sense that the old United Party has finally been cooled off. There is growing evidence that the NRP is now unable to win a seat except by the good grace of the NP. It has inexorably sunk from second to last in Natal.

The NP, with Afrikaner and civil service support (nearly a third of the whites in this sector), has a firm ethnic and class base. Its main problem is whether its leadership will adjust itself soon enough to a marked changed among its followers since the split in 1982.

According to the latest issue of that absolutely indispensable publication "Indicator" (published by the Centre For Applied Social Sciences in Durban), the proportion of NP supporters wishing to end social apartheid in the form of sex laws, segregated cinemas and exclusive white residential areas has risen from about 25 percent in 1977 to nearly 50 percent in 1983. Some 70 percent of the NP supporters now want all groups (including homeland and urban blacks) to have a say over national affairs without one group dominating the other).

While the NP is now in a position of making a major symbolic breakthrough by abolishing social apartheid, the question over the longer term is how many financial resources it will invest in the new dispensation. There is a clear historical analogy it must keep in mind.

In 1959, the government embarked on a new constitutional order for blacks. It created an elaborate political structure for the homelands, but, instead of spending any real money on them, it threw money away on a huge white elephant — the gigantic Orange River development programme. In 1981, Professor Jan Lombard, who served as economic adviser to the Prime Minister in the 1960s, remarked: "The benefit/cost of this venture seems to have turned out to be very low. I venture the opinion that had these resources been applied to a number of human or physical infrastructure projects in the so-called black homelands, the country would have reaped greater economic and political dividends in the form of a larger settlement of people in those areas."

The National Party still has the time and opportunity to prevent the new constitutional dispensation for coloureds and Indians suffering the same fate of being fatally hamstrung by a lack of financial resources because money is wasted elsewhere. There is one genuine start for the new dispensation: End the war and settle in SWA/Namibia.

Right now.

under his control did this research and how long it took? [Interjections.]

†The PRIME MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not prepared to satisfy the hon member's curiosity in this way. [Interjections.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Prime Minister's reply, I want to say to the hon the Prime Minister that until he . . . [Interjections.]

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon member is not allowed to say things now. He is only allowed to put questions.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, then, arising out of the hon the Prime Minister's reply, I want to put the following question to him: Does he not think it is fair that the electorate should be informed of the contents and the scientific validity of the findings which the hon the Prime Minister made available so freely to the electorate? [Interjections.]

†The PRIME MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the electorate were informed, with disastrous consequences for the hon member. [Interjections.]

†Mr S P BARNARD: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Prime Minister's reply, will the hon the Prime Minister not make the information which was obtained by means of the taxpayers' money, available to us as members of this House? Will he tell us whether this information is confidential or whether it is possible for members of this House to inspect it?

†The PRIME MINISTER: Mr Speaker, if the hon member reads his newspapers better, he would have known that I furnished a great deal of that information to the country.

†Mr S P BARNARD: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Prime Minister's reply, will he tell us whether we should in future judge the actions of the Government only by what we read in the newspapers? [Interjections.]

†The PRIME MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I can understand that the hon member is in difficulty, because the newspaper which he read is dead [Interjections.]

†Mr SPEAKER: Order!

WEDNESDAY, 1 FEBRUARY 1984

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Prime Minister:

Computer equipment

*1. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Prime Minister:

(1) Whether a commission of inqury has been appointed to investigate South African involvement in the transfer of computer equipment from the United States of America to the Soviet Union; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what are the names of the persons appointed to this commission;

(2) whether the commission has submitted a report; if not, when is it anticipated that it will do so; if so, (a) when and (b) what were the findings?

†The PRIME MINISTER:

(1) No. The facts of the case do not justify the appointment of a commission of inquiry into possible South African involvement. The National Intelligence Service collected, and made available to interested Western powers, valuable intelligence concerning the entire matter for which much appreciation was expressed.

(2) Lapses.

Hansard Q. 601. 1 1/2/84 304A

Coloured homeland

*2. Mr. H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Prime Minister:†

(1) Whether the Government has instituted an investigation into the cost of establishing a Coloured homeland; if so, (a) when was the investigation ordered and (b) who undertook the investigation;

(2) whether the report of the investigation will be tabled; if not, to whom will it be made available?

†The PRIME MINISTER:

(1) and (2) The Government has the necessary departmental statistics and means at its disposal whereby it can determine what the costs pertaining to the establishment of a Coloured homeland can be. Calculations which were made in this regard, enabled me to give an indication of the high costs involved in implementing such an unpractical idea.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Prime Minister's reply, does he not think that it is fair, seeing that the public service is also paid by the tax-payers and that the hon the Prime Minister in addition uses information of this nature against his Opposition, that we at least have the right to question the correctness and scientific nature of those inquiries and statistics? [Interjections.]

†The PRIME MINISTER: The hon member must simply accept the fact that I govern the country, and not does he. [Interjections.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: I want to know whether the hon the Prime Minister realizes that I should like to know . . .

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! That is not a point of order. The hon member must please take his seat.

†Mr S P BARNARD: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Prime Minister's reply, does he not want to submit the particulars concerned to the House or to hon members?

†The PRIME MINISTER: Mr Speaker, when the occasion arises, I will inform the House about this, as in fact I have already informed the country.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Prime Minister's reply, will he please give us an indication of which bodies and persons

3 candidates for Council in Ward 1

By EVELYN VOSLOO
Municipal Reporter

REE candidates had made themselves available the City Council vacancy in Ward 1 at the close nominations yesterday.

ne election will take place on March 7 and the cial nomination of candidates on February 15. ne seat became vacant at the death of Mr Ron- Stephen last year.

ne candidates are:

Mr Chris Joubert, 45, the official candidate of Green and Sea Point Ratepayers' and Resi- ts' Association. He has lived in the ward for 22 s He is a director of companies, a member of Glen Country Club and the Fresnaye Sports b and has been a member of the Sea Point ns Club for 15 years.

elected, Mr Joubert would like to prevent ti-social behaviour and overcrowding" at ches and other amenities in the ward.

Mr Rodney Julian Mazinter, 45, a businessman. has lived in the ward for 32 years. He has ed rugby for Hamiltons, represented Western nce at water polo, served on the Western Pro- e Amateur Swimming Association Executive 12 years and is chairman of the South African r Polo Board.

is also a member of the executive of the ps Bay Ratepayers' Association, a member of amps Bay High School Committee and a mem- and past president of the Rotary Club of Sea

Mazinter said yesterday that if elected he d strive to see that the beauty of the ward was ned.

r Melvyn Clive Marshall, 47, a financial con- nt. He has lived in the ward all his life. He fied as a chartered accountant at the Univers- f Cape Town in 1960. After practising for 20 he was invited to enrol for a B Comm Hon- degree, which he completed in 1980. He is a cial consultant with business and property in- ts. He is president of the Camps Bay Hebrew egation.

Marshall said yesterday one of the main rea- was standing was that there were no char- accountants on the City Council. With its ve budget the mother city needed financial ise on the council, he said.

Brands Jobs

E-STOCKTAKING

Survey shows 'hawkish' views

C.T. 2/2/84

By BARRY STREEK

A SURVEY of Nationalist ministers and MPs has reflected "very hawkish" views towards the front-line States, a Rand Afrikaans University lecturer, Mr Koos van Wyk, said last night.

Their views differed sharply with those of a black elite, including homeland leaders, he said.

Speaking at the University of Cape Town's Summer School, Mr Van Wyk said that 82,3 percent of the politicians and 69,1 percent of senior government officials said South Africa should not negotiate with Swapo.

Although 88,3 percent of the politicians and 72,4 percent of the bureaucrats disagreed with the statement that South Africa could not win the war with Swapo, 75 percent of black elite agreed.

While 92,7 percent of the politicians and 90,6 percent of the officials agreed that South Africa should attack terrorist bases in neighbouring countries, 83,6 percent of the black elite disagreed.

Asked about the statement that white people could not expect the support of black people in a violent struggle, 78 percent of the politicians and 50,5 percent of the officials disagreed, but 72,9 percent of the black elite agreed.

A total of 92,7 percent of the politicians and 88,5 percent of the bureaucrats believed black people did not have good reason to take up arms but 72,9 percent of the black elite believed they did.

And 70 percent of the politicians and 51 percent of the bureaucrats did not believe a guerilla war similar to that in SWA/Namibia would develop in South Africa, but 87 percent of the black elite believed a guerilla war of this nature would develop.

Mr Van Wyk said he had conducted the survey of politicians among ministers and deputy ministers as well as the National Party foreign-affairs and defence-study groups in Parliament.

These views showed that security in South Africa was basically a domestic problem.

"Not until this society solves its internal problems will it feel a sense of security," he said.

There was a feeling in South Africa that "if you eliminate Swapo and ANC bases, you will have licked the problem".

But this judgement was faulty. The existence of Swapo, the ANC and PAC reflected "the extent of black frustrations in South Africa".

His survey of the black elite showed they rejected separate development and apartheid. Homeland leaders not only rejected apartheid but they rejected independence.

Mr Van Wyk said that even elimination of ANC and Swapo bases would not solve South Africa's security problems and black people could turn to other means, including riots and strikes, to demonstrate their frustrations

CAPE TIMES 2/2/84

MNR 'aid' via Malawi?

Staff Reporter

A RAND Afrikaans University lecturer, Mr Koos van Wyk, said this week he believed South Africa was aiding Mozambican rebels through Malawi.

During a discussion on the front-line states at the University of Cape Town's Summer School, Mr Van Wyk said: "Logically, this is not impossible. If we aid Unita why should we not aid the resistance in Mozambique?"

During the discussion, Mr Robert Jaster, a fellow of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington DC, United States, said "an absolute precondition of the package" between South Africa and Mozambique was that any support for the MNR be stopped.

This would be a "quid pro quo" for the ending of any Mozambique support for insurgents in South Africa.

Mr Jaster said it was apparent that the MNR "does not have a great deal of support in Mozambique".

A recent campaign by government forces against the rebels in southern Mozambique had been "extremely successful" and they had taken several thousand prisoners.

The MNR had not been very successful in winning the support of the people through its actions of chopping off heads and executions.

"They have not made a great effort to win friends," he said

However, the economic circumstances in Mozambique had led to dissatisfaction with President Samora Machel's government.

On the other hand, South African raids on Maputo had generated a great deal of support for President Machel.

"One of the things the raids on Maputo did was to rally the people around Machel. They gave him support he hasn't seen for years," Mr Jaster said.

Overall, he did not think the MNR had significant support from the Mozambique people.

"I just don't think they see the MNR as an alternative."

Mr Jaster said it would be a delusion to believe the front-line states would give up their anti-apartheid feelings

"They recognize that white South Africans have a right to be here. They recognize they are not settlers and colonialists. What they don't accept is white-minority rule."

But someone like President Machel also recognized that a compromise had to be found with South Africa.

"You can reach a modus vivendi without giving up your opposition to apartheid," Mr Jaster said.

● The South African Government has dismissed claims that it is aiding the MNR. However, the US State Department in Washington, in a considered statement, said last year that the MNR "receives the bulk of its support from South Africa"

Heunis lobbies for Indian elections

BY JEAN LE MAY
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, had top-level talks in Cape Town this week with representatives of two Indian political groups — the National People's Party (NPP) and the newly-formed Solidarity group.

Mr Heunis has declined to comment, but Indian political sources say the government is lobbying for a general election for the Indian community in preference to a referendum on the new tricameral system.

Mr Heunis also met a delegation of the SA Indian Council, the government-created body chaired by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, on Friday afternoon.

Mr Rajbansi, who is also leader of the NPP, and Mr Pat Poovalingam, leader of Solidarity, confirmed that the meetings had taken place.

Solidarity was represented by its secretary, Mr Mehmoud Rajab.

Sources close to the leadership said the talks hinged on the question of whether the Indian community should decide by referendum whether to participate in the new tricameral system or whether there should be a general election.

The caucus of the NPP recently decided by a narrow margin — said to be 16 to 13 — to opt for a referendum, while the executive of Solidarity came out in favour of an election.

Both parties will place the issue before their congresses in March.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said last year the Indian community should decide for itself whether to choose a referendum or a general election.

However Mr Heunis — although he has refused to be drawn on the issue — is said to be anxious to avoid a referendum because all the indications are that the result will be a resounding 'no'.

This could mean a stalemate as far as Indian participation is concerned. But an election would entail part-ticipation, however low the poll.

Mr Rajbansi, asked to comment on the SAIC meeting with Mr Heunis, said: "We discussed the undertaking given by the Prime Minister to consult the Indian community as a whole whether to hold a referendum or an election.

"We stressed the view that the Prime Minister must be guided by political considerations arising both inside and outside the SAIC."

● See Page 10

Annexure

Province of the Cape of Good Hope

Constituency	Number of Voters
Albany	15 296
Algoa	17 994
Aliwal	11 301
Beaufort West	10 063
Bellville	15 499
Caledon	13 121
Ceres	10 529
Claremont	16 667
Constantia	17 825
Cradock	10 878
De Aar	10 554
De Kuilen	17 702
Durbanville	18 863
George	16 483
Gordonia	11 023
Graaff-Reinet	10 142
Green Point	13 673
Groote Schuur	15 751
Helderberg	18 224
Humansdorp	14 451
Cape Town Gardens	16 570
Kimberley North	14 971
Kimberley South	15 553
King William's Town	15 955
Kuruman	10 832
Maitland	17 604
Malmesbury	16 655
Mossel Bay	12 912
Namaqualand	10 678
Newton Park	16 725
East London North	16 668
East London City	17 069
Oudtshoorn	12 653
Paarl	15 580
Parow	16 392
Piketberg	14 810
Pinelands	16 170
Port Elizabeth North	16 001
Port Elizabeth Central	15 660
Prieska	9 826
Queenstown	12 457
Sea Point	16 671
Simonstown	18 133
Sundays River	12 878
Stellenbosch	14 237
Swellendam	11 911
Tygervallei	17 379
Uitenhage	15 234
False Bay	16 508
Vasco	16 066
Vryburg	10 462
Walmer	16 730
Walvis Bay	4 651
Wellington	16 319
Worcester	14 590
Wynberg	16 312
Prov. Total	815 861

Natal

Amanzimtoti	16 699
Berea	16 606
Durban North	17 606
Durban Point	17 251
Durban Central	17 122
Greytown	17 763
Klip River	14 895
Mooi River	15 302
Newcastle	16 983
Pietermaritzburg North	17 380
Pietermaritzburg South	17 370
Pinetown	17 388
Port Natal	17 978
South Coast	14 171
Umbilo	16 968
Umfolozi	13 150
Umhlanga	15 501
Umhlatuzana	17 414
Umlazi	19 077
Vryheid	15 042
Prov. Total	331 666

Orange Free State

Bethlehem	14 741
Bloemfontein North	17 228
Bloemfontein East	18 118
Bloemfontein West	17 155
Fauresmith	10 253
Heilbron	14 018
Kroonstad	15 666
Ladybrand	14 100
Parys	17 346
Sasolburg	18 055
Smithfield	13 558
Virginia	18 168
Welkom	20 789
Winburg	14 249
Prov. Total	223 444

Transvaal

	Number of Voters
Alberton	19 982
Barberton	16 651
Benoni	19 567
Bethal	24 020
Bezuidenhout	20 533
Boksburg	20 896
Brakpan	19 378
Brentwood	20 374
Brits	15 963
Bryanston	18 887
Carletonville	20 566
Delmas	19 712
Edenvale	18 086
Ermelo	16 945
Florida	18 839
Geduld	20 041
Germiston	20 059
Germiston District	19 560
Gezina	19 706
Helderkruin	21 239
Hercules	21 528
Hillbrow	19 334
Houghton	20 083
Innesdal	19 124
Jeppe	22 179
Johannesburg North	18 879
Johannesburg West	19 919
Kempton Park	20 462
Klerksdorp	21 381
Koedoespoort	20 443
Krugersdorp	21 682
Langlaagte	19 864
Lichtenburg	17 126
Losberg	19 370
Lydenburg	14 560
Maraisburg	18 727
Meyerton	21 724
Middelburg	21 717
Modderfontein	22 416
Nelspruit	18 406
Nigel	19 741
North Rand	22 543
Overvaal	20 703
Parktown	18 092
Pietersburg	17 892
Potchefstroom	18 943
Potgietersrus	17 855
Pretoria East	23 674
Pretoria Central	17 892
Pretoria West	22 966
Primrose	19 069
Randburg	19 869
Randfontein	20 291
Rissik	18 633
Roodeplaat	21 608
Roodepoort	18 905
Rosettenville	19 415
Rustenburg	20 459
Sandton	21 952
Schweizer-Reneke	15 784
Soutpansberg	16 304
Springs	18 610
Standerton	18 201
Stilfontein	19 003
Sunnyside	18 248
Turffontein	20 364
Vanderbijlpark	20 259
Ventersdorp	15 854
Vereeniging	20 032
Verwoerdburg	22 308
Waterberg	16 006
Waterkloof	19 174
Westdene	19 647
Witbank	21 172
Wonderboom	20 554
Yeoville	19 606
Prov. Total	1 491 556

WEDNESDAY, 8 FEBRUARY 1984

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†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Koeberg nuclear power station

*1. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs:

What is the estimated final cost of the Koeberg nuclear power station as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

Hansard Q.61. 66

SOAIA

Voters

7/2/84

157. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

How many voters were registered in (a) each constituency, (b) each province and (c) the Republic as at 31 December 1983?

The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

(a) and (b) See annexure.

(c) 2 862 527.

Apartheid is dead — Nel

CAPE TIMES 7/2/84

3044

Political Staff

APARTHEID as percieved by the outside world was dead and no longer existed in the hearts and minds of most South Africans, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, said yesterday.

In an address to a meeting of the Foreign Correspondents Association in Cape Town he said: "The time has come for the Western world and all reasonable observers to reconsider their perception of apartheid."

South Africa had become a victim of "an international verbal destabilization campaign".

Certain words such as "apartheid", "racism" and "destabilization" caused a "trigger reaction" response overseas.

"This trigger reaction has moved the process of opinion forming from the intellectual level to the level of automatic reaction. The word, not the idea, has become a weapon in international politics," Mr Nel said.

Mr Louis Nel

The word "apartheid" had become "one of the deadliest verbal weapons" with which to attack South Africa.

"And against this weapon it is very difficult for South Africa to defend itself. Because the emotive content of the word is based upon the perception people have of apartheid, a perception which decades ago might have had some validity, but which, in the South Africa of today, is false, a fallacy, in fact, dead," he said.

The government considered it grossly unfair that a "false perception" was being used by the media to condemn "every single positive reform we institute in South Africa".

Many "important changes" had taken place in the Southern African region and compelled, in his opinion, a reassessment of "preconceived ideas" about the region by "every responsible person, especially media representatives".

'Equitable'

South Africa was purposefully moving from the staus quo of the past to a different, peaceful future. The country was travelling on a path that led from paternalism and domination to friendship, co-operation, joint decision-making and consensus.

The process of decentralization of economic development and devolution of power would continue until a situation had been reached in South Africa where every citizen regardless of race, colour or creed enjoyed freedom and equitable political rights in a stable and secure society, Mr Nel said.

One roof for all SA's 3 chambers

Cape Times 8/2/84

304A

By MICHAEL ACOTT
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The parliamentary buildings are to be extended to house the new coloured and Indian chambers in one complex with the present House of Assembly.

The Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, announced yesterday that a new five-storey extension would adjoin the existing building.

The extension is to go southwards, up Parliament Street, opposite the British Embassy, in the direction of the presidential residence Tuynhuys.

Planning is still at an early stage and construction is not expected to start for some time. The alterations, which include a "classical style" facelift for the parliamentary offices nearest the extension, could take four or five years to complete.

The new building, consisting of a basement and five further storeys, will include coloured and Indian council chambers, committee rooms, offices and other amenities.

Mr Kotze told Parliament in a special statement yesterday that in the meantime the new coloured chamber would be housed in the existing President's Council offices on the Foreshore. The new President's Council, with a key role in the tricameral parliamentary system, is to move to the historic Goede Hoop theatre next to Tuynhuys.

A temporary Indian chamber is to be built in Marks Building, opposite the Senate entrance in Parliament Street. They will use the area to be vacated in the second half of the year when the Surveyor-General and the Registrar of Deeds move to the new government offices being erected in Plein Street.

The plan to house the new constitution's three parliamentary chambers in one building is seen as a significant move which will help secure coloured and Indian support for the new system.

With three chambers scattered around Cape Town, the government was open to accusations of keeping the historic Parliament white.

At a press conference yesterday, Mr Kotze also disclosed that the existing Senate chamber would be used by white, coloured and Indian representatives under the new constitution.

He said the chamber, now used occasionally for committee-stage discussion on the Budget, would be used by the large standing committees which will have representatives of all three chambers.

'One roof'

He refused to concede that the plan could be politically contentious.

"We started from the viewpoint that Parliament must be under one roof," he said.

Mr Kotze said that as architectural plans had not yet been drawn up let alone put out to tender, he could give no firm indication of the cost of the project or how long it would take to complete.

The plan announced yesterday is not linked to the reconstruction of Stal Plein which is under way at the moment.

● **Graphic of planned building, page 4**

CAPE TIMES 9/2/84

Blacks' position high on agenda

Political Staff

BLACK constitutional development — particularly for people outside the national states — was now high on the government's agenda, the Minister of Co-Operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference in Cape Town, Dr Koornhof said the urgent attention that this matter was being given was illustrated by:

- A cabinet meeting on January 17 at which the issue had been discussed in depth.
- A meeting on the same day between the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and leaders of the national states.
- A meeting on February 3 between Mr Botha and the presidents of the four independent national states.
- The prominence given to black constitutional development during the no-confidence debate in Parliament.
- The introduction as the first bill on the order paper in Parliament this week of the Black Communities Development Bill in which a "positive line" had been taken despite "shortcomings".
- Two pending private members' motions in Parliament which would focus on the position of blacks.
- Continuing work of the cabinet committee into the position of blacks outside the national states.

Dr Koornhof said the government had promised during the referendum that black constitutional development would be given urgent attention in the new year and that was now being done.

- Dr Koornhof announced that he would soon be calling another press conference to give facts and figures about removals. "Untruths" and "half-truths" were being published about removals and were doing the country a great deal of harm.

POLITICS FM 10/2/84 (304A)

Party time again

Next Wednesday's by-elections in Soutpansberg and Pinetown will provide the first major indications of white political trends since the referendum. A victory for the Conservative Party (CP) in Soutpansberg would be a morale-booster for the party after its referendum humiliation. And in Pinetown a defeat for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) would be yet another blow to the struggling official opposition.

CP's Treurnicht ... confident of victory in Soutpansberg

From Louis Trichardt in Soutpansberg, Minister for Mineral and Energy Affairs, and chairman of the northern Transvaal region of the National Party, Pietie du Plessis, told the *FM* that the NP "only has a chance to win if all the Nationalists turn up to vote."

So he describes the contest as "very tight," and claims that the drought and economic recession are having a definite influence. The CP has tried to get mileage from the controversy that led to ex-Manpower Minister Fanie Botha's resignation. Du Plessis adds that the CP is also accusing the NP, in broad terms, of "selling out" to the blacks. He fears a CP victory will give that party "a new injection of life" after they had been "knocked down" in the referendum. The CP will try to make it appear that a victory is a national trend, Du Plesis says — which it "definitely" would not be.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht was confident of victory when he spoke to the *FM*. "It will be a very strong breakthrough. It will do more than put us back on the road we were on before the disappointment of the referendum. Taking Soutpansberg will be a very valuable morale-booster for the CP, not only in the *platteland*, but nationwide."

Treurnicht admits that the Fanie Botha debacle is being used by his party "in fighting for clean administration." But he says the main issue remains the new constitution. "The people are only now realising what the implications are. They realise it will be disastrous for the white man." Other issues in the election, according to Treurnicht, are the government's drought aid scheme and the large amounts that will be paid to the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

Bad timing

Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) leader Jaap Marais told the *FM* that any poor showing by his party could be put down to loose organisation in the constituency, and the "bad timing" of the by-election. He is confident that the combined vote of the CP and HNP will be bigger than that of the NP — but adds that the NP might still win. Such a result could give new impetus to the idea of co-operation between the CP and HNP, he says, but laughs off the idea that it could be the beginning of the end for the HNP.

The candidates in Soutpansberg are: NP: Hein Kruger; CP: Tom Langley; and HNP: Gert Beetge.

In Pinetown, where the election was called after the death last November of the PFP's Harry Pitman, there is an unofficial alliance between the New Republic Party (NRP) and the NP. Veteran NRP politician Frank Martin (60) is standing against the PFP's energetic young newcomer, Roger Burrows (32). The NP is not contesting the seat but has urged its supporters to vote against the PFP.

Martin, for 17 years a provincial councillor, believes the NRP's support for the constitution in the referendum is to his advantage. He is confident of winning.

Burrows, an educationist, is working hard and has a highly professional organisation backing him. The PFP already holds a substantial postal vote lead over the NRP — usually an indication of superior organisation. In Burrows's favour is the fact that the voters will have to decide between a vocal opposition or moving closer to the government. He believes he can only lose if all the NP supporters turn up to vote for Martin, and his hope is to achieve as many votes as his predecessor in 1981.

S. Times 12/2/84

Dining room for all MPs is a hot potato

304A

By BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENTARIANS in the new tricameral system may be governing under one roof, but there is as yet no clarity as to whether they will be eating at the same tables.

Government spokesmen confirmed this week that the proposed extended Parliament building will have separate dining rooms for the three chambers because, they say, the existing dining room for the House of Assembly is already overcrowded.

But no decision has yet been taken on the big question: will the Government be prepared to open the white members' dining room to all races?

The official Opposition has, on an annual basis, tabled a motion during debate on the Parliamentary Vote that the members' dining room be opened to guests of all colours.

And just as regularly the Government has rejected the motion.

At present only Ministers are entitled to entertain black guests in the historic old dining room, which last year was subsidised — together with other parliamentary dining rooms — to the tune of R239 000.

Other black visitors, with the permission of the Speaker, can be entertained in the VIP dining room.

Last year the Government rejected the call on the grounds that the dining room was crowded, it was intended only for the families, voters and friends of MPs and in any case the issue should be taken up through the Standing Committee on Standing Rules and Orders.

No decision

Mr Brian Bamford, Chief Whip of the PFP, said this week no decision had yet been taken on what stand the PFP should take this year on the dining room issue, but if the Government still refused to open the facility it was likely they would again table the same questions.

Government spokesmen, however, have given no indication of what they intend to do.

Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Leader of the House, said this week no decision had been taken about opening the dining room.

He confirmed, however, that separate dining rooms were to be built for the three chambers.

It is known that within National Party ranks there is a strong lobby arguing for the opening of the dining room.

The precedent has already been set with the President's Council dining room, and it would in any case be absurd for the Government to oppose opening the Assembly dining room when the chambers of Representatives and Delegates would in all likelihood open theirs.

This week the Government unveiled its long-term plans for the extension of the historic Parliament buildings so as to provide accommodation for the two new chambers in the tricameral parliament.

304A S. Times 12/2/84

'Alternative Broeders' to unite the right

By RUTH GOLEMBO

THE new Afrikaner "cultural organisation" to be formed by ex-Broederbond chief Professor Carel Boshoff is expected to provide a vehicle for uniting the fractured political factions on the far right of South African politics.

The new mood is reflected in the HNP decision to pull out of the three-cornered Soutpansberg by-election in favour of the CP, but campaign workers in the constituency believe the HNP withdrawal might have more to do with the party's own poor progress than with altruism.

The unilateral pullout will increase pressure on the Government to hold the seat after its nailbiting 621-vote victory in May.

Professor Boshoff told the Sunday Times this week that Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP; Mr Jaap Marais, HNP leader, and Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging, were among those who would attend a meeting which he has called to plan the formation of the new body.

Professor Boshoff . . . "catalyst for the right wing"

At his home in Pretoria yesterday, Professor Boshoff — a theologian who heads the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) and the influential Voortrekker youth movement — said he hoped the new organisation would act as a catalyst between the rightwing organisations.

"I will not try to reconcile people with differing views, but I hope they will be able to overcome their differences within our organisation. Afrikaners need unified strength," he said.

The launch of the new body is apparently the culmination of many months of intense lobbying within existing Afrikaner institutions.

Sources involved with its formation predict that it will bring together a wide assortment of politicians, theologians, academics and writers who oppose the National Party on the right.

A source predicted that when the list of foundation members was released soon it would read like a Who's Who of Afrikaner conservatism.

Refused

The new organisation — still without a name but already dubbed the "Alternative Broederbond" — will, unlike the AB, admit women members.

Professor Boshoff said it would not be a secret society and would be open to "all Afrikaners who subscribe to the aims of separate development and the retention of a separate cultural identity".

He said the new organisation was born out of support by people who backed his resignation from the Broederbond in October last year.

He resigned as chairman of the AB after he had refused to dissociate himself from a Sabra study finding that the proposed constitutional reform was a "farce".

"The Broederbond deviated from its basic aims when the joining of people in the South African society started becoming more important to them and emphasis was being placed on the political rather than the cultural field," Professor Boshoff said.

"The organisation I propose will not be a counter-organisation to the Broederbond or an opponent to it, but a separate movement with its own goal.

"I expect there might be a slight splintering in Broederbond ranks with the formation of the new organisation, but I would not like to hazard a guess at numbers.

"Our organisation is open to anyone who identifies with our aims, and there is nothing stopping a person who is member of another organisation from joining us."

Crisis

Professor Boshoff said that, although the organisation would not be directly involved in politics, "it will not separate itself from it because politics is an obvious part of the Afrikaner culture".

"Afrikaners are in the midst of an identity crisis," Professor Boshoff said.

"We don't know ourselves or the role we are meant to play."

Mr Marais welcomed the formation of the new organisation.

"Its method and nature will be radically different from the existing Afrikaner Broederbond and it has my full support," he said.

Mr Terre'blanche said yesterday that the AWB gave the new organisation its full support.

Even though Professor Boshoff had previously said he wanted nothing to do with the AWB, Mr Terre'blanche said, he did not allow himself to become "blinded by past statements".

Dr Treurnicht could not be reached for comment yesterday.

(Report by R Golembo, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.)

(304A) S. Times 12/2/84

An August election

By NORMAN WEST, BRIAN POTTINGER and BOETI ESHAK

A DATE for coloured and Indian general elections may be announced by the Government this week. An August poll is widely tipped.

At the same time, there is increased speculation that a simultaneous general election for whites, coloureds and Indians is on the cards — depending on the outcome of the by-elections in Pinetown and Soutpansberg.

Whites may also go to the polls

A triple general election would save the Government embarrassment in turning down an SA Indian Council request for a referendum, it would give Mr P W Botha another five years for the tricky task of launching the new constitution, and would give an enormous symbolic boost to the tricameral parliament.

Against this lies the cost of another poll after the recent referendum and the weariness of the white public with the hustings.

If the Government or its NRP surrogates does either extremely badly or very well in the Soutpansberg or Pinetown by-elections it may be tempted to call a general election.

The Government's decision to hold coloured and Indian elections — rather than separate referendums to test the attitude of these groups towards the new constitution — follows a flurry of consultation with Indian and coloured party leaders.

There have also been further declarations by Indian President's Council members in favour of an election rather than a referendum.

These came amid clear signals from South African Indian Council (SAIC) quarters that they would not oppose an election call, despite earlier requests for a referendum.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis met a Labour Party delegation on Friday, after which party leader the Rev Alan Hendrickse conceded that an early poll date was impossible because of delimitation and registration requirements.

CHRIS HEUNIS
Met Labour Party

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has said the Government would be guided by the leaders of the Indian and coloured communities on the whether-or-not-to question of elections versus referendums.

Brakes

But since all three recognised coloured political parties have now opted for elections, only the surprise decision of the SAIC to call for a referendum put the brakes on Government plans.

However, now that the Government enjoys the backing of eminent Indian leaders outside the SAIC, it can safely claim justification to declare an election for South Africa's 800 000 Indian citizens.

ALAN HENDRICKSE
Early poll impossible

All four Indian members of the President's Council have opted for an election.

This weekend leading trade unionist Mr Gopie Munsook announced his support, as did Dr Muragasen Padayachy of Kimberley, a leading educationist and executive member of the Association of Management Committees (Assomac).

From Durban, Mr Ronnie Kisten, president of the Natal Liquor and Catering Trades' Employees Union, yesterday declared his support for an election.

Three other Indian PC members who have already declared themselves in favour of an election are Mr Ismail Kathrada, Mr Mamood Rajab and Mr S Abraham-Mayet.

Solidarity

Mr Rajab and Mr Kathrada are members of Solidarity, the party provisionally led by former PC member and Durban attorney, Mr Pat Poovalingam.

Durban banker and former chairman of the SAIC executive, Mr J N Reddy, is also among Indian leaders who have joined Solidarity's call for an election.

The SAIC has called for a referendum, but it is known that many members of the ruling party in the SAIC, the People's National Party, are poised to take part in an election.

Meanwhile, the fledgling Solidarity Party has asked the Prime Minister to call for an election for the Indian House of Delegates.

This was the message given by Mr Poovalingham at a house meeting in Lenasia near Johannesburg this week as he embarked on massive recruitment drive.

A high-powered delegation consisting of Mr Poovalingham, Mr J N Reddy, Mr Mamoo Rajab and Mr Ismail Omar arrived in Johannesburg on Friday for a three-day drive covering many of the major Indian areas of the Transvaal.

They held three meetings in Lenasia on the same day and yesterday travelled to the Indian townships of Roshnee (Vereeniging), Azaadville (Krugersdorp), Actonville (Benoni) and Germiston's Asiatic Bazaar. Today they will be in in Bakerton (Springs) and Laudium (Pretoria).

(3021A) Voters Hansard 15/2/84 Col. 159

*8. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:†

(1) How many Coloured persons were registered as voters as at the latest specified date for which figures are available.

(2) whether consideration is being given to holding a general registration of Coloured voters, if not, why not; if so, when?

†The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

(1) 669 913 on 31 December 1983.

(2) No, because of the time factor and because of the poor results that are obtained by general registrations which are very expensive exercises both in money and in manpower. According to information received, political parties are actively registering voters and this is an effective manner of ensuring that those voters who really want to vote in an election, are registered.

Official residences

*9. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of Community Development:†

Yeas and nays greet news of black election

304A

By David Braun, Political Reporter

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, today welcomed the setting of a date for the coloured and Indian elections for the new tricameral Parliament.

"Although we lobbied for an earlier poll, we realise the feasibility of an election before August is not practical because legislation has to be amended and constituencies delimitated.

Mr Hendrickse said he hoped for at least a 40 percent poll in the coloured election. The Labour Party would conduct a full campaign.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party and executive chairman of the SA Indian Council, said the announcement was to a certain extent disappointing. His party had asked the Government for a referendum first.

The worst aspect, he said, was that the Transvaal and Natal congresses had agreed to to take part in the referendum, despite their decision to advocate a NO vote.

"History will record that they painted a false picture ... that the broad section of the Indian community did not want a referendum.

Mr Rajbansi said his party would nonetheless contest the election because it genuinely believed that the new Parliament could be used as a veto and as a tool to influence change in South Africa.

Mr Pat Poovalingham, leader of Solidarity, welcomed the announcement.

He predicted that Solidarity would win all 40 seats, and said his party would use the system to serve the Indian community and in the interest of all South Africans, particularly blacks.

Eugene Saldanha writes that Dr Ismail Mohammed, chairman of the Anti-Presidents Council Committee, said the organisation had already begun an intensive campaign against participation in a referendum or election.

It would unite with sporting, religious, community and other organisations to "expose all those who are trying to get into the backyard chamber of the apartheid parliament."

The president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Dr Essop Jassat, said the decision to call an election was a "huge bluff to avoid the humiliation of a defeat in a referendum".

● See Page 4, World section.

August date for election welcomed

ARGUS 15/2/84

304A

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

COLOURED political leaders today welcomed the announcement that elections for the Parliament's coloured and Indian chambers will be held in August.

The elections are to be on August 22.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said the party was at first in favour of an early election, in May or June, but it was now obvious that, in terms of legal requirements, this would not be possible.

A delimitation commission would first have to complete its work on the borders of new constituencies and many coloured voters still had to be registered.

ENTHUSIASM

Now that a definite date had been announced enthusiasm could be created.

Mr Hendrickse said that registration was going well.

The party had appointed sub-committees on delimitation in each of seven regions in the country. They would report to a central committee of the party that would prepare submissions to the delimitation commission.

Party leaders met the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr J C Heunis, in Cape Town on Friday.

Mr Charles Julies, leader of the Freedom Party, said the party would have preferred an election at the end of the year or early next year.

Yesterday's announcement by the Government was, however, was better than the demand for an early election, previously made by the Labour Party.

RECONSIDER

A longer period was needed to inform and prepare coloured voters for elections with the political vacuum they had experienced after the abolition of the Coloured Representative Council.

The Freedom Party will discuss election strategy at a congress in Riverlea, Johannesburg, at the weekend.

Mr Peter Marais, leader of the People's Congress Party, said his party would have had to reconsider participation in the new system had the election been held before August.

There would not have been enough time to inform voters.

The party wanted to avoid a low election poll.

Many coloured people were beginning to change their attitude to the new system. They now realised that the real battle still lay ahead — inside the envisaged new parliament.

● See Page 8.

Mixed reaction to election move

304A

DURBAN — The new Indian political group, Solidarity has welcomed the government's move to hold an election for Indians on August 22 instead of a referendum — and the National Peoples Party greeted the announcement "with reservations."

But the Natal Indian Congress condemned the government decision to hold elections, saying by by-passing a referendum it had "breached faith" with a voteless community.

Dr Farouk Meer, a senior NIC spokesman, said the Prime Minister had said publicly the community would have a referendum if Indians wanted it.

"There is a widespread demand for it by Indians — apart from the Solidarity group which wants elections — and yet the government sees fit to ignore community wishes," he said.

Dr Meer said he was not surprised because he believed a referendum would have produced a large No vote.

He said the NIC was confident that, even in an election, there would be a big stay-away by voters to show they regarded the elections "as nothing but a sham."

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party and also executive chairman of the NPP-controlled South African Indian Council, said his party had asked for a referendum because it believed the "will of the people should be allowed to prevail."

However, although the decision to by-pass a referendum was "most disappointing" his party now considered itself "on full election alert." He said the NPP would contest the Indian chamber's 40 seats throughout the country.

Welcoming the election move, Solidarity's provisional chairman, Mr Pat Poovalingam, said he was glad the government had "enough sense to recognise Solidarity's strength and accede to its call for elections without a referendum."

Apart from costing a lot of money, time and energy and subjecting the community to intimidation, a referendum would serve no useful purpose, he said.

"We in Solidarity are on election footing and we are making a determined bid for full control of the Indian chamber," he said.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party — the largest coloured political party consulted by the government on its decision — said it had hoped for an earlier election.

But it had become obvious that this was impossible at a meeting with Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, last week.

Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said the decision was not unexpected and was clearly the result of negotiations between Mr Heunis and the political parties involved.

Mr Peter Marais, leader of the People's Congress Party — which asked the government for a referendum as well as an election — said he was "very disappointed" that no referendum would be held for coloureds

Mr Charles Julies, leader of the Freedom Party, said the party had asked for an election in the last quarter of the year and he was "unhappy" about an election in August instead of September. — DDC.

Editorial Opinion, Page 10.

MR WILLIAMS

MR MOPP

MR BARLOW

EL leaders welcome announcement

EAST LONDON — Local coloured and Indian community leaders have welcomed the decision to push ahead with elections for the coloured House of Representatives and the Indian House of Delegates.

The chairman of the East London Indian Management Committee, Mr Mike Williams, said he was pleased at the announcement.

"The IMC has felt all along that a referendum would have been a waste of time and money after the overwhelming Yes vote in the white referendum," Mr Williams said.

Commenting on the possibility of other groups besides the National People's Party nominating local representatives for election Mr Williams said: "I don't think they stand a chance.

"The SAIC representative, Mr Raman Bhana, is very well supported in the Border and Eastern Cape," Mr Williams added.

Mr Bhana, an executive member of the SAIC, said he welcomed the government's decision because it would be the first time the Indian community would be close to government level.

The chairman of the local Coloured Management Committee, Mr F. Barlow, said he welcomed the decision.

"A referendum would have been expensive and people would have got fed up with first a referendum and then an election.

"Now we can find out what the new dispensation really means," Mr Barlow said.

Mr Barlow, the acting chairman of the Labour Party in East London, said it was quite possible that other coloured political parties would establish branches here. The results of the delimitation committee would have to be known before candidates could be announced, Mr Barlow said.

He said he intended to stand for election.

A local attorney, Mr Peter Mopp, said the decision to hold elections had been "a natural consequence of the massive yes vote in the referendum".

The chairman of the Coloured Management Committee in King William's Town, Mr Mike Bossr, welcomed the decision to hold an election.

"I first had my doubts about this but now I believe there is at least a chance for us to have a say in our own affairs," he said from his Breidbach home yesterday.

"I would stand if nominated," he said. — DDR

Cape Times 16/2/84 3064

The Cape Ti

Mixed feelings on coloured poll

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS

THE announcement that coloured and Indian general elections for the new tri-cameral parliament will be held on August 22 — and that no referendum on the new dispensation will be held for either community — has been received with mixed feelings.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said it had hoped for an earlier election. But it had become obvious that this was impossible at a meeting with Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, last week.

Delimitation

Interest in the election would pick up now that registration, nomination and election dates had been fixed. The party was already on an election footing and was registering voters.

It was also examining the whole question of delimitation of constituencies, which was one of the major reasons for the delay.

Mr Hendrickse noted that the party had decided against a referendum at its annual congress held earlier this year, mainly because it would have been a "waste of time, effort and money".

The election would be an "adequate" test of coloured opinion on the new dispensation.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said the decision was not unexpected and was clearly the result of negotiations between Mr Heunis and the political parties involved.

But he warned: "Sight must not be lost of the fact that there is a large difference between an election and a referendum. The question of participation in an election cannot and must not be confused with the question of approval of the new dispensation in a referendum."

Mr Peter Marais, leader of the People's Congress Party, which asked the government for a referendum as well as an election, said he was "very disappointed" that no referendum would be held for coloured people.

"But we realize that while we remain outside Parliament we will continue to be overruled without having any power to change matters.

"The countdown for the final assault on injustice and discrimination in the tri-cameral Parliament has begun."

'Unhappy'

He said the party was geared for an election and intended contesting all 80 seats. The only retarding factor was the lack of finance but "popular support would cancel out this handicap".

Mr Charles Julies, leader of the Freedom Party, said the party had asked for an election in the last quarter of the year and was "unhappy" about an election in August instead of September.

"However, we will contest all 80 seats as well," he declared.

Nationalists lose in Soutpansberg, PFP win in Pinetown

ARGUS 16/2/84 (304A)

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Nationalists have lost the Soutpansberg by-election. And the Progressive Federal Party has won in Pinetown.

In Soutpansberg the Conservative Party turned a Nationalist majority of 621 in a Parliamentary by-election last year into a 497-vote victory. It also won the provincial seat by 477 votes.

The Soutpansberg result came as a disappointment to the Government but not as a complete surprise.

The seat falls in the only region of the country where there was a No vote in the November referendum.

NEW CONSTITUTION

But it will not slow down implementation of the new constitutional plan or other reform plans the Government may have.

The Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, made this clear during the election campaign.

For the PFP the Pinetown result was also a boost.

For the New Rrepublic Party it means that its continued existence and the leadership of Mr Vause Raw are now at stake.

The Pinetown result vindicated the statements of the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, that supporters who had voted Yes in the referendum had not deserted the party.

Last week Mr Ron Miller, Natal leader of the NRP, predicted that his party would win by between 1 000 and 2 000 votes.

With only a 55 percent poll in the by-election, it was clear that the Nationalist support the NRP hoped for had not materialised.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said today the result showed that the Progressive Federal Party had gained support in the by-election. It put the referendum result in the right perspective.

It also showed that PFP supporters who had voted Yes in the referendum were back in the fold and that they had not left the party permanently.

Dr Slabbert said his party began realising three to four

(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

RESULTS:

Soutpansberg (Parliamentary)

Mr T Langley (CP)	5 836
Mr H Kruger (NP)	5 339
CP majority	497
Percentage poll	69,9
Spoilt papers	85

Provincial:

Mr L E Thom (CP)	5 783
Mr J E Vorster (NP)	5 306
CP majority:	477
Percentage poll	69,9
Spoilt papers	137

Last election:

Parliamentary:

Mr S P Botha (NP)	6 100
Mr T Langley (CP)	5 479
NP majority:	621

Pinetown (Parliamentary):

Mr R Burrows (PFP)	5 277
Mr F Martin (NRP)	4 397
PFP majority	880
Spoilt papers	40
Percentage poll	55

Last Election:

Mr S A Pitman (PFP)	6 047
Mr O Jones (NP)	3 821
PFP majority	2 226

AFRIKANERDOM

The Right moves

304A

Once again the Broederbond has become the springboard of a power struggle among leading Afrikaners. The far Right is pinning its hopes for a united front against reform on a new Afrikaner "cultural" movement being formed under the leadership of the former Bond chairman, Carel Boshoff. And Pretoria is seriously concerned that the new organisation will gain support by mobilising emotions in the rural areas and among Afrikaner blue- and white-collar workers.

Both Conservative Party (CP) leader Andries Treurnicht and Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) leader Jaap Marais are deeply involved in planning the new movement. It will be formed at a mass meeting in Pretoria after a committee of 100 people from all provinces — mostly prominent names on the far Right like Betsie Verwoerd and Dominee Mossie van den Berg of the Gereformeerde Kerk — has published an appeal to all "concerned" Afrikaners to attend.

The founding of the organisation will virtually complete the split in Afrikaner ranks. The political division is widening seriously into the cultural and religious life of Afrikaners. Despite political differences, members of the NP and CP have, until now, shared membership of cultural organisations like the Broederbond, the Ruiterwag, the Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging and the Rapportryers.

Both Treurnicht and Marais agree that the new organisation will help to pave the way towards the elusive ideal of a single far rightwing party. Marais says the founding of the organisation was one of the reasons his party was prepared to withdraw from the Soutpansberg by-election. He tells the *FM* he believes that joint action by the two parties "will prepare the atmosphere" for unity.

Boshoff, who has not chosen sides between the CP and the HNP, says he does not want to assume the role of "super political peacemaker." But he believes his efforts will bring the two sides closer. Says Marais: "Politics and culture have never been separated among Afrikaners."

Boshoff also tells the *FM* that there is a need for an organisation that will concern itself with the Afrikaner's "identity crisis," and his place in Africa. The Afrikaner, he argues, is unsure about his relationship with the coloured people and other groups — and on how far he can integrate politically, economically and socially before he is "annihilated biologically" or commits political suicide.

Treurnicht says there is widespread unhappiness and disappointment with the existing Afrikaner cultural organisations. These are felt to be "too neutral," or are guilty of following the NP too closely. He feels the need for a dynamic, broadly-based Afrikaner organisation founded on the principles of separate development. Marais adds that it will be a "national movement"

Boshoff ... fears of being 'biologically annihilated'

with an active membership. It will concern itself with the "cultural crisis created by the government in defining Afrikanerskap too broadly," he says.

In addition, according to Marais, the movement will concern itself with the "serious situation of the whites in SWA" and the government's efforts to "break SWA loose from SA." Afrikaners in Namibia will be encouraged to become part of the movement to "fight against a repetition of Rhodesia and a diplomatic, military and psychological defeat for SA and a humiliation of Afrikaners." This is a potentially ominous development.

Boshoff, Treurnicht and Marais reject the idea that the new organisation will be an alternative to the Broederbond. It will not be a secret organisation and women and young people will be encouraged to join. They say, in fact, that the Broederbond has become a "toothless lion,' Treurnicht adding that the Bond "signed its own death warrant" when the Uitvoerende Raad (executive council) chose sides on the issue of the new constitution. He is still a member, and will not say whether he intends resigning. However, "I am talking to the leadership," he says.

Boshoff, who resigned as chairman of the Bond before the referendum, says the organisation has strayed from its own constitution and that there is widespread dissatisfaction among members as well as much political infighting. Marais was expelled from the Bond some years ago. He says it has lost its integrity and is moving towards disintegration.

A united front on the Afrikaner Right — constantly harping on all the old sentiments, fears and emotions of Afrikaner exclusivity and *baasskap* — could prove a serious problem for PM P W Botha in his efforts to move towards independence for Namibia and peaceful coexistence with neighbouring states. The NP leadership could find it extremely difficult to find an answer to the emotional appeal of the Right.

Slabbert urges govt: Take Pinetown lead

Cape Times 17/2/86 (304)

Political Correspondent

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, urged the government yesterday to take its lead from the reformist by-election victory in Pinetown rather than the right-wing win in Soutpansberg.

His statement was part of the mixed reaction to the poll results from leaders of the four parties involved.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, indicated he had no intention of deviating from the present government course, which had been overwhelmingly backed by white voters in last year's referendum.

Mr Botha admitted disappointment at the NP defeat in Soutpansberg, but said the by-election could not have been fought under worse circumstances after a "succession of disappointing events" in the constituency.

Both Mr Botha and Dr Slabbert believed the Pinetown result reflected badly on the New Republic Party. The NRP leader, Mr Vause Raw, said his party had no excuses for its defeat, but dismissed suggestions that he might resign as party leader.

The Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was delighted at his party's victory in Soutpansberg. He believed it strengthened the CP position in several other constituencies as voters were becoming disillusioned with the new constitution and the government was losing support to both right and left.

Dr Slabbert said the Conservative Party victory in Soutpansberg was no surprise.

'Regained voters'

"I firmly believe that the right wing poses no real threat if we go for systematic reform," he stated.

The Pinetown result showed clearly that the PFP not only managed to regain all the voters who had defected in last year's referendum, but had actually increased its support.

Dr Slabbert attributed the PFP victory to a "superb" campaign and hard work by the party's victorious candidate, Mr Roger Burrows.

"In stark constrast, was the complacency and downright laziness of the NRP."

Mr Botha said the Soutpansberg result was in sharp contrast to the government's overwhelming mandate in last year's constitutional referendum.

"The government will carry out its task with determination because the overwhelming majority of white voters gave the the government the mandate to do so."

Mr Botha said the NP did not participate in Pinetown, "irrespective of the manner in which individual Nationalists cast their votes.

Mr Raw said: "We have to accept that we were out-organized. The results in the two by-elections have implications for the moderate centre of politics which we will study. There was a polarization to the parties of the left and the right."

Dr Treurnicht said the CP was delighted to be able to turn a 600-vote deficit in Soutpansberg into a majority of nearly 500.

'What makes me think there's a stranger in our midst,' asks the leader of the Fort Lauderdale Mafia. — Orin Scott in Beeld

Coloured and Indian voters' rolls shrinking

ON THE EVE of the announcement that the elections for coloured and Indian MPs are scheduled for August 22 Rapport has revealed disconcertingly that not a single new voter in either category had enrolled between September 30 last year and January 31 this year.

In fact, according to Rapport, the rolls are actually shrinking. Coloured and Indian politicians talked about great 'enthusiasm' for the coming elections and about the registration of thousands of voters, wrote Johan Vosloo. But in the case of the coloured voters the roll had shrunk from 669 967 in September to 669 913 in January. Corresponding figures for the Indian roll were 295 523 and 295 482.

The Afrikaans Press

by James McClurg

Possibly, said Vosloo, there was some confusion between registration for parties and registration as voters.

Asked about the 'abnormality' of the figures, one official attributed the decline to 'natural deaths'. Another spoke of thousands of new voters 'in the pipeline'.

★ ★ ★

'LET HIM do his worst,' is Rapport's advice to the Government on Sir Richard Attenborough's controversial plans for a possible film on South Africa.

As a private visitor Sir Richard had not needed a visa to enter S A, said Rapport. But if he wanted to come back to make a sensational film on the country he would need permission, and the Government could refuse it. Such a refusal would be almost a matter of course.

'Whatever happens, this extremely mischievous and extremely talented man will get publicity on the biggest possible scale. He can make his film tomorrow, whenever he chooses — success guaranteed.'

Unless big things really proved to be at stake it would be as well to let Sir Richard have his way.

'Let us be more large-hearted than this sneaky operator,' said Rapport.

★ ★ ★

WHEN Gerrie Coetzee said in New York that his white supporters in S A gave him a pain in the stomach he probably underestimated what this would do to his image back home.

So indignant are former supporters of his in Randfontein that, according to the Burger, a 'petition' is being circulated to express public indignation over his utterances. The organisers are aiming at 1 000 signatures.

When Coetzee comes to the Rand to fight Alfredo Evangelista he must expect to be confronted with about 1 000 posters bearing hostile messages. 'Hotheads' are said to be planning even stronger action.

Among scorching letters to the Press was one from Mr Fred Botha of Randfontein (where else?) calling on the Government to nationalise Coetzee's assets and declare him an 'undesirable citizen', so that he would never again be able to set foot in the country 'for which we are fighting'.

★ ★ ★

pendent.

'States that always have to come and talk to you hat in hand and with a sense of embarrassment can scarcely become reliable trading partners.'

★ ★ ★

POLITICS IN TRANSITION

ARGUS 22/2/84 (304A)

Factors inhibiting, advancing reform

In this, the first of four fortnightly articles, WILLIE ESTERHUYSE, Professor of Political Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, says:

THE concept of reform is in danger of becoming like money — everybody loves it and wants more of it, while its value is being eroded by inflation.

One should not underestimate the obstacles inhibiting reform. I believe the prospects of relatively peaceful change on the basis of negotiation is balanced on the edge of a knife. And for the following reasons:

● The lack of a relatively general consensus on what reform is all about. In spite of what has been achieved, we are still at a stage where reform means different things to different people. If one defines reform as a change in the existing relations of power with a view to remodelling the structures regulating the interaction between privileged/dominating groups and underprivileged-/dominated groups, establishing equality and justice in the distribution of political power, participation, opportunities and goods, it should be obvious that the white voting public still has to go a long way in its political orientation.

● The conflicting views of whites and people other than white on the procedures and aims of reform. Most whites have accepted that change is necessary. But they do not want it in one package. They are in favour of a step-by-step or incremental approach — meeting some of the aspirations of people other than white. The immediate and drastic dismantling of the system of apartheid is not on their agenda.

The focus of most of the people other than white is on *aspects* of the system but on the *system as such*. They want a complete dismantling of the system of apartheid and, consequently, full participation in decision-making processes. The reconciliation of these views is a balancing act of nightmarish proportions.

● The National Party has been highly successful in mobilising support from elite groups, including coloureds and Asians, the extra-parliamentary institutions and pressure groups. It however still faces some resistance and doubt from elite groups in Afrikaner circles like teacher unions, churches and some youth organisations.

● Reform in South Africa cannot be isolated from issues like a settlement in Namibia. If the present initiatives should prove to have been in vain, and especially if the perception of an "American let-down" is revived, the process of reform will be dealt a severe blow.

● The rate of reform will be dictated by economic considerations. Much of the too enthusiastic talk about reform ignores the question whether we are in a position — and willing — to foot the bill for it. Incidentally, a settlement in Namibia would be very helpful.

In spite of the inhibiting factors mentioned, the prospects of reform are enhanced by factors like:

□ Signs of a rearrangment taking place within so-called "white politics" and, consequently, a reshaping of ideological perceptions — a process in which the traditional mobilising myth of Afrikaner unity has been exploded. The National Party will probably try to consolidate the centristic political forces at work in our society.

□ The positive bearing which the participation of coloureds and Asians in central governmental decision-making processes will have on the dynamics of change. The latter has come to stay.

□ The rehabilitation of South Africa's relationship with some neighbouring states. Imagine — and in spite of the total onslaught — South Africa co-operating with Marxist-oriented governments! The prospects of relative regional stability augurs well for a "settlement" within South Africa's borders.

□ Growing pressures within the "constituency" of the National Party favouring a repeal of Article 16 of the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and the Act against "political interference," a desegregation of industrial and central business areas, and the allocation of property rights to urban blacks.

It should be emphasised that the process of reform is not likely to be dramatic. The reshaping of the South African scene will be a gradual process in which not too much can be expected too soon. What we can expect to see is the creation of growth points for evolutionary change, stimulating the momentum of reform, and the emergence of a political style based on the management of conflict and negotiation. The latter is of vital importance. It implies not only a willingness to negotiate, but also effective and legitimate institutions that could facilitate a process of negotiation and bargaining.

This especially is a priority as far as the political rights of blacks are concerned. The fact is that a relative peaceful process of reform is intrinsically linked to the issue of political rights for blacks and their participation in the bargaining process to this end. I am optimistic that we will make some headway.

FINANCE PORTFOLIO FM 24/2/84 (304A)

When Horwood goes

It now seems certain that Finance Minister Owen Horwood will be succeeded by "a technocrat" when he retires. Highly-placed government sources say Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock is most favoured by the power circle that surrounds Prime Minister P W Botha.

Convincing reasons are advanced for his candidacy. It is argued that under the new constitutional dispensation the Finance portfolio, traditionally the second most important Cabinet post, will be depoliticised to enable the incumbent to carry out his "general affairs" job of broad monetary and fiscal planning under the new constitution. Although there may be fierce bouts of sectional interest bargaining between whites, coloureds and Indians, it is hoped that exchanges will not descend to the political level — as they now do.

It's a fair bet that the mild-mannered, donnish De Kock would not relish a party political job that would require him to bat for the NP in the House of Assembly as it is now constituted. He would make a poor party hack.

It is even being argued that the job of Finance Minister in the "Second Republic" could be taken out of the Cabinet and attached to the Executive Presidency as a symbol of its non-political status and commitment to the common weal. This is how De Kock likes to operate.

As a technocratic Finance Minister, backed by a large department of specialists, he would be relieved of many of the tedious chores that Horwood now has to perform. It would mean that his appearances in Parliament would be limited to once or twice a year — at Budget time and for the Part Appropriation debate — with the routine work going to a couple of deputies, one of whom could be brown.

It is argued, too, that a man like De Kock, with no visible party affiliations, would be better suited to carry out a mandate of impartial negotiation. That's what the new constitution is supposed to be about.

Obviously a technocrat would be exposed to a certain degree of political recrimination in forums like the interracial standing committees on finance and economic affairs. But this will clearly not be the same as having to defend policies and actions in the heated atmosphere of a public debating chamber.

If the Exchequer and its related agencies were to be transferred to the State Presidency as a function of broad government, it would remove yet another possible objection to De Kock's candidacy — that he is not thick-skinned or tough enough to withstand the financial demands of ambitious Cabinet colleagues. If the Exchequer were to become an extension of the Presidency that would presuppose the full support of the President who, after all, is answerable to no one.

De Kock ... in line for the Cabinet?

But what of Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis? It's an open secret that he has coveted the Finance portfolio since 1975 when the late Nico Diederichs became State President. He is an obvious personal favourite of PM Botha and a member of the most influential family in George, the PM's constituency. The job would seem to be his for the asking.

Perhaps not. In fact, there is talk in high circles that P W Botha has told Heunis he is "too valuable" at this stage of the country's new deal to be taken out of constitution-building. Whether this is enough of a sop remains to be seen. Heunis may insist upon being named House majority leader in the white chamber, which would elevate him to the position of a kind of premier. But Botha may find it necessary to the give the job to a Transvaaler to offset charges that the country is being run by a cabal of white *Kapenaars*.

ANDRIES TREURNICHT

Of culture and politics

304A

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht spoke to the *FM* about his party's future and policies in the wake of its victory in the Soutpansberg by-election.

***FM:* What does the victory mean to your party?**

Treurnicht: It obviously means a very helpful injection for the party countrywide. I think it can be seen as a kind of barometer for political trends in the country now. It seems as if the voters are thinking again about what the exact implications of the new constitution are going to be.

Why did the voters (in Soutpansberg) seemingly change their minds about the constitution?

Because only in this campaign were they told exactly what the new dispensation with its multiracial government entails. They were told (by government) nothing is really going to change.

You are involved in Carel Boshoff's plans for a new Afrikaner cultural organisation on the rightwing. Do you see it as a unified political front against all reform?

Politics is actually part of a people's *(volk)* culture. If you try to advance a people's culture, then politics will always be involved, directly or indirectly. But organisationally it will be a broad cultural front that will involve Afrikaners on a family basis. If this new organisation helps the talks between the two parties consisting mainly of Afrikaners (the CP and the HNP), then it will be a by-product. But there are no insurmountable problems between the HNP and CP.

Do you think it is healthy to form such an exclusive cultural movement at this stage?

I think it is a very good thing if there are strong different cultural communities that have a good relationship with each other. I often think of what Dr D F Malan once said: "Ask the volk to be taken up and lost into another volk or one that does not exist, and the answer will be: For the sake of God, definitely not." I think we must get away from the idea that to cherish your own identity and culture, means hostility to another cultural community. Our experience is that English speakers tell us not to bend over backwards to accommodate them, because the Afrikaner with his beliefs and philosophy is a kind of guarantee for them

What is going to be your strategy in the new constitutional dispensation?

We are going to muster every single conservative vote and try to get the majority of the white vote in the Assembly. We will have to operate from within the new system Once we have the majority support, we will examine the whole situation closely. Obviously there are certain things that you cannot change so easily. It is not possible for us to go back to the *status quo*, because the coloureds and Indians have almost no representative body. But we will definitely undo the whole tricameral system and give every group its own Parliament and its own government.

Do you think the Indian and coloured people will accept this?

We have indications that there are certain brown people who support our policies. One can obviously not disclose their identities with all the intimidation going on. But we have statements from coloured leaders that they fully identify with CP policy. Some of them believe, wrongly, that we want to give them a homeland in the Richtersveld and therefore they have problems with it. We simply tell them that we will not do that. But we accept that we do not have the majority support of the coloured and Indian people.

Are you a racist? Are your supporters racists?

No, I do not think so. I differentiate between racism and healthy nationalism. I differentiate between racism and race-consciousness. Race-consciousness does not need to have negative connotations.

Your party is co-operating closely with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and it seems as if there are strong elements of violence in the AWB. What are your views on violence as a political method?

It is a subject that I discussed with Mr Eugene Terre'blanche (leader of the AWB). I told him that it seems as if some of his people say or think that I believe in violence as a legitimate political method. I told him if that is the case, then I must repudiate them and disassociate myself from them. He agreed with me.

It seems as if there will be a settlement in Namibia in the near future. Do you accept that as the correct strategy?

We do not know what assurances the Americans gave the government, so we cannot comment at this stage. But we are seriously worried about what form of self-determination there will be for whites. We are concerned about the possibility that Swapo might take part in such an election. It does not make sense to say that Swapo is not Marxist but its top structure is Marxist. The top structure obviously decides the character of

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NATIONAL

NP's 'whites-only' vote move angers Curry

Argus 28/2/84

By HUGH ROBERTON

ONE of the National Party's chief coloured allies in the new constitutional plan, Mr David Curry, has sharply rebuked the NP leadership in the Provincial Council for introducing a new ordinance restricting the municipal franchise to whites.

Mr Curry, president of the Association of Management Committees and a prominent member of the Labour Party, is one of the committee chairmen of the Government-appointed Co-ordinating Council on Local Government.

The council is discussing the whole question of municipal franchise qualifications, and Mr Curry alleged today that the NP in the Provincial Council had "gone over our heads, without even consulting us" and was retarding the whole reform process.

"It is regrettable that the NP has taken the initiative in introducing new legislation on the municipal franchise when we in the co-ordinating council are still negotiating a new formula for local government," Mr Curry said in a statement.

Highest level

"The Government must not blame us for interpreting this move as one which is re-laying the foundations of apartheid in local government. The matter should have been referred to the co-ordinating council first. One of the committees of the council is now investigating the whole question of municipal franchise qualifications."

Mr Curry added that he intended taking up the matter "at the highest level" and indicated that a strong protest at the Provincial Council action would soon be lodged.

The new whites-only ordinance has been defended in the Provincial Council on the grounds that it closes a loophole created by the new constitution.

Under existing provincial legislation, all persons who qualify to vote in Parliamentary elections — only whites qualify — are entitled to vote in Cape municipal elections. Since the new constitution gives coloured people and Asians the right to vote in parliamentary elections, they would thus be entitled to vote in Cape municipal elections too.

See Page 5.

Air Force chief to go to Chile

RDM 1/3/84

(304A)

CAPE TOWN. — The Chief of the South African Air Force, Lieutenant-General Antonie Muller, has been appointed the Republic's ambassador to Chile.

He replaces Lieutenant-General J R Dutton, who will be returning to South Africa, the Department of Foreign Affairs announced in Cape Town yesterday. — Sapa.

NEW CONSTITUTION

ARGUS 1/3/84 (306A)

Politicos will have to learn new tricks

PETER SULLIVAN of the Political Staff predicts a scramble for the spoils available in the changed system of government when Parliament assembles for the September session

PLENTY of pomp and ceremony is planned for Cape Town in September, but the big issue in politicians' minds is: "Who will get to share the new spoils in the three-chamber constitutional dispensation ?"

All parties are affected, from the ruling National Party in the white House to the smallest opposition party elected to the Indian house.

Not only does a new State President have to be elected; an electoral college has to be selected, members of the new President's Council must be appointed, bargains must be struck for places on joint committees, chairmen of committees have to be elected, and majority leaders appointed.

Elections for the (coloured) House of Representatives and the (Indian) House of Deputies will be held on August 22. The first of the new sessions of Parliament will start on September 7 and probably last for two weeks.

It will be an exciting and intensive time for politicians. They will have to learn new tricks or they will be left out in the cold when the new system gets under way.

Caucus meetings

Let us take a look at the events of the fortnight which will change the expression of South African politics.

After the ceremonial opening on September 7 all the political parties in the three Houses will meet in caucus to decide on appointees.

Majority parties will have to select delegates to the Electoral College, with the National Party having to decide on 50 MPs to be elevated above their caucus peers. The canvassing and lobbying will be frenetic, unless a decision is taken purely on seniority as a criterion.

Minority parties will have to caucus to decide who to nominate as representatives on the new President's Council.

In the white chamber, the Progressive Federal Party is bargaining on three seats on the President's Council, as the constitution lays down that 10 of the State President's 25 appointees must come from the minority parties in the three Houses.

Formula

This gives six from the white minority parties, three from the coloured minority parties and one Indian councillor elected by whatever minority party or parties exist in the Indian House.

As the PFP has 27 of the 53 opposition seats in the white House of Assembly, it will be allowed three councillors, although the actual voting is conducted in terms of a complicated formula.

For the mathematically-minded, the vote of each MP is transferable, so when the 53 opposition MPs (PFP, Conservative Party and New Republican Party) vote, a formula is used to determine how many votes are needed to ensure a candidate's election. The formula is:

Quota = number of valid ballot papers times 100 over number of vacancies plus one, the answer incremented by one.

Choosing nominees

In essence, it means that in the white House a candidate needs 758 votes to ensure election, assuming each opposition MP has 100 votes rather than only one.

This in turn means eight MPs (800 votes) can ensure the election of a candidate, giving the NRP one President's Council nominee, the CP two and the PFP three.

With the arithmetic done, it comes down to a method of choosing nominees — something none of the parties have finally decided on. PFP MPs say it could be a decision of the caucus, of the federal executive and the caucus together, of the leader of the party or its provincial executives, or of any combination of these.

Rewards

Names mentioned range from Harry Schwarz and Helen Suzman to Max Borkum and Professor Bozzoli; from René and Derek de Villiers to Sam Moss and Pieter Schoeman. But the front runner remains Rupert Lorimer, the MP who lost his seat in the last delimitation.

The NRP will select Mr Bill Sutton, a sitting councillor, unless the party has crossed over to the National Party by then. In that case Mr Sutton will be returned by the Nationalists, but there are rumours Mr Vause Raw himself may take his place.

For the National Party, the problem is both more difficult and easier: it has to find 35 members of the President's Council but already has a number from which to choose.

Some have proved themselves good PCs, others have to be re-elected for political reasons — like Mr Japie Basson, who defected from the PFP to give credence to the President's Council. Then a chairman has to be found as well, probably Mr Alwyn Schlebussch. Some senior MPs might also be rewarded with "safe" seats on the PC — as long as they resign from "safe" constituencies to prevent by-election battles.

That fortnight in September will start with a ceremonial opening, which will be followed by caucus meetings; then a meeting of the Elecoral College to elect as State President the man nominated by the majority party in the white House; another formal opening by the new State President; the election of a single Speaker for all three Houses; the election of committees and leaders of the Houses; the election of Ministers' Councils in each House; and finally the selection — by the new State President — of the first multi-racial Cabinet.

Pik tells of new contacts with Africa

304A
RDM
6/3/84

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — A new era of South African contact with black Africa appears to be emerging from the current peace initiative in Southern Africa.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, hinted broadly at what might lie ahead in a television interview on Sunday, when he said he had more contact with African states than he knew what to do with.

He indicated that the level of interest in exploring the possibility of better relations between South Africa and countries to the north was so considerable that he had to postpone some meetings to devote his full attention to the current regional initiative.

Due to the delicacy of the contacts, neither Mr Botha nor sources in the Department of Foreign Affairs have been willing to disclose which African governments have shown interests in developing relations.

But it seems likely that the contacts have been with states well to the north and it is understood that most of the contacts have been initiated by the African governments and not South Africa.

Apart from the current initiative involving Angola and Mozambique, South Africa also has trade and/or limited political contact with all the other black African states in the Southern African region including Zambia, Zaire and Malawi.

There are also believed to be firm — but unpublicised — trade links with a number of West African states and contacts are believed to have been made by countries on the east coast as well.

There were reports late last month that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia wanted to see South Africa in the Organisation of African Unity once the South West African question was settled.

There has also been a report that a South Africa Government official recently attended a meeting of one of the technical committees of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) in Malawi.

The SADCC was established in an effort by black Southern African states to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa. A number of South African politicians have said the organisation cannot succeed without South Africa's participation.

If the current peace plan is successful and SWA moves towards an internationally acceptable settlement, it seems likely that open contact with South Africa will be regarded as far less embarrassing by many African states than it has been up to now.

However, the development of closer relationships — if it occurs — is likely to be a long and slow process, according to Foreign Affairs sources, with each step being dependent on the success of the preceding one.

The Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Dmitry Ustinov, criticised the United States last night for supporting South Africa, Sapa-Reuter reported.

Speaking at a banquet on the first day of his five-day visit to India, Marshal Ustinov attacked the US for siding with South Africa "against Angola."

"Now the United States has started deployment of new nuclear missiles in West Europe. Militarism is being exported and the globe being pushed nearer to a nuclear war," he said.

Marshal Ustinov and the Indian Defence Minister, Mr Ramaswami Venkataraman, both expressed concern in speeches over US military aid to neighbouring Pakistan.

r once, the news is not of iolence, but of peace promises

OPINION

A WEEKLY FEATURE PRESENTING A WIDE VARIETY OF VIEWS

RDM 9/3/84 (304A)

By ANDRE DU TOIT

MAY we yet see peace rather than war in our time?

For once the news is not of violence and war, but of agreements seeking peace and stability.

And in a surprisingly brief space of time the interlocking series of negotiations involving most of the governments of Southern Africa, not to forget the diplomatic efforts of various Western powers, have already made significant progress.

Only a few weeks ago a formal treaty with Mozambique, joint monitoring of military disengagement with Angola and the freeing of Herman Toivo Ja Toivo were still distant prospects.

Now we already look to the next moves in the ongoing process of securing regional peace and stability.

Not that the war is by any means over. Many things can still go wrong — not least with the complicated process of an international settlement in Namibia.

But for the moment the spectre of a Lebanese conflagration haunting Southern Africa has somewhat receded — perhaps we need not go down that road after all.

In recent years we have been alarmed by the gradual, but seemingly inevitable, escalation in levels of violence throughout the region.

Time and time again, incidents of sabotage and terrorism have lead to reprisal raids and pre-emptive strikes.

The pattern became that of widespread destabilisation and increasing military confrontation.

The only answer seemed to be the need for yet more coercive power.

Now it would appear that concerted efforts at the negotiation tables can still have effect.

Indeed, it is just possible that this may achieve what military and coercive solutions can never do — provide a framework for relative peace and stability in the region.

Inevitably, though, we have to come back to South Africa's own internal conflicts.

Regional stability is inseparable from a lasting solution of the central question in South Africa itself — that of black political rights.

What is done to ensure the one must have implications for the other.

Thus the freeing of Toivo obviously raises questions regarding the continued detention of Mandela and Sisulu.

If the South African Government can — and it must — come to an agreement with what it regards as the Marxist government of Mozambique, and if it can enter into formal negotiations with the Swapo leaders it has been fighting as terrorists, then some are bound to ask whether we shouldn't also find ways of beginning to talk to the ANC.

No doubt this is a simplistic way of putting a complex problem. What could the South African Government conceivably offer to the ANC as a possible basis for agreement at this stage?

Any suggestion of this sort is premature and begs far too many serious questions.

Yet the underlying point is well taken. In our internal conflicts, as much as in the region, we will have to face up to the costly consequences and the inherent limitations of basically coercive strategies.

Interestingly enough, there is some evidence that such a reconsideration is perhaps already taking place.

There appears to be a new approach by the South African State with regard to the application of some aspects of our security legislation, especially as far as the more conspicuous uses of coercive powers are concerned.

Certainly there is no question of doing away with the drastic security powers vested in the State or with the use of detention without trial.

Even the Rabie Commission in 1982 failed to recommend the control mechanisms and code of conduct which was expected from it. In the event, it produced little more than a streamlined version of previous security legislation.

But more recently there have been interesting signs of second thoughts. Thus, in the course of 1983, the Government allowed the majority of bannings on individuals, restricted in various ways for security reasons, to lapse.

According to a recent statement in Parliament, there are now only 12 such bannings in operation — the lowest figure in many years.

There have been further deaths in detention. But significantly the State has, for the first time, mounted a successful prosecution against a security policeman in cases of this kind.

It is true that Sergeant van As may be a lowly figure in the security police compared with Colonel Goosen or Major Cronwright, who have not been prosecuted for their alleged involvement in the Biko and Aggett cases.

But there can also be no doubt that with the appearance of a high-powered prosecutor, such as advocate Von Lieres, and the evidence for the State by General Neethling, notice was served to the security forces at large that henceforth, they may be held publicly accountable for the tragic results of excessive zeal against those they suspect to be enemies of the State.

Perhaps the most substantial indication of a change in the Government's approach to the use of coercive powers in curbing militant political opposition, is provided by the recent report of the Eloff Commission into the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

When the commission was appointed at the end of 1981, it was widely expected that it would result in the SACC being declared an affected organisation, thus cutting off its funding from abroad and in the banning of key individuals.

After all, previous inquiries such as the Schlebusch Commission in 1974 and the SASO trial had been the prelude to the banning of the Christian Institute and black consciousness organisations, while Beyers Naudé is one of the individuals whose banning still remains in force.

Indeed, the substance of the commission's report amounts to a massive case for the prosecution for just this purpose.

Drawing on evidence supplied by the security forces — as well as research commissioned from the HSRC — the report exhaustively chronicles the SACC's involvement with a range of "subversive" issues from black theology, conscientious objection and disinvestment to political trials and financial irregularities in funds obtained from abroad.

Unsurprisingly, the commission comes to the conclusion that the SACC has increasingly identified itself with the "liberatory struggle" of organisations with revolutionary aims, such as the ANC.

And it specifically identified individuals such as Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr W Kistner as key persons.

Yet totally unexpectedly, the commission then draws back from the recommendations it has clearly prepared.

After more than 400 pages of building its case for restrictive action against the SACC, Bishop Tutu and Dr Kistner, the commission instead recommends that the SACC should not be declared an affected organisation. (As it stands, this must surely be one of the most elaborate non sequiturs recorded in history.)

What happened? The commission's reasons are quite revealing: coercive actions would not prevent others from pursuing substantially the same objectives in their struggle aginst apartheid — it would be seen by many as unwarranted action by the State against the Church and innocent people would also suffer.

From an any more liberal point of view, these are admirable considerations. It is something new, though, to find that they are given decisive weight when it comes to security matters in South Africa.

Even more revealing is the reasoning provided by one of the commissioners, Professor P Oosthuizen, who evidently had such difficulty in going along with this recommendation that he had to give separate reasons of his own.

These included a lengthy review of the aims of the official policy of separate development in contrast to the quest for majority rule pursued by the SACC in consonance with the outlawed ANC.

In Prof Oosthuizen's mind, the SACC is thus clearly "linked in brotherhood to a terrorist organisation such as the ANC".

He is also clear as to what should be done: "Under normal circumstances" coercive actions against the SACC would have been necessary.

But we are living, instead, in a difficult transitional period. The government is engaged in launching a new constitutional dispensation whose success cannot possibly be assured by coercive measures.

Thus, even against the supposed internal allies of the ANC, we should reconsider the effectiveness and costs of bannings and other restrictive measures.

Nor is this an isolated case. For quite some time the authorities have let it be known to employers and headmasters, that dealing with protesting workers or pupils is not primarily the responsibility of the security forces.

Possible damage to offices and schools have to be weighed against the long-term dangers of provided the recruits which the ANC so badly needs — as happened in the aftermath of Soweto in 1976 and 1977.

Internal peace and order, we are learning, cannot be assured merely by tough-minded coercive showdowns.

Yet the whole massive structure of security legislation, which seeks to stamp out even the expression of militant opposition, remains in place.

In the past week, Mrs Albertina Sisulu was jailed for the crime of wearing ANC colours and otherwise promoting a banned organisation by what she said at a funeral.

This is consistent with the coercive approach which seeks to deal with all such political resistance by enforcing bans and restrictions. But that is just what the Eloff Commission so wisely refrained from recommending in the case of the SACC.

In our regional affairs, we have discovered that from a position of strength it is possible to move beyond coercive showdowns and engage in negotiated political settlements which can hope to gain international legitimacy.

The current lull in our internal security situation may prove to be a similar "window of opportunity". It would be tragic if the new relaxed approach to security matters would prove only a partial response, a passing reflection of the general waning of the crisis mood after 1976.

That might even be doubly dangerous. In his comprehensive study of recent black politics — Black Politics in South Africa since 1945 — Tom Lodge has argued that a major factor in the more militant black resistance movements of the 1970s was the official wavering between coercive responses and liberalising measures.

The "strategic indecisiveness" on the part of the State between a policy of thoroughgoing reform or of unmitigated repression created the conditions in which the Soweto rising became possible.

If we hope to see peace in our time we cannot afford such mixed signals again. It is, indeed, a question of political will, *though not simply that of our determination to survive at any cost.*

The time is ripe for political negotiation in South Africa

Cape Times 10/3/84

304A

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE: By Professor Andre du Toit

MAY we yet see peace rather than war in our time? For once the news is not of violence and war but of agreements seeking peace and stability.

And in a surprisingly brief space of time the interlocking series of negotiations involving most of the governments of Southern Africa, not to forget the diplomatic efforts of various Western powers, have already made significant progress.

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Not that the war is by any means over yet. Many things can still go wrong, not least with the complicated process of an international settlement in SWA/Namibia. But for the moment the spectre of a Lebanese conflagration haunting Southern Africa has somewhat receded: perhaps we need not go down that road after all.

Violence

In recent years we have been alarmed by the gradual, but seemingly inevitable, increas in levels of violence throughout the region. Time and time again incidents of sabotage and terrorism led to reprisal raids and pre-emptive strikes; the pattern became that of widespread destabilization and increasing military confrontation. The only answer seemed the need for yet more coercive power.

Now it would appear that concerted efforts at the negotiation tables can still have an effect. Indeed, it is just possible that this may achieve what military and coercive solutions can never do: provide a framework for relative peace and stability in the region.

Inevitably, though, we have to come back to South Africa's own internal conflicts. Regional stability is inseparable from a lasting solution to the central question in South Africa itself — that of political rights for blacks.

Mandela

What is done to ensure the one must have implications for the other. Thus the freeing of Mr Toivo ja Toivo obviously raises questions regarding the continued detention of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

If the South African government can, and must, come to an agreement with what it regards as the Marxist government of Mozambique, and if it can enter into formal negotiations with the very Swapo leaders it has been fighting as terrorists, then some are bound to ask whether we shouldn't also find ways of beginning to talk to the ANC.

No doubt this is a very simplistic way of putting a very complex problem. What could the South African government conceivably offer to the ANC as a possible basis for agreement at this stage?

Any suggestion of this sort is premature and begs far too many serious questions. Yet the underlying point is well taken. In our internal conflicts, as much as in the region, we will have to face up to the costly consequences and the inherent limitations of basically coercive strategies.

New approach

Interestingly enough, there is some evidence that such a reconsideration is perhaps already taking place. There appears to be a new approach by the South African state with regard to the application of some aspects of our security legislation, especially as far as the more conspicuous uses of coercive powers are concerned.

Certainly there is no question of doing away with the drastic security powers vested in the state or with the use of detention without trial. Even the Rabie Commission in 1982 failed to recommend the control mechanisms and code of conduct which was expected from it.

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Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo soon after being released

Deaths

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When the commission was appointed at the end of 1981 it was widely expected that it would result in the SACC being declared an affected organization, thus cutting off its funding from abroad, and in the banning of key individuals.

After all, previous inquiries such as the Schlebusch Commission in 1974 and the Saso trial had been the preludes to the banning of the Christian Institute and the black consciousness organizations, while Beyers Naudé is one of the individuals whose banning is still in force.

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Not surprisingly, the commission comes to the conclusion that the SACC has increasingly identified itself with "the liberatory struggle" of organizations with revolutionary aims such as the ANC, and it specifically identified individuals such as Bishop Tutu and Dr Kistner as key people in this process.

Yet, totally unexpectedly, the commission then draws back from the recommendations it has so clearly prepared.

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Showdowns

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The current lull in our internal security situation may prove a similar "window of opportunity". It would be tragic if the new, more relaxed approach to security matters would prove only a partial response, a passing reflection of the general waning of the crisis mood after 1976. That might even by doubly dangerous.

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If we hope to see peace in our time we cannot afford such mixed signals again: it is indeed a question of political will, though not simply that of our determination to survive at any cost.

Rather, it is a question whether we are prepared to engage in negotiated settlements and to pay the price to see them through to achieve a resolution of our internal and external conflicts that might hope to gain legitimacy at home and abroad.

(Andre du Toit is an associate professor in the Department of Political Philosophy of the University of Stellenbsoch.)

* **Tom Lodge: Black politics in South Africa since 1945** (Ravan, Johannesburg, 1983), p 326.

S. Tribune 11/3/84

BOTHA SINCERE MAN SAYS KAUNDA

By Brendan Nicholson
Tribune Foreign Service

LUSAKA: South African Prime Minister P W Botha was a sincere man who had the power to set Namibia free, President Kenneth Kaunda said here yesterday.

The Zambian leader told a graduation ceremony of the Namibia Institute that he believed Mr Botha was a man "trying harder than any of his colleagues I have known to follow his honest mind in a sea of racial mines".

Security

"If he does not deliver Namibia it is not because the people of South Africa are holding him back," he said. "In this same manner it is entirely within his power to begin to talk to Swapo.

"No South African can seriously harm him or stop him from talking to Swapo in order to finish off the business of Namibia and strengthen the search of our region for collective security."

President Kaunda described South Africa as the chief midwife to the birth of Namibia.

At the graduation ceremony, 136 Namibian exile students received diplomas after completing secretarial, development studies and manpower courses designed to help them in a Namibian civil service after independence.

Nearly 5 000 such students have graduated since the Namibia Institute was opened under the auspices of the United Nations in 1976.

304 A

Botha

THE PUSH FOR PEACE: WHY BOTH SIDES BELIEVE THEY HOLD THE UPPERHAND

PAX-PRETORIANA OR PAX-AFRICANA?

Machel

By Colin Legum

LONDON: The sight of South Africa's Prime Minister P W Botha and Mozambique's President Samora Machel shaking hands, smiling at each other and signing a joint non-aggression and good-neighbourliness pact is so unlikely a spectacle that anybody who might have suggested it a year ago would, wrongly as it now turns out, have been written off as a political nut.

But this only proves the unpredictability of crisis politics, especially in the Third World.

Nor was it forseeable that South Africa would agree to enter into a ceasefire with Angola's Marxist regime, so long as 15 000 to 18 000 Cuban combat troops remain undisturbed on its territory.

Only a few months ago, with South Africa's military forces rampaging across their neighbour's borders engaged in the destabilising of the security and economies of their neighbours, a major source of concern was the possibility of the Soviet bloc contries and Cuba increasing their involvement in Southern Africa to repel these threats.

Now, Moscow has fallen silent — neither approving nor disapproving of the agreements that their two treaty states have entered into with Pretoria.

There are two possible views about the dramatic turnabout in Southern Africa, depending on whether the agreement to halt the dangerous level of violence and destabilisation in the region is seen as operating under a Pax-Pretoriana or a Pax-Africana: In other words whether the upper hand is held by South Africa or by its African neighbours, and which of them stands to benefit most from the "state of peace."

South Africa claims that forcing its two Marxist neighbours to end their active support for the armed liberation movements represents a solid triumph for its policies of toughness in hitting at its enemies, irrespective of any concern about the sanctity of borders.

It confidently asserts that its policies, helped by the deficiencies of the Marxist regime's own economic policies, have forced them to their knees; and that it is from a position of economic and military weakness that the Mozambique and Angolan leaders have "sued for peace."

Furthermore, Pretoria claims that the new treaties demonstrate the inability (or at least the lack of commitment) of the Communist states to live up to their promise of adequately defending and supporting their client states in Southern Africa.

With their borders sealed off against serious infiltration the Botha regime is more confident that external military pressures will be substantially, if not completely, reduced and that, as a consequence, the morale and influence of its principal externally based antagonists — the African National Congress and Swapo — will be crippled and demoralised.

Finally, the Botha regime is confident that only its military and economic power can guarantee the peace terms agreed upon.

Thus the view from the south is that the Botha regime has succeeded in imposing a Pax-Pretoriana on the region. From its vantage all the benefits lie on the side of the apartheid regime.

Strange as it may seem, this view is largely shared by the liberation movements and by the militant opponents of apartheid inside the Republic.

They see the ceasefire and the non-aggression agreements as seriously harming their struggle in the short-term, but even more they believe it will cause great damage to their cause by giving international respectability to the apartheid regime, as well as encouraging a belief in the invincibility of South Africa's military and economic strength.

Although both the ANC and Swapo leaderships have expressed their "sympathetic understanding" for the problems which have led to their host countries, Mozambique and Angola, to make terms with Pretoria, they do not disguise their concern about the setback this represents for their own struggle.

Similar views have been openly expressed by black opposition leaders inside South Africa.

A totally different interpretation of these dramatic agreements is offered by the Frelimo and the MPLA regimes.

Both claim that the initiative for the stand-off arrangements came from their side: reflecting not only their state interests but also their belief that confining the South African Defence Force behind their own borders will contribute to the downfall of the apartheid regime.

From the perspective of Maputo and Luanda the non-aggression pact was forced on South Africa by their own resolute resistance and because of the failures of Pretoria's military strategy.

Taking advantage of a period of peace both countries believe they will be able to strengthen their economies and armed forces and thus also contribute more positively to the liberation struggle against apartheid. In other words they see the agreements as Pax-Africana.

The idea of a Swapo regime in Windhoek remains anathema to Pretoria; but it is an outcome with which, if necessary, it can live in view of its latest experience in coming to terms with its two Marxist neighbours.

While a Swapo victory would be a marked setback for Pretoria, the Botha regime will not in fact have much to fear from a right-wing backlash since it will be able to exploit the fact that its policies have "drawn the Cubans out of Angola and weakened the Soviet presence there."

The position for the ANC is likely to be much more difficult than for Swapo. Once its armed cadres are forbidden from crossing Mozambique they will find themselves completely shut off from any physical point of entry into South Africa.

14/3/84 Hans and (504A) Q. 61. 624

Voters

469. Maj R SIVE asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

(a) What was the total number of (i) White, (ii) Coloured and (iii) Indian voters registered in terms of the relevant pro-

visions of the various electoral acts for each race group as at 31 December 1983 and (b) how many White, Coloured and Indian persons, respectively, qualified for being added to the voters' lists by the chief electoral officer in terms of section 4 of the Elections Amendment Act, No 104 of 1982, as at that date?

The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

(a) (i) 2 862 527.

(ii) 669 913.

(iii) 295 483.

(b) It is not possible to determine the number of voters who qualified for being added to the voters' lists at that date.

Pinetown: by-election

471 Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

(1) Whether any special votes cast outside the Pinetown constituency in respect of the by-election held there on 15 February 1984 arrived too late to be counted; if so, (a) how many votes and (b) from which towns or centres were these votes sent;

(2) whether these votes were sent by mail; if not, in what manner were they sent; if so, by what type of mail service?

The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

(a) 25.

(b) Upington, Phalaborwa, Springs, Brakpan, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and East London.

(2) Yes, by registered express mail.

Fear of intimidation at general elections

Star (S) 3/8/4 (304A)

By David Braun, Political Reporter

Representatives of Indian and coloured political parties have expressed fears of serious intimidation of voters during the general elections for the new Parliament this year.

At a seminar on the election, hosted by the Department of Internal Affairs in Pretoria yesterday, all parties taking part in the elections unanimously welcomed an announcement that steps would be taken by the authorities to prevent intimidation of voters.

Mr Salam Abrah-Mayet of the Labour Party told the seminar he hoped that security arrangements would be more efficient than those for the 1981 SA Indian Council elections.

"This time we are going to see intimidation on a massive scale, and I am asking for safety for the voters at all times," he said. "We would also like to have protection at political meetings."

Mr Charles Julies, leader of the Reformed Freedom Party, called on the authorities to make sure that political parties were also prevented from intimidating voters.

Mr Pat Poovalingham, leader of Solidarity, wanted official clarification of just when persuasion became intimidation.

Mr Pieter Marais of the People's Congress Party said that there was a serious problem with intimidation.

"People have promised a 'bloodbath' on election day, especially one specific group which I will not name publicly.

"People who do not want to vote have a democratic right not to vote. But for those of us who want to take part in the election, we have a right to vote and we welcome police action," he said.

RAM 16/3/84 (304A)

A mere face-lift — the internal struggle goes on

OPINION

A WEEKLY FEATURE PRESENTING A WIDE VARIETY OF VIEWS

LYBON TYANI MABASA
President of Azapo

THE so-called "non-aggression" pacts in vogue in Southern Africa cannot wipe off the legacy of the colonial domination and exploitation in the region.

Such pacts are definitely a setback to the cause of the oppressed of the world as the unfolding drama of Lebanon is amply demonstrating.

The victor in the contest of Southern Africa is the white racist and unrepresentative minority Pretoria regime and the cause of both imperialism and neo-imperialism.

The Komatipoort pact signing is not for the comfort and progress of our people in Southern Africa and Africa as a whole.

This regime has perfected its ignoble art of blood-sucking. In the wake of its destabilising strategy, it has left political observers confused.

This country has not introduced a new element in its pursuit of war in Southern Africa and thus to talk of South Africa's "peace initiative" is a gross distortion of the forces locked in a death struggle in the region.

This country's warlords have long perceived that economic blackmail and direct military invasion and aggression constitute their twin weapons.

Diplomatic political stunts only serve as a smokescreen to hide the real nature and development of the conflict.

The primary conflict in South Africa is that of land and all attempts to reduce the struggle to one for civil rights or anti-apartheid, can only buy time for those who wield power!

One black Azanian aptly stated this as follows: "The black man's struggle can never be won or lost outside the borders of the country."

The inevitable resolution of Southern Africa's dilemma shall come only on terms set by the black man.

The problem is internal and is that of the oppression and exploitation of millions of black people.

Whichever way one looks at it, this great mass of people are a deciding factor for the solution of this country's problems.

The sooner the white racist and unrepresentative minority regime and its functionaries realise that the struggle of the oppressed and exploited majority is waged and will continue being waged within the borders of this country and that the oppressed and exploited do not believe that the minority regime can in any way bring about meaningful change, the better it will be for Southern Africa and Africa as a whole.

This country's offensive coupled with its racist internal political machinations can be summed up as a time-buying device.

The work of the military, Security Police and intelligence networks, has not blunted or numbed black people's quest for true humanity in the country.

The amount of effort required from the oppressed and exploited to dismantle the imposed system grows by the day as Pretoria, in desperation, builds its own power bloc through pacts and the old strategy of divide-and-rule.

This has never, and shall never, be cause for despair and apathy.

While the white minority abrogates unto itself the position of influence and control, the onus for solidifying strength to abolish the status quo rests on the shoulders of black people and the vanguards of the national liberation struggle.

The clock seems to have turned full cycle among the Frontline States.

Dr Hastings Banda, Malawi's President and strongman, and a few unstable African leaders fell victims of South Africa's abortive detente exercise in the 70s.

Time, however, will tell how many this time will follow Banda to "dine with the devil as long as it will bring prosperity and gain to my people and country".

Maybe for Banda it was an opportunistic voluntary action.

The situation today is different, most Southern African states have been battered to submission through what is perceived to be the ultimate realisation of economic priorities and internal stability — and all the time Pretoria is calling the tune.

The recent happenings are indeed a setback to the liberation movement in general, but it must be pointed out that this will only help to accelerate the liberating efforts of those movements operating within the country.

It is indeed foolhardy of this country's present rulers to regard their problems as externally motivated and therefore needing an external solution.

We must, however, realise that the reasons which made South Africa anathema remain true as those we hold against Nazi Germany and its gas chambers.

We cannot, however, expect Africa to submit to South Africa's military, technological and economic advantage.

We must at all times be aware that the present regime cannot in the same breath be surrogates for efforts of change.

They are only capable of bringing about reform, which by and large, is aimed at perpetrating their class ideology and control.

Reform is not aimed at making the oppressed totally free but to make them unwilling partners of their own oppressors.

At best it teaches them to adapt to their situation of oppression, in keeping with the philosophy of making good out of a bad situation.

This is what this year's ethnic elections are all about.

It is with this in mind that black people are wary of all efforts by the unrepresentative government and the elite white capitalist class at reform.

The position of the white "left" is not much different from that of the white capitalist class which will go into several projects to help ease the plight and sufferings of black people while forgetting that they are in fact the direct cause of the sufferings.

Capitalists do not believe in giving for free and, therefore, whatever they give, they first count the gain.

The position of the white "left" is much the same — they want to be powers behind the throne.

Racist South Africa is strengthening its position by the day and by forcing Southern African states into dialogue with them, they are actually turning that which is illegal into the legal, trimming an abominable and unacceptable system into being acceptable and thus at the end of the day it looks like crime really pays.

On our side, and Azapo in particular, we feel that the days of this regime are numbered and that no political gimmick or economic blackmail can turn back the wand of time to cause redress to our grievances or even turn back the high tide of liberation which is surging forward.

To the regime it is sufficient to say that peace and prosperity will not come to these shores so long as millions of black people are still not free.

All efforts at peace done outside the borders of this country are futile.

In the end, there is a great need for black people in Africa to streamline their efforts and at all time be vigilant, not to compromise principles for immediate and transient gains.

Our struggle is indivisible and we are fighting for absolute and total liberation.

This vision and truth can never be defeated or even dulled by time.

out ANC

Machel and Botha sign Accord that outlaws all hostility

304A

RAM 17/3/84

-i Mozambique after the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

SOUTH AFRICA'S frontier with Mozambique was largely sealed against African National Congress insurgents and hostile ANC propaganda yesterday when the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and President Samora Machel of Mozambique signed a non-aggression pact on the banks of the Komati River.

The treaty gave the same protection to Mozambique against rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance, which Mozambique has alleged is supported by South Africa.

Signed in the sweltering lowveld heat, the 11-page treaty formally committed South Africa and Mozambique to settlement of their differences by peaceful means, including negotiation, mediation and arbitration, and to avoidance of the use of force.

The product of intensive joint discussions over the past two months, the treaty further bound both states to preventing and eliminating acts of aggression aimed at the other by "irregular forces or armed bands" based in their territory.

Known alternatively as the Nkomati Accord or "Agreement on Non-Aggression and Good Neighbourliness", the pact forbids the use of the territory of either state for "propaganda aimed at inciting acts of terrorism and civil war" in the other.

To that end the signatories agreed to "prohibit the installation in their territories of radio broadcasting stations" by forces hostile to either party.

The security pact, the first between South Africa and an internationally-recognised neighbouring state, provides for the establishment of a Joint Security Commission to supervise and monitor the agreement.

Witnessed by at least 1 500 guests from both countries and other states, and by as many as 350 local and foreign journalists, Mr Botha and President Machel cut contrasting figures as they put their signatures to the treaty.

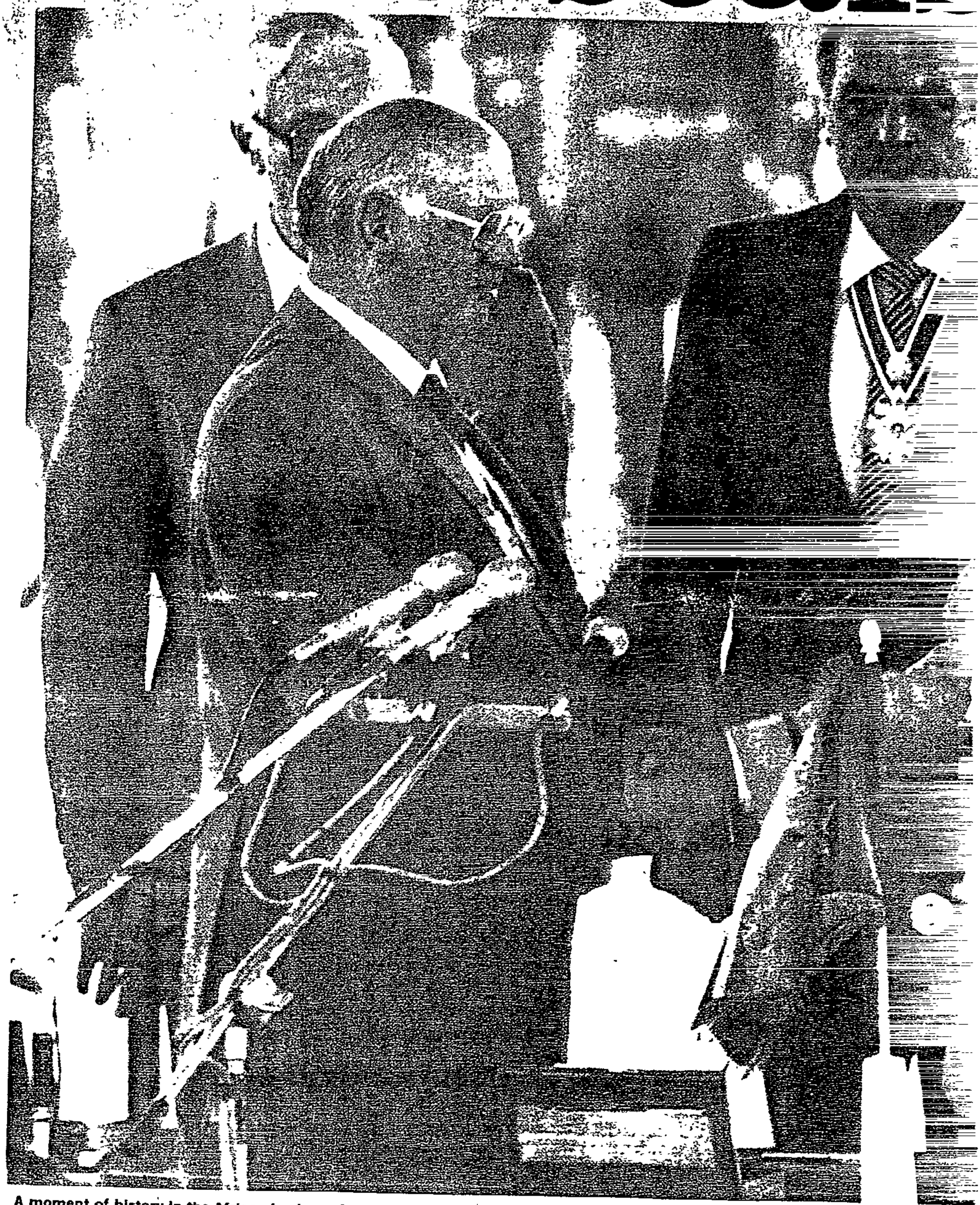
Mr Botha was dressed in a formal dark suit, while President Machel, 15 years or more younger, wore the uniform of a marshall of the Mozambique Defence Force. While Mr Botha stood with his hat held across his waist during the playing of the national anthems, President Machel froze in a military salute.

The guests included the heads of all diplomatic missions in South Africa.

According to Mozambique officials,

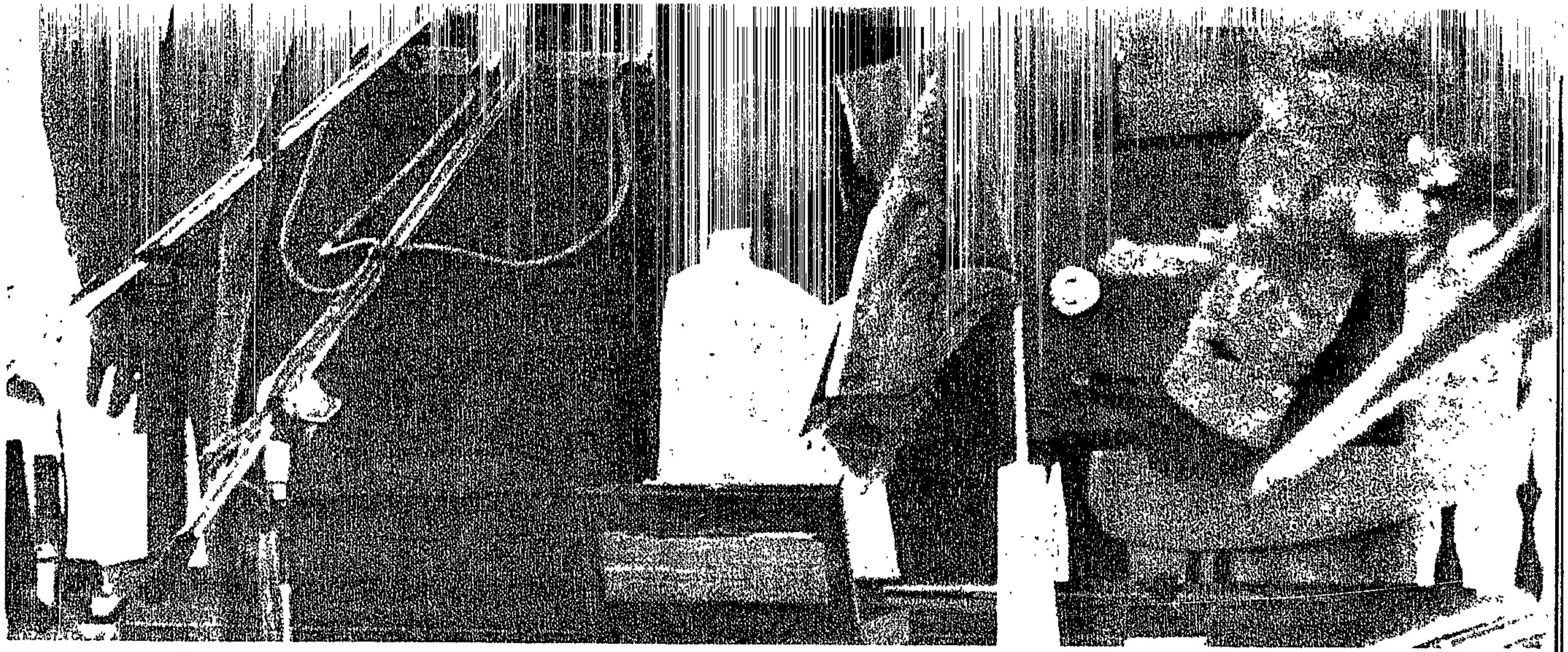
☐ To Page 2 →

Pact seals



A moment of history in the African bush . . . South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, shakes hands with President Machel of

By GEOFFREY ALLEN



A moment of history in the African bush ... South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, shakes hands with President Machel of Mozambique after the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

Accord amid the dust and heat

By GEOFFREY ALLEN

KOMATIPOORT. — It was a day of bizarre contradictions when Marxist President Samora Machel stood to attention beside South African Prime Minister Mr P W Botha.

The leader of the Popular People's Republic of Mozambique arrived in a stately aubergine Rolls-Royce which ironically — considering the abject poverty in his country — bore the number plate RPM, People's Republic of Mozambique.

Mr Botha arrived at what looked like Sun-City-by-the-river in a less popular vehicle and in a dark suit in contrast to President Machel's khaki uniform resplendent with gold aiguillettes.

The air was tense with dozens of security men and military personnel on guard — yet the tent city resembled nothing so much as the Royal enclosure at Henley regatta.

In four short days the South African Army has converted a hot, dusty place in the bush — which, a few weeks ago, was under water during the hurricane floods in no man's land between the South African and Mozambique border posts — into a splendid canvas imitation of a high technology five star hotel.

Up on the hill a temporary microwave tower linked the banks of Press phones directly to the Johannesburg exchange. Both premiers delivered their speeches through banks of loudspeakers which would have done a rock group proud. Telex operators and TV men flashed the event around the world. And the man from the Russian news agency Tass chattered happily to South African reporters.

In the stultifying heat — 30° according to the Pretoria Weather Bureau — the beer remained cold thanks to a vast refrigeration unit, a soldier fainted on parade, the telex machines jammed and as the day wore on, formality melted with several hundred VIP guests shedding suit jackets and using the elaborate programme to fan themselves.

Military men swigged bottles of beer. Nine tons of ice used to cool the food and drink melted.

It was the sort of heat into which only mad dogs and at least one Englishman, British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Ewen Ferguson, would venture.

He looked the epitome of a Thatcherite, but to the huge amusement of some he carried a large golf umbrella with the slogan "Wilson".

From the gleaming White Train coach where Mr Botha and President Machel met at 10am, a red carpet sprawled across the dust leading to the ornate wooden gazebo where they took special gold pens from special wood and velvet boxes to sign the accord.

A tent, with high canvas walls, was demarcated "Office of the Prime Minister", a place more usually located in the ornate Pretoria Union Buildings or Cape Town.

No-one has yet added up the cost of the day but with chartered Boeings and Air Force aircraft authoritive estimates are as high as R3-million.

On the parade ground where the signing took place Frelimo troops stood shoulder by shoulder with guards of honour from the South African Navy, Army and Air Force — well, not quite shoulder to shoulder; an SABC-TV camera separated them to ensure that the nation got the best possible view of the affair.

To the fanfare of trumpets Mr Botha and President Machel strode to the signing platform and were mobbed by photographers, who were driven back by security men.

Together they stood to attention, listening to their respective national anthems.

Behind the scenes, dozens of newsmen pounded typewriters, while in a row of soundproof commentary boxes the story went out live on radio to Mozambique and South Africa.

Then, abruptly, the troops marched away. The premiers went to lunch and suddenly it was all over as empty bottles littered the area.

And the wine, champagne and beer ran out.

for fraud

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Mr Jus- Blair had a position

of trust and his sentence should bring home to people that the courts would severely punish those who betrayed this trust.

Mr Justice Le Grange referred to evidence by Blair's wife, Dorothea, in which she said Blair had five dependents — herself, their three children and her disabled mother-in-law.

He said he knew a term of imprisonment would cause great hardship to these people, "but the court must guard against maudlin sympathy for the accused".

Even if all Blair's claims that he could repay R231 000 of the stolen money were warranted, Stannic would still be left with a deficit of nearly R500 000, he said.

The sentence was lighter than that he had thought appropriate, he said. "But I want to do everything in my power to permit the accused to rehabilitate himself by reuniting with his family as soon as possible," he said.

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Architect arrested

Crime Reporter

COMMERCIAL Branch detectives have arrested a young Johannesburg architect after investigating fraud and theft allegations involving a housing scheme for the aged in Graskop, Eastern Transvaal.

Colonel Nollie Hulme, Head of the Witwatersrand Commercial Branch, confirmed the man had been arrested on Thursday night.

Col Hulme is keen to contact purchasers of residential units in the retirement village who may have fallen victim to an alleged fraud which amassed over R40 000.

He said the arrested man was expected to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Monday.

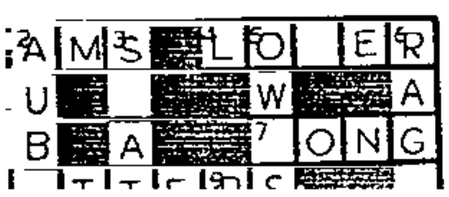
Col Hulme may be contacted at 836-8828.

...N BE WON

... No 734 — so the grand prize remains at ... the fabulous R14 600! NOTE: Post your ... No 734, PO Box 1485, Johannesburg 2000. ... box in the foyer of the Rand Daily Mail ... the city office of the Rand Daily Mail, 29 ...ets). All entries must be in by midnight on ... names will be published on Saturday ...kpot No 735 see Page 15.

MAIL Rand DAILY MAIL

DAY JACKPOT No 735



MAIL Rand DAILY MAIL

SA agrees not to give aid to Mozambique rebels

RDM X 17/3/84

From Page 1

all eight of Mozambique's fellow member states of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Council (Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland) were represented at the ceremony by their ambassadors in Maputo.

Messages of congratulation were sent to the signatories by President Ronald Reagan of the United States, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany.

President Reagan described the signing of the accord as a "historic decision". Mrs Thatcher labelled it a "step of great importance". Chancellor Kohl termed it a symbol of hope for all those who "stand against violence".

In his address, Mr Botha said: "Our action today in signing this treaty, the Accord of Nkomati, sets a new course in the history of Southern Africa."

Three key themes emerged during Mr Botha's speech. These are that:

- The pact is evidence that countries with differing socio-economic and political systems can live together in peace.
- The common Africaness of peoples in both states: "We are both African countries, inhabited by African peoples whose past and whose future are firmly entrenched in the southern part of the continent."
- The treaty is but the first step to "a new era of co-operation" and a sub-continental economic alliance for better prices on world markets.

In his speech President Machel described the pact as a bid to break the "cycle of violence" threatening the sub-continent and as a bid to escape the "burdensome legacies" of the past. He, too, recognised that South Africa and Mozambique were "linked by geography and proximity", whatever their political differences.

He ended with a powerful call for equality: "Today the struggle continues for equality, for democracy, for justice, so on our continent we should all be equal . . . A Luta Continua"

Earlier in the day Mr Botha and President Machel met for talks, which started when they stepped out of their respective limousines, shortly before 10am, on opposite sides of the stationary "peace train" and walked along the railway line, high above the the site of the signing of the agreement, for their first-ever meeting

President Machel stepped into a carriage on the Mozambican Railways, which adjoined the white dining room coach where the two leaders were to meet.

Meanwhile, Mr Botha with Mr Pik Botha, SA's Foreign Minister, at his side, entered the South African Railways' carriage on the SA side.

The two leaders then entered the white carriage from their respective ends for their historic meeting.

President Machel sat flanked by Foreign Minister, Major-General Joaquim Chissano, on his right, and his personal assistant, Lieutenant-Colonel Fernando Honwana, on his left

Across the table Mr Botha sat flanked by Mr Pik Botha, on his right, and an official translator on his left.

The guests on the main VIP stand included Major-General Marcelino dos Santos, Frelimo's number two man, who was flanked by the Portuguese Minister of State, Dr Almeida Santos, who represented his Prime Minister. Seating a row behind Mrs Elis Botha was the South African-born wife of Gen Dos Santos, Pamela, who fled South Africa in 1962.

In the stand, on the Mozambican side, were Ministers and other officials who participated in negotiations with South Africa on Cahora Bassa, railways, harbours and tourism, and diplomatic representatives accredited in Maputo and senior officials of the Mozambican defence force.

Among the guests invited by the Mozambican Government were the Archbishop of Maputo, Alexandre José Maria dos Santos, the Secretary-General of the Mozambican Christian Council, Abubakar Mussa Ismael.

Other guests included José Craveirinha, the wellknown Mozambican poet and president of the Mozambican Writers' Association, and Professor Aquino de Braganca, director of the Center for African Studies at the Eduardo Mondlane University.

Also present were three of the Mozambican president's sons as well as two large contingents of members of the Mozambican Women's Association (OAM) and of the Organisation of the Mozambican Youth (OJM).

Meanwhile, the Rand Daily Mail has learnt that the Mozambican Cabinet met on Wednesday afternoon to study and deliberate on the final "details" of the agreement.

It has also been learnt that, after dinner the same evening, President Machel discussed the next morning's event with some of his close advisers and confidants well into the night.

Celebrating with the juice of the marriage tree

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — An African marriage of a special kind took place yesterday when South Africa and Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord — the drinking of the last stocks of the sell-out new Amarula Wild Fruit liqueur.

The last 24 bottles of the appropriate indigenous liqueur manufactured from the fruit of the Marula — often called the "marriage tree" by African tribes — was whisked from a Stellenbosch cellar, up to Nkomati where the marula tree grows, and served after lunch, a spokesman for the liqueur's distillers said yesterday.

The last 24 bottles of the Amarula Wild Fruit liqueur had been handed over to the Department of Foreign Affairs earlier this week especially for the signing of yesterday's historic non-aggression pact.

"They were the last stocks which the distillers hurriedly gathered together after the liqueur had been sold out after its launch last year," he said.

'They're not friends'

MAPUTO. — Mozambique's official radio said President Samora Machel and South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, were not meeting as friends, but as realists.

Radio Mozambique, in an editorial broadcast before yesterday's morning news bulletins said Mr Botha and President Machel were "realistic leaders who have decided that a policy is needed that guarantees that neither country serve as a base for attacks on the other," the official news agency Aim reported. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mad dogs and *who* in the sun?

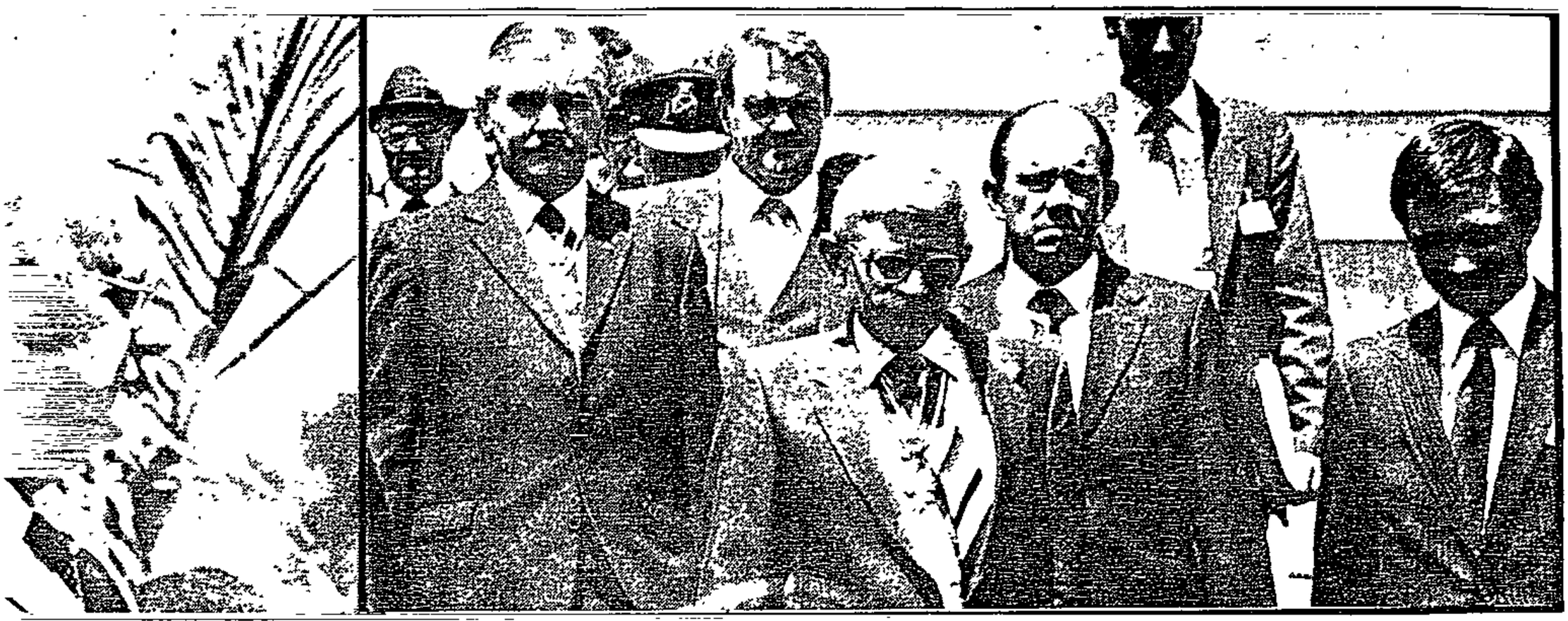
KOMATIPOORT. — Many dignitaries and soldiers will return home red-faced from the signing of the Nkomati peace-accord tonight — not because of embarrassment but from the fierce Lowveld sun.

Such was the heat in the bush where the occasion, brightly dressed Mozambican girls ululated, sang and danced while the ceremony was in progress.

The tree-covered hills surrounding the border spot provided a pleasant green backdrop.

After the ceremony, President Machel

GREAT START



signing of the Nkomati Accord were Ministers Louis le Grange, Louis Nel, Magnus Malan and Hendrik Schoeman and other Pretoria officials

DO WE ARRIVE?

andshakes and peace euphoria are fine. But the Nkomati will come to nothing without plenty of work by officials ides. Political Correspondent JEAN LE MAY reports

the pact are asking whe- is merely swopping one for another.

off the yoke of Portu- and having — in the — been subjected to the economic forfeits of the Soviet Union, is ask, becoming a client Africa by signing a pact involves not only non-ag- has economic impli-

don't sign non-aggres- your friends," remarked a the meeting in Cape between General Jacinto Economic Affairs President's office, and Minister of Foreign Af- Botha.

's whisper of probable dis- came even before lines had been attested, Bassa talks bogging Town this week over the of increased tariffs.

But in addition to baling out Cahora Bassa, it is likely that South Africa may act as broker in urgently-needed help for the Mozambique economy, which is in a disastrous state.

In 1980, for instance, Mozambique had a budget deficit of almost R100-million and an equivalent balance of payments problem.

Moreover, its per capita income in 1981 was only R280 — about one-tenth that of South Africa's R2 759.

And these figures applied before the calamitous combination of drought and flood recently. The economy can only have deteriorated.

Food is rationed in Maputo, with a basic 2kg of rice monthly for adults and occasional issues of dried beans, mealie meal, spaghetti and salt. Meat is virtually unobtainable and fish available to those who catch what the Russians have left.

Clothing, too, is expensive, with a man's sports shirt selling in Maputo at R36, a baby's T-shirt at R10 and a poor-quality pair of women's panties at R9. The average wage for a semi-skilled worker is only R36 a month.

On the principle that "if they don't eat, we don't sleep", there is talk of South African credits to help Mozambique's agricultural and manufacturing industries towards recovery, and to re-build infrastructures for the considerable tourist traffic (500 000 South African tourists used to visit Mozambique annually).

So much for the tangible benefits to Mozambique. Intangibly, the country may not be doing itself a favour by becoming too friendly with South Africa.

There is a hint of this in the long list of refusals which the South African government reportedly received to invitations to Friday's ceremonies — a virtual Who's Who of black Africa in general and of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference in particular.

The President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, said: "I think South Africa has bullied us all into signing pacts like that."

The African Press has been generally unenchanted about Nkomati, with a refrain that "the Boers can't be trusted".

What the African states, and the rest of the world, most dislike about South Africa is the policy of apartheid, and the Nkomati accord does nothing to diminish it.

So African perceptions of South Africa's *bona fides* are negative, however ill-founded this may seem to some South Africans.

Moreover, there has been a strong local reaction to Nkomati which is equally unfavourable.

It is headed by the Rev Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front and influential president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

"If the South African Prime Minister can sit down and make agreements with Mozambique, why can't he sit down and make agreements with the people of his own land?" he said in Laudium, Pretoria, this week.

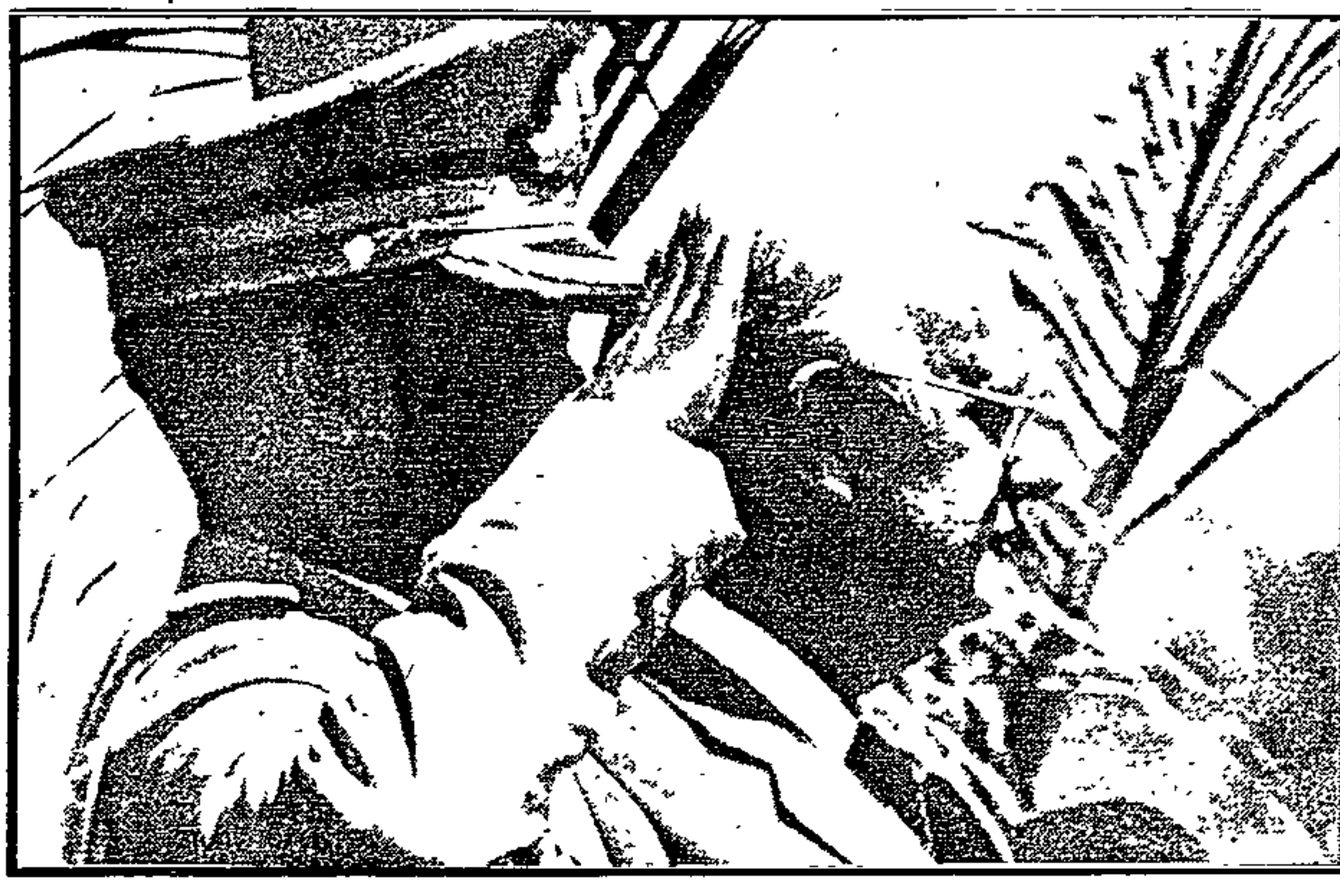
This view was echoed by Mr Lybon Mabasa, president of the black consciousness Azanian People's Organisation, who said: "It is indeed foolhardy for this country's rulers to regard their problems as externally motivated and therefore needing an external solution."

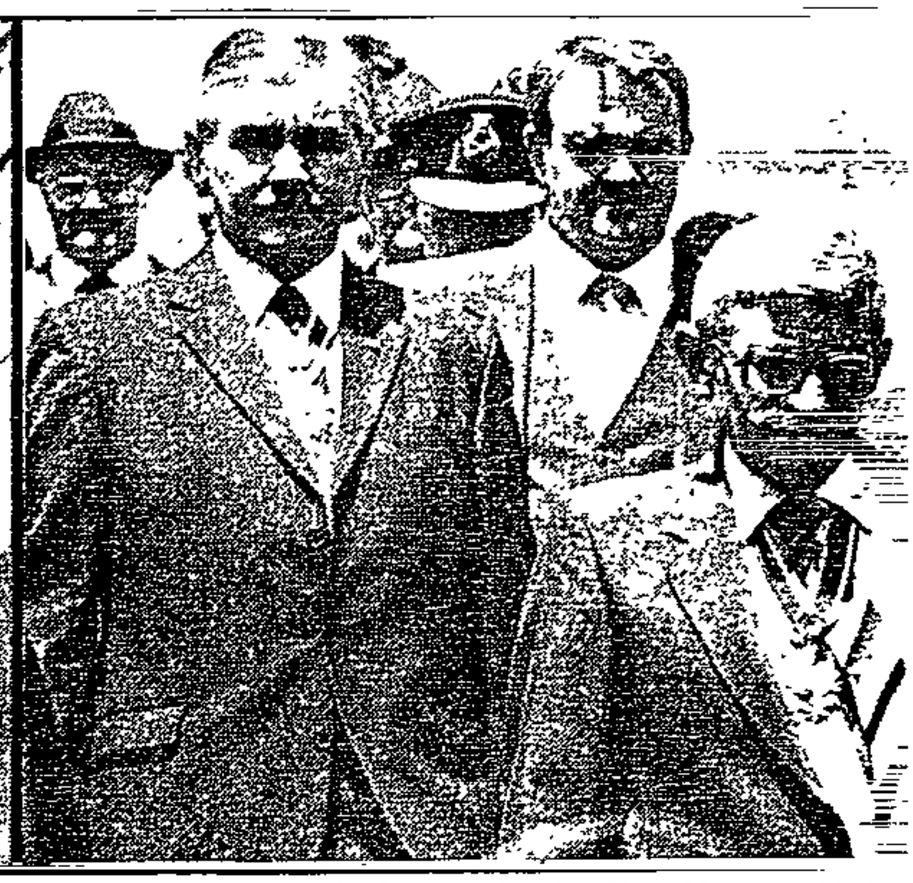
The churchman, the ambassador, the politician and the African heads of state who were not at Nkomati on Friday had this message: that one road, and only one, leads from the crossroads of Nkomati to a real South African peace.

Dr Boesak summed up the issue by saying no matter how many deals were made with Mozambique, the final deal must still be with black South Africans.

(304A)

IT'S A GREAT S





● Signatories Samora Machel and P W Botha. Also at the signing of the Nkomati Accord were Ministers Louis le Grange, Louis Nel, Magnus

WHEN DO WE A:

Smiles, handshakes and peace euphoria are fine. But the Nkomati agreement will come to nothing without plenty of work by officials on both sides. Political Correspondent JEAN LE MAY reports

THE Nkomati Accord has been hailed by many as the arrival at the summit after a long, hard slog towards friendship with black Africa.

But warnings are already being voiced about too much euphoria, notably by United States Ambassador Mr Herman Nickel, who said this week that although recent developments had been "dazzling", they were only the first steps on a new road to peace.

So Nkomati is, perhaps, better seen as a crossroads.

There are, indeed, grounds for seeing it as a partial return, on the part of Mozambique, to its historic position as the crossroads in Africa between expansionists of East and West, with the Marxist-inclined among the frontline states representing the East and South Africa giving all the appearances of assuming the colonial mantle of those who opened up Africa for the West.

And here lies the danger, for the opening up of Africa meant skimming its profitability for the benefit of the openers.

With its long history of colonial exploitation — and the Portuguese had a record of draining their colonies dry — it is understandable if Marxist Mozambique is nervous about joining hands with even a capitalist mini-power such as South Africa.

So critics of the pact are asking whether Mozambique is merely swopping one form of colonialism for another.

Having thrown off the yoke of Portuguese imperialism and having — in the past 10 years — been subjected to the equally demanding economic forfeits of friendship with the Soviet Union, is Mozambique, they ask, becoming a client state of South Africa by signing a pact with it which involves not only non-aggression, but which has economic implications?

"After all, you don't sign non-aggression pacts with your friends," remarked a Mozambican during the meeting in Cape Town last week between General Jacinto Veloso, Mozambique's Economic Affairs Minister in the President's office, and South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

The first bat's whisper of probable dissent in the honeymoon came even before the marriage lines had been attested, with the Cahora Bassa talks bogging down in Cape Town this week over the vexed question of increased tariffs.

But in addition to baling out Cahora Bassa, it is likely that South Africa may act as broker in urgently-needed help for the Mozambique economy, which is in a disastrous state.

In 1980, for instance, Mozambique had a budget deficit of almost R100-million and an equivalent balance of payments problem.

Moreover, its per capita income in 1981 was only R280 — about one-tenth that of South Africa's R2 759.

And these figures applied before the calamitous combination of drought and flood recently. The economy can only have deteriorated.

Food is rationed in Maputo, with a basic 2kg of rice monthly for adults and occasional issues of dried beans, mealie meal, spaghetti and salt. Meat is virtually unobtainable and fish available to those who catch what the Russians have left.

Clothing, too, is expensive, with a man's sports shirt selling in Maputo at R36, a baby's T-shirt at R10 and a poor-quality pair of women's panties at R9. The average wage for a semi-skilled worker is only R36 a month.

On the principle that "if we don't sleep", there is African credits to help agricultural and manufacturing industries towards recovery, infrastructures for the tourist traffic (500 000 South used to visit Mozambique

So much for the Mozambique. Intangibly, may not be doing itself coming too friendly with

There is a hint of this refusals which the South ment reportedly received to Friday's ceremonies — Who of black Africa in Southern African Development Coordinating Conference in

The President of Botswana, Masire, said: "I think S bullied us all into signing

The African Press has unenchanted about Nkomati frain that "the Boers

What the African state the world, most Africa is the policy of

Would US have dealt with Nazis? asks Tutu

Star 19/3/84

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Would the United States have had constructive engagement with Nazi Germany, and would it have collaborated with the Stalin regime in its internal policies?

These questions were asked yesterday by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, in an article in the Washington Post.

"Thank God I am black," he said. "White people will have a lot to answer for at the last judgment."

Bishop Tutu said the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, must be given credit for the "enormous courage" he showed in calling the constitutional referendum.

He had taken a great risk and pulled it off, but sadly stopped short of what would have solved South Africa's problems by excluding blacks from any part "in the new ball game".

The bishop contrasted the "euphoria" in the West over the new constitutional arrangement with the eviction of the people of Mogopa village.

Where is the reform, he asked, when blacks were forced to live in resettlement camps with little food or job opportunities; when black family life was being "deliberately destroyed" by Government policy; when blacks had to carry passes like the Jews in Nazi Germany; when blacks were detained without trial, died mysteriously in detention and were banned?

Bishop Tutu said that until apartheid was destroyed he would always recall a small girl living with her sister and widowed mother in a settlement camp who told him they "borrowed" food from others in the camp, and when they could not borrow food, they drank water to fill their stomachs.

"This in a land that is a net exporter of food," said.

UF has new skipper, but maintains same course

304A

Star 21/3/84

By Anthony Duigan

Dr Robin Lee

The Urban Foundation — launched seven years ago as the private sector's thrust for reform — is changing horses but not courses. Dr Robin Lee, the original backroom boy of the UF who has held various management positions in the organisation, will take over as managing director next month.

Mr Jan Steyn, the former judge who as executive director established the foundation as a key reform lobbyist in private and public sector corridors, will become chief executive charged with its overall leadership.

In his new position, Dr Lee assumes full responsibility for the national management of all the foundation's activities. Interviewed yesterday, he spoke of his priorities and the achievements of the UF.

Projects to upgrade black, coloured and Indian housing, education and full entry into the economy will remain the priorities, he said.

Using the international experience of the World Bank the foundation has put together its own three-phase base for tackling projects, he said.

This covers the "innovation phase" when the problem is identified, studied and a pilot project is set up to measure what is needed.

An example of this was in the field of self-help housing, a particular success of the foundation, where a new approach was worked out in the small, low-income black township of Carletonville, Khutsong.

Once the approach to the problem had been worked out, the second phase of the project — "diffusion" — followed, involving a self-help housing scheme among higher income people in a much area.

"The final phase would be replication — people repeating projects as a result of the success of the first two phases. This would have an effect on the problem on a scale the foundation could never hope to finance."

The foundation is already involved in setting up six new self-help housing companies (non-profit Section 21 companies) throughout the country on the basis of this project approach.

RETIREMENT

ARGUS 23/3/84

304A

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Mr Schlebusch ... today's picture.

language, and cultural differences, reach consensus on important matters. Reports of high merit have been produced."

Mr Schlebusch said he saw everything in terms of evolution.

This was why he was extremely sorry that the idea of a separate black council had not been accepted by black leaders in 1980.

Evolution

"By this I do not want to say that this would necessarily have led to black representation on the PC, but my experience of evolutiuon showed me that growth and increasing sophistication of thought brings further growth. Nobody could then, or now, predict where this would have led to."

As the question of black political rights are the subject of an inquiry by a Cabinet committee Mr Schlebusch said he preferred not to elaborate on his views of this.

Referring to the new PC which will come about in September and on which political parties will be able to nominate members in addition to Government nominees, he said the Government probably did not have a choice but to move away from the present depoliticised body.

He warned, however, that if members with considerable expertise were not appointed, the workings of the new PC could be hampered and the new body could then possibly sacrifice some prestige.

The new constitutional system Mr Schlebusch describes as a "grand effort which can succeed if the population groups which initially started it would seek consensus instead of conflict.

"If, however, there are elements who immediately want to bring in conflict there will immediatley be problems in the new system."

Among other things Mr Schlebusch can be called the father of the present, more realistic, and more open censorship system.

He said that when he became Minister of the Interior in the seventies he realised that growing estrangement between the Government and moderate writers could not continue.

In this post he was also prepared to act, as he describes it, "pragmatically" in the case of marriages between whites and especially sophisticated Asians.

Although he does not want to say anything on his attitude to the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the sex-across-the-colour-bar clause of the Immorality Act, Mr Schlebusch seems to have the gravest misgivings about these laws.

Law reform

As Minister of Justice he was also known for inquiries into law reform, including security legislation.

But he first became known as chairman of the controversial Schlebusch Commission into certain organisations, including Nusas and the Christian Institute, which eventually led to the banning of some students leaders and of the institute.

Mr Schlebusch acknowledges that his chairmanship of this committee has been described as the one blot on his political career, but he feels strongly that such an investigation was necessary at that time.

He was no longer chairman by the time the Christian Institute was banned.

He defends the reports that the committee brought out under him as balanced, and points out that under his leadership the committee did not recommend that Nusas should be banned.

The inquiry, he said, had also brought about greater unity of thinking on security matters among English and Afrikaans-speaking and had served as a catalyst for bringing opposition and Government elements closer together.

When he steps down in September, Mr Schlebusch will retire to one of his farms near Welkom in the Free State.

METROPOLITAN

)urbanville housing plan

of the newly formed Durbanville Residents' Action Committee last night, councillors agreed to support the white ratepayers' objection and to ask the Department of Community Development

tial area at Fisantekraal, outside Durbanville.

During the two-hour meeting the committee presented a 537-signature petition against the extension of the township, Morning Star, and a

Fears mount over baby

Staff Reporter

FEARS are mounting about the health of the three-month-old baby taken from a Plumstead convalescent home more than two weeks ago.

Franklin Saaymans, allegedly taken

The real mother, Miss Rachel Saaymans of Albertinia, said she suspected someone known to her had abducted Franklin.

She alleged that the woman told nurses she had missed the train back home to Dekriet siding, Albertinia, and planned to spend the night with friends

RETIREMENT

ARGUS 23/3/

'Political standards lowered by bitterne

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

MR ALWYN Schlebusch, the Vice State President, who has announced his retirement from politics, today warned against the way in which political standards had dropped in the past few years.

In an interview following his announcement he said that embitterment was inclined to lower political standards.

He said that in the white political ranks, where the problem of bitterness was causing a lowering in standards, everything possible would have to be done to bring about greater sophistication.

"It will be tragic and ironic if the white leadership element in government succeeds in bringing about pleasant co-operation between white and coloured while bitterness rages on in the white ranks."

Clashes

Mr Schlebusch chose his words carefully and did not specifically refer to any political party, but he clearly had in mind the clashes between the National Party and the Conservative Party since the breakaway of two years ago.

He conceded that leaving active politics in 1980, where he had occupied influential positions, among others as Minister of the Interior and of Justice, had been a sacrifice.

On the other hand his position as Vice State President and chairman of the President's Council had been a challenge which had given him great satisfaction.

He strongly defended the work done by the President's Council and how the consensus idea between people of different race groups had developed.

"This body had to be structured from the ground up," he said.

Limited scale

"Among other things it was the first advisory body which was, on a limited scale, multi-racial.

"The members also showed that, although they had been appointed by the executive, they were not simply puppets of the Government.

"The greatest acchievement of the PC was that it showed South Africa and the world that sophisticated people could, in spite of colour,

Mr Schlebusch ... today's picture.

language, and cultural differences, reach consensus on important matters. Reports of high merit have been produced."

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METROPOLITAN

Anger over Durbanville housing plan

Tygerberg Bureau

ANGRY Durbanville ratepayers say Government policy forcing the town council to extend a small coloured township in the town centre will cause chronic overcrowd

of the newly formed Durbanville Residents' Action Committee last night, councillors agreed to support the white ratepayers' objection and to ask the Department of Community Development

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PC denial on opening CBDs

CAPE TIMES 24/3/84 30RA

Staff Reporter

THE chairman of the economics committee of the President's Council, Mr Braam Raubenheimer, has denied that the committee recommended that blacks be given property rights in central business districts.

Controversy over the interpretation of some of the recommendations contained in the committee's report on the free market system arose when a member of the council, Mr Fanie Herman, objected to certain paragraphs on the grounds that they encouraged the flooding of white areas by blacks.

Mr Raubenheimer said Mr Herman had misunderstood the recommendations, and that the committee had sought only to have restrictions lifted on the occupation, as opposed to the ownership, of certain CBD areas by blacks.

In his closing speech at the end of the three-day plenary session, Mr Raubenheimer said the committee had recommended that blacks be included in provisions made in the Group Areas Act for section 19 areas where members of other race groups were entitled to occupy business premises.

He said, however, that he personally would welcome the granting of property ownership rights to coloureds and Asians in CBD's, but not to blacks.

The committee's report was accepted unanimously by the council.

After the meeting, an Indian community leader and council member, Mr Salam Abram-Mayet, expressed his disappointment that the committee had not recommended the lifting of ownership restrictions on other race groups in CBDs.

Describing CBDs as "common property", Mr Abram-Mayet said that if all groups were to be able to participate equally in the economic system, they should all be given equal rights in the central trading areas.

The recommendations of the President's Council will be considered by the parliamentary select committee which is currently considering the Strydom Committee's report.

The last session of the council in its present form will begin on May 22.

Steps for 'timely change'

Cape Times 26/3/84

304A

Staff Reporter

DR WILLEM DE KLERK, editor of the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport, yesterday suggested the formation of a consultative body representing the authorities and black leaders as one of the steps needed to ensure timely change in South Africa.

In his weekly column Kortom, Dr De Klerk said it was very clear that South Africa's internal political policy remained "the great stumbling-block for resolution of conflict in the sub-continent".

"We win battles, but we have not yet won the war by a long way," he said.

Major decisions had to be made before peace was achieved, said Dr De Klerk.

"By major decisions I mean internal political decisions on the place of black people in the South African state."

Discrimination

Another suggestion he made was that the authorities should draw up a carefully-formulated declaration of intent which would win the country the time needed to ensure change in South Africa which was not too hasty.

Dr De Klerk said the present state of affairs could not be the final solution. Discrimination was not yet sufficiently broken down, the question of citizenship had to be answered and the symbolic offensiveness of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act could not be ignored.

The Group Areas Act had been worn away, but the law still had to be looked at and rewritten after negotiation so that group rights were protected without infringing on the right to free association.

It had to be realized that a political solution was the core issue in South Africa, Dr De Klerk said. The country could not afford to wait for such a solution until priorities such as education, housing and job provision were accommodated.

Dr De Klerk said if change occured too fast, the risk was that chaos would result, leading to conflict. The effort would be in vain.

Change that was too slow risked creating a nurturing ground for greater radicalism, which would be fed by greater suspicion, dashed expectations, frustration and rage.

'Departure' from NP policy sees mixed platform-sharing

304A Star 28/3/84

By Eugene Saldanha

In what has been described as a significant departure from National Party policy, a Cabinet Minister, together with the leader of the Indian Reformed Party and a member of the President's Council, recently shared a platform at an NP youth congress.

Mr Barend du Plessis, Minister of Education and Training, Mr Pat Poovalingam, of the Indian Solidarity Party, and Mr Chris April, a coloured member of the President's Council, addressed the West Rand NP youth wing's congress last weekend.

A spokesman for the National Party's youth wing in the Transvaal confirmed this was the first time a coloured person and an Indian had addressed a National Party youth congress.

Mr April said he used the opportunity to call for a "genuine and sincere change of attitude among all South Africans.

"We need to talk to each other and to get to know one another better to avoid polarisation".

In his address to the congress, Mr Poovalingam said it was essential for the Indian community to realise there was a change of heart among Afrikaners and to make Indian people aware of the good the Government had done in providing housing, education and job opportunities.

"Indian people see a hand being held out and they would like to believe that it is a true hand of friendship. If the Prime Minister can incur the wrath of his right wing, then I can face the taunts of the left wing among my own people," he said.

He said the Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Krog, "has done more for my people in education and the building of schools in 15 years than has been done in the last 100 years.

"Some say Mr Krog is a member of the Broederbond. If so, give me a few more Broederbonders like him," Mr Poovalingam said.

He told the congress that the early English had practised "deceit and treachery" towards the Indian immigrants of South Africa. The Afrikaner regime had later perpetrated "theft and legalised robbery" against the Indians.

Mr Poovalingam also attacked the Groups Areas Act, which he said had forced more than 330 000 Indian people to leave their homes.

POLITICS IN TRANSITION

ARGUS 28/3/84 (304A)

Reform: time is not on South Africa's side

In this, the final of four fortnightly articles, Robert A Schrire, Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, says:

WHITES are bored with prophets of doom who repeatedly proclaim that time has run out for South Africa. For the good life continues with only marginal interruptions. However, we may be in danger of making the same error as those who ignored the boy's cries when the wolf really did appear.

If the ruling National Party could control South Africa's destiny, one could confidently anticipate the continuation of a white-ruled state in which most of the peripheral racially discriminatory practices were eliminated. The future would not be too different from the present. But governments, as the history of revolutions and regime breakdowns makes clear, have only a limited ability to control all the forces created by a dynamic industrial society.

In the unfolding story of South Africa's future, the following uncontrollable factors will be of particular importance:

- A black population that is growing at a phenomenal rate. This is creating a major problem of job creation, housing and the provision of welfare services. At a minimum, a large proportion of this increase will have to be accommodated in the so-called "white" areas where the engines of economic growth are located;
- As a result of the growing sophistication of the economy and the needs for a literate and technologically sophisticated work force, the black population is becoming increasingly well-educated and important segments are becoming prosperous. While the poor and semi-literate rarely pose a political threat to the status quo, those who are educated and have at least some economic stake are likely to challenge increasingly a system that denies them full rights;
- Black bargaining power is increasing and the potential for further growth is considerable. The economic advance of blacks both as consumers and as producers does not automatically translate itself into political power. What it does do, however, is increase the resource base of a potential black political movement;
- The pressures from the global community are likely to increase if significant reforms are not forthcoming. The present favourable international and regional position in which South Africa finds itself is the fortuitous result of the convergence of several factors such as the advent of conservative governments in America, Britain and Germany, reactions to the failure of the earlier and extravagant anti-South African campaigns, drought and economic weakness in the black states of Southern African, and a Soviet Union marking time in the midst of a lengthy succession crisis. However, the basic trend of international hostility to apartheid has not been reversed but has only been temporarily halted.

Professor Schrire

Weak foundations

The present euphoria in white South Africa is thus based upon weak foundations. All of the factors discussed above — black population growth, political awareness and discontent, growing black bargaining power and international pressures — are basically antagonistic towards white rule and will constitute growing pressures for change in the future.

The government would therefore be well advised to use its current position of strength to introduce substantial reforms. Either the favourable conditions for peaceful change which now exist will be grasped to the full or change will be forced upon a reluctant government under future conditions which may not be so favourable to orderly and evolutionary change.

POLITICS IN TRANSITION

ARGUS 4/4/84 (300 W)

The balancing act needed for reform

In this, the last of four fortnightly articles, Willie Esterhuyse, Professor of Political Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, says:

ONE of the tragic features of South Africa's political history is the way in which the idea of ethnicity had been exploited for ideological purposes.

Not surprisingly the idea of ethnicity became associated with discriminatory practices and a government ploy to exclude South Africans other than white from the real corridors of power. And with good reason.

This fact explains why the idea of a non-racial unitary state finds such strong support among dominated groups. As such, it highlights one of the many problems a reformer has to face, namely the conflicting perceptions on the nature of the South African society.

Obviously one's perception of the nature of the South African society will have a bearing on one's general goals for reform. If one perceives South Africa as a society only of individuals, one will be inclined to emphasise individual rights, striving for a polity giving expression to universalised individual rights regardless of race or colour.

If one is of the opinion that South Africa consists only of divorced communities, one will give priority to the claims of groups and a polity strictly structured in accordance with this priority. Insofar as individual rights are recognised it will be argued that these rights should only be excercised within the context of specificed communities. Generally speaking, the latter position is reflected by government policy.

As I see it the process of reform should revolve around the issue of an institutionalised equilibrium between the rights of individuals and the claims of communities. This view assumes a plural society comprising communities with legitimate rights and claims.

The challenge facing South Africa is to develop institutions that will give expression to individual and community rights. And present institutions, including the envisaged constitutional dispensation, are a far cry from this goal.

Admittedly, an institutionalised equilibrium between the rights of individuals and the claims of communities is not one of the easiest goals a reformer can try to realise. In South Africa it is furthermore complicated by the structures of apartheid, a web of discriminatory measures, ideological commitments and polarised positions.

Such an endeavour implies the following:

- Devolution of power;
- Relative consensus on what should be regarded as common interests and community claims;
- Optional community oriented institutions based on a large measure of freedom of choice for individuals and communities as far as association is concerned;
- Legitimate common institutions to facilitate joint decision-making;
- Voluntary identification of individuals with a specific community;
- Equality in treatment and of opportunities;
- Strong support within communities for their leadership and a high level of trust between the leaderships of different communities.

These considerations rest on something that is of vital importance, namely the absence of coercive action by those presently in power. Political institutions should not be unilaterally imposed on politically deprived groups or individuals and negotiation should truly become the name of the reform game.

Serious obstacles inhibit the development of a process of reform in this direction. Other factors give reason for qualified optimism. These include:

- The growing realization that the prevailing minority-dominated system in South Africa will become increasingly difficult to maintain;
- Adaptations necessitated by economic realities;
- Acceptance of the fact that the reality of geographically dispersed ethnic and other groups, as well as urbanisation, has put Verwoerdian ideals in jeopardy;
- The fact that the "homelands" did not fulfil their magnet function as was prophecied some years ago;
- The envisaged new constitutional dispensation which will inevitably undermine traditional ideology;
- The new political style emerging in South Africa's dealings with its neighbours.

These factors could well pave the way to a negotiated agreement on a workable democratic formula giving expression to the undeniable group basis of our politics. To improve the political climate for such an endeavour coercive actions, like forced removals and resettlements, should immediately come to an end. Vital to the success of a reform exercise is to steer clear of strategies, techniques, actions and rethoric reminding dominated groups of a past we want to rid ourselves of.

Registration of voters extended

Cape Times 4/4/86

304A

Political Staff

REGISTRATION of voters for the coloured and Indian elections scheduled for August 22 has been extended from April 30 to May 31.

This was announced yesterday by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk.

The minister said his department had received representations from the Labour Party, the chairman of the South African Indian Council and the executive of Solidarity to have the deadline for voter-registration extended.

He said press reports indicated that other interested parties also supported the extension and "no formal representations or any other indications have been submitted to indicate any disapproval of such an extension".

Mr De Klerk added that an indication of the dates for the proclamation of the elections and nomination day would be announced in due course.

'Sudden impetus'

The announcement has been welcomed by the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, as recently there had been "a sudden impetus in interest".

There were administrative problems, he said, and the extended deadline would give the parties a better opportunity to register voters, particularly in the light of the fact that the delimitation would be conducted on the basis of the population register.

The more voters registered, the higher the percentage poll would be, he added.

The chairman of the South African Indian Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi said it was "very good news" and would give more people the opportunity to register.

He added that he expected registration "to hot up" fairly soon.

The leader of the People's Congress Party, Mr Peter Marais, said the date was "much better", but added that it would be far better if the election were postponed for a further 12 months.

There was considerable ignorance among the people, he said, particularly among the poorer sections of the community, and far more time was needed to inform them about the new constitution.

The head of Solidarity, Mr Pat Poovalingham, was not available for comment last night.

R770m 'wasted' on apartheid

Cape Times 5/4/89 (304A)

Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The government planned to waste nearly R770 million on apartheid this year, Dr Alex Boraine (PFP Pinelands) said last night.

He said during the second reading debate on the budget that this showed how far short the budget fell as an instrument of reform.

Apartheid expenditure exceeded the budgets for 10 departments.

"What a transformation there would be in South Africa if the planning of the budget had been undertaken with genuine reform as a number one priority.

"But, tragically, ideology has once again been a determining factor."

Dr Boraine's list of "wasted expenditure" on apartheid included regulating black labour and presence in white areas (R96,6-million), developing black areas towards self-determination (R414,6-million), black citizenship certificates and identity documents (R6,7-million), population registration (R7,8-million), group areas demarcation and administration (R10,3-million) and industrial decentralization (R232,2-million).

He said abandoning the apartheid ideology would transform the administration of areas like education. This was at present divided 18 ways between four divisions in government departments, four provincial administrations and 10 homeland governments.

Health was administered separately for four race groups under three government departments and the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, had promised four budgets in the new Parliament next year.

Dr Boraine said he had no doubt, however, that the single Minister of Finance would be white, keeping final financial power in white hands.

Business

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Resumption of second reading debate on the budget. — Sapa

'What about it, son ? They're looking for people to parachute behind the enemy lines and scare the hell out of them.'

B J VORSTER . . . DECISION MAKING UNCONTROLLED

W/E ARGUS 7/4/84

304A

P W BOTHA . . . A FAR TOUGHER MANAGER

A different stamp of government !

MR JOHN VORSTER acted as chairman of the board, delegating considerable autonomy to his Ministers. His approach was to allow departments to make their own decisions in matters viewed as departmental.

In areas of major crisis, when high policy was involved, his approach was informal and ad hoc.

A number of factors have ensured continuity between the Vorster and Botha governments. But, says Professor Robert Schrire, there are also personality differences between the two leaders, as well as differences of style, which could in time have an important impact. In this article, based on extracts from his inaugural lecture as Professor of Political Studies at UCT, the most important differences are listed and analysed.

He would create a plethora of Cabinet committees — whose membership was kept secret from the general public and, indeed, from the bureaucracy itself — to explore certain issues. Or he would prefer to deal directly with a handful of Ministers and make decisions of national import in these informal groupings.

This had important implications. One was serious in-built competition between departments because departmental autonomy meant there would be competition for resources, power, and authority to deal with particular issues.

The mechanism for resolving these conflicts was the direct participation either by the Treasury or by the Prime Minister, or both.

There was continual jockeying for personal influence with Mr Vorster, resulting in increased rivalry between Ministers.

Info scandal

Furthermore, frequently decisions were made that were ill-advised. In several cases a matter had to be brought back to the Cabinet for a reversal of a particularly ill-advised policy.

It was a rather uncontrolled decision-making and implementation system. There was no coherent mechanism for the implementation of policy.

A study of Mr Vorster's style would indicate why the Information scandal, if not inevitable, was a predictable consequence of this type of decision-making system.

It was a closed system in which few outside interests were given access to policy-making. It was characterised by a high degree of secrecy and by an ad hoc approach in terms of which the Prime Minister played a veto role when he selectively intervened in public policy.

Mr P W Botha's management system can be regarded as a reaction to the untidyness, as he would have seen it, of the Vorster system. In that sense Mr Botha has been a tougher manager than his predecessor in terms of staff and decision-making systems.

For example, in his 1980 Cabinet reshuffle Mr Botha dropped five ministers and brought outsiders into the Cabinet.

Mr Vorster had for long resisted advice to bring outsiders into the Cabinet. He believed that this would upset the party. It would also mean that people who had served loyally would not get their just reward.

In this sense Mr Botha has been far less tolerant of incompetence than his predecessor.

Mr Botha believed government had become so large and complex that it required more sophisticated and more highly structured institutions.

He formed an Office of the Prime Minister with staff with formal roles. He restructured the Cabinet to create a handful of super-Cabinet committees of which the State Security Council with its secretariat was the most important. And he created new mechanisms for the control and rationalisation of the public service.

Paradoxically, in terms of policy style he introduced a far more open decision-making system. He has been increasingly using commissions and even Parliament to formulate policies in important areas.

Monopoly

While Mr Vorster, for instance, tended to use commissions as a delaying tactic to avoid taking decisions in controversial and difficult areas, Mr Botha has used commissions to provide him with knowledge, planning and expertise which he has in general taken seriously.

For example, the De Lange Commission, though many of its most important findings were rejected, nonetheless was a serious attempt to reform education.

The difference also applies to constitution-making. Mr Vorster decreed that constitutional affairs be the monopoly of the Cabinet and the party. Mr Botha broadened the scope through the President's Council and the Schlebusch Commission.

Even in the vital area of black affairs the Heunis Constitutional Committee has broadened its base and, in fact, has been dealing with this in a relatively open way.

The most important differences can perhaps be summarised as follows:

- Mr Vorster was essentially a party man whose foundations of political power lay in his personal hold on party loyalties.

Mr Botha, although he dominates South African politics every bit as much as Mr Vorster in his hey-day, is not revered within the party, and the foundation of his political power lies in the new structures and decision-making systems that he has instituted within the state.

- Mr Vorster was determined to keep off the political agenda issues which he felt were controversial and divisive.

Mr Botha tends to have a greater sense of urgency about problems and tends, therefore, to place them on the open agenda for debate and discussion.

Public scrutiny

- Mr Vorster's system was a veto system in which policy was handled within the secrecy of a handful of confidants and powerful ministers.

Mr Botha's system is more formalised and in fact more open to public scrutiny.

The final paradox, perhaps, is that the Vorster system delivered more than it promised when viewed in terms of its own basic rhetoric and public agenda.

The Botha system has perhaps promised more than it has delivered, at least if we judge it in terms of its own rhetoric and its own political agenda.

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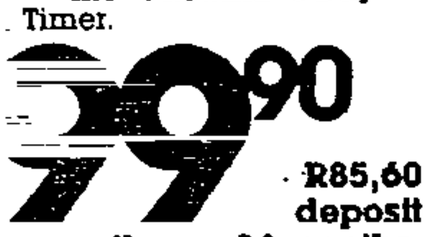

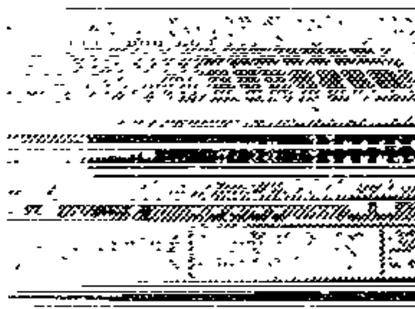

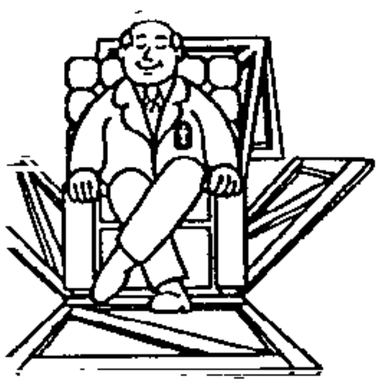

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CAMPBELL-EWALD 9399/15868

that classes at five troubled Athlone

ARGUS 10/4/84

Support for Matie editor

(304A)

Education Reporter

MORE than 200 University of Stellenbosch students have so far petitioned the rector, Professor Mike de Vries, to unconditionally reinstate the editor of the student newspaper, Die Matie.

A spokesman for the group who launched the petition said more signatures would be canvassed this week in a campaign to have the conditions of reinstatement imposed on Miss Corinne Oosthuizen withdrawn.

Miss Oosthuizen was suspended from her post by Professor de Vries after she criticised in an editorial the appointment of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, as chancellor of the university. A week later she was conditionally reinstated.

POLITICAL IMAGE

In the controversial editorial Miss Oosthuizen said the appointment of the leader of a political party to the highest office of the university gave the institution a party-political image.

The editorial also said the most important qualification of the new chancellor was unfortunately his party political ties and suggested that "a more academic person" would have been more suitable to promote the image of academic freedom at Stellenbosch.

Matie editor Corrie Oosthuizen

Miss Oosthuizen has repeatedly said no insult to the Prime Minister was intended. She was reinstated in her post on condition she retract "all she had said in the editorial", the spokesman said.

In the petition student signatories criticise:

- The rector's interference with the existence of the student newspaper and his severe dictatorial handling of it; and
- The restriction of the right of an individual to hold an opinion and to express and write that opinion.

The spokesman for the group said the petition would be given to the Students' Representative Council to hand to Professor de Vries.

Parties campaign for new members

Political Correspondent

NEW membership and registration drives in the Free State and Karoo have been launched by two coloured political parties.

In the Free State the Labour Party has had a conference where plans to increase the branches to 26 were discussed.

Mr Philip Sanders, a member of the President's Council and former leader of the Freedom Party in the Free State, was chosen provincial leader of the Labour Party.

A large number of Freedom Party supporters have defected to the Labour Party.

Mr Peter Marais, leader of the People's Congress Party (PCP), held a meeting to start branches of his party in the Beaufort West area at the weekend.

The party claims that 150 members of the Labour Party joined the PCP.

Mr Fred Peters, national secretary of the Labour Party, said no resignations had been received by his party.

Mr Marais maintains that Labour supporters are coming over to him without bothering to resign from their old party.

Meeting to rally support for for school

Education Reporter

A MEETING to rally support for a parents' campaign to prevent Thornton Road Primary School from closing at the end of the year is to be held at Athlone Civic Centre tomorrow night.

Organised by parents in conjunction with the Gleemoor and Cape Flats Civic Association, the meeting will begin at 8pm.

The Thornton Road School committee is to meet the Director of Coloured Education, Mr A J Arendse, on Friday to discuss the proposed closure of the school.

PARLIAMENT ARGUS. 10/4/84 (304A)

'Public in the dark about cost of new parliament'

Parliamentary Staff

THE Government has been accused of keeping the public in the dark about the nature and cost of the new three-chamber parliament.

Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) said in the Assembly a series of questions put to the Government by his party had remained unanswered during the second-reading debate on the Budget.

Speaking in the committee-stage debate on the Budget vote for Parliament, he said: "We get the impression the Government is like a modern Pied Piper who is attracting those mice who don't care where they are going."

The Conservative Party would refuse to follow the Government "like a lot of mice".

Mr van der Merwe said his party had put questions to the Government about the future of Parliament and about financial provision made for the new Parliament.

No answers had come from the Government — not even during a half-hour speech by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, or during a 45-minute reply by the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, to the second-reading debate on the Budget.

Mr Hendrik Schoeman

Mr van der Merwe asked whether the Government had a "hidden agenda" about the direction in which it intended to lead the white people.

The Government and the Prime Minister were not being honest towards the people about the future of Parliament.

Mr van der Merwe withdrew this remark after being ordered to do so by the chairman of committees, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Mr van der Merwe said the Government was drawing a line through the history of the country. It was abolishing the existing Parliament and yet it was not known what would replace it.

If the Government did not provide the answers, the Conservative Party would use "every political platform" to compel the Government to inform the people.

Earlier, Mr Colin Eglin (PFP Sea Point) said South Africa was moving into a new constitutional era.

Whatever initiatives were taken by the Cabinet and the executive arm of Government, Parliament always had to remain sovereign.

Parliament's rights should at no stage be undermined by the executive in the new system.

Mr Eglin said Parliament had to remain responsible for decisions on its proceedings, its Budget, its function and its accommodation.

He asked what specific provision had been included in the Budget for the new dispensation.

Had money been allocated in the Budget for the new Parliament and, if so, how was the amount decided on and who had agreed to it?

Put its own imprint on its own Budget

Parliament had to put its own imprint on its own Budget and not meekly take over the decisions of the executive, Mr Eglin said.

Replying, the leader of the Assembly, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said the National Party was following the mandate it had gained from the electorate in last year's constitutional referendum.

He said the Minister of Finance had made provision in the Budget for "unforeseen" requirements.

Existing legislation for the remuneration of members of Parliament would be amended during the present session to make provision for the new parliament.

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert

Mr Coli

Number of SA road deaths dropped last y

Parliamentary Staff

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ARGUS. 10/4/84 (250) (304A)

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Dr F van Zyl Slabbert

Mr Colin Eglin

Number of SA road deaths dropped last year

Parliamentary Staff

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One of the most significant drops, recorded in the 1983 report of the National Road Safety Council tabled in Parliament, was in motorcycle accidents.

There were 388 377 road accidents in South Africa last year, which was down on the 1982 figure of 392 971, but still dramatically higher than the 1979 figure of 265 102.

The same type of figures are reflected in road deaths, with 9 154 being killed in 1982 and 6 037 in 1979.

Fatalities resulting from motorcycle accidents dropped from 558 in 1982 to 447 last year.

The overall number of pedestrians killed dropped by 13 to 4 054, but the number of black pedestrians killed rose by 31 to 3 219.

P W Botha, Pik will visit capitals in globe-trotting breakthrough

Mission to Europe

News 11/4/84 30 KB

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, have been invited by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to visit West Germany in June.

The Argus Foreign Service in Paris reports that they are also expected to visit Lisbon, London, Brussels, Rome and Geneva.

While no details were given from the South African side today, West German Government spokesmen confirm the visit.

There is also the possibility of visits to Spain and Italy.

The Germans have mentioned a possible visit to France, but some diplomatic observers regard this as unlikely.

Mr Botha is also expected to call a conference of South African ambassadors in Europe.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl

The visit is seen as a diplomatic breakthrough for South Africa.

Part of the reason for the invitation is the signing of the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique. West Germany would probably not have extended the invitation without the South African peace "offensive".

Another factor involves renewed efforts to conclude a settlement in SWA/Namibia following a reduction in tension between Angola and South Africa.

Apart from West Germany, which has always maintained cordial relations with South Africa and an interest in SWA/Namibia, Portuguese leaders are said to be keen to meet Mr Botha.

There is also the possibility that Mr Botha may visit African countries, including Zambia.

A meeting between Mr Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka is being mentioned.

No announcement

The Prime Minister said through a liaison official that it was too early to make an announcement.

● The Argus Foreign Service in London reports that the proposed tour is confirmation of South Africa's new status as a regional power.

It is also acceptance that no solutions to the area's problems are possible without the involvement of South Africa.

There is speculation in Europe that the Lusaka Agreement and the Nkomati Accord provided the key to an invitation to visit Lisbon.

As a result of this invitation Mr Botha was invited to visit other European countries.

Visit to Lisbon scheduled late in the tour

European tour a coup for PW

From 12/4/84

By CHRIS FREIMOND (304A)
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN.

SOUTH AFRICA seems set to shed much of its international pole-cat image as the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, prepares for a major tour of Europe in which he is expected to meet a number of world leaders.

Although South African sources were reluctant yesterday to reveal details of the tour, reports from Europe indicated that a multi-nation visit was on the cards for early June.

It has been confirmed that West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl invited Mr Botha to visit Bonn and that he will also visit Lisbon for talks with Portuguese leaders. Other destinations are likely to include Spain, Italy and Switzerland.

There were also indications that another surprise stop-over — possibly somewhere in Africa — could be included in the itinerary.

The visit is being seen as the most significant foreign tour ever undertaken by a South African Prime Minister. It will be Mr Botha's first trip to Europe since he became Prime Minister in 1978.

Mr Botha paid a State visit to Taiwan in 1980. The last South African Prime Minister to visit Europe was Mr John Vorster who went to Austria and Switzerland in 1977.

Mr Botha will be accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who obviously paved the way for the tour during his visit to Europe late last year.

An official visit to Lisbon is scheduled for the end of May, reports **KEN POTTINGER**.

While in Lisbon, the Prime Minister is expected to discuss Portugal's role in bringing about the recent peace treaty between South Africa and Mozambique and to renew progress towards a similar settlement in Angola.

He will meet the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr Mario Soares, and President Antonio Ramalho Eanes, both men with wide experience of developments in Southern Africa.

The Portuguese are expected to renew their offer of assistance in speeding the end of the conflict between South Africa and Angola and resolving the South West African independence problem.

Some observers last night saw Mr P W Botha's planned tour as a direct result of the success so far of the current regional peace initiative in Southern Africa.

The peace effort, and in particular South Africa's leading role, has been widely praised by Western governments.

The significant movement towards an acceptable settlement in South West Africa has also won approval from a number of European governments who had become disillusioned with South Africa's apparent delaying tactics on the matter of a settlement.

Mr Botha is likely to use his meetings with European leaders to sell South Africa's new Constitutional dispensation, due to become a reality in September.

The tour is also likely to further boost the image of Mr Pik Botha who has played a high profile role in regional and international developments concerning Southern Africa in recent months.

● Israel, a country which has featured as a "must" for National Party Prime Ministers (Vorster and Malan) travelling abroad, could also be considered a likely stop-over for Mr Botha, who is known to be deeply religious, reports Sapa.

Mr Botha, as former Defence Minister and political architect of South Africa's success as an arms producer, could find ample reason to visit Israel as a Prime Minister campaigning for peace.

Certain sources, however, feel that much of the Prime Minister's travel plans will have to be kept secret for as long as possible because the spectre of organised demonstrations is said to be a unpleasant possibility which the thus far successful South African diplomatic machine would seek to avoid.

Mr Botha is expected to follow another example of his predecessor, Mr Vorster, and call a conference of his European Ambassadors at one of the more central venues to brief them on the latest developments in Southern Africa and the progress made on his visit.

New-deal colour bar for parties

CAPE TIMES 14/4/84

304A

Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, gave a clear hint yesterday that legislation banning political action across race barriers is to be retained under the new constitution.

He said the existence of racially-separate political parties was fundamental to the system which will bring coloured and Indian representatives into separate chambers of a tricameral Parliament.

The Prohibition of Political Interference Act requires all members of a political party to be of the same race group and bans political support by one race for a party of another race.

There has been speculation that the 1968 measure would be scrapped because of the political co-operation required between coloured, Indian and white people under the new deal.

Amendment

Mr De Klerk, however, has already warned the Labour Party that its plans to open party membership to Indian as well as coloured people would contravene the law.

And during parliamentary question-time yesterday, he implied that the measure might be amended, but would be retained.

He told Major Ruben Sive (PFP Bezuidenhout) that certain aspects of the Interference Act were being looked at.

"The new dispensation is based fundamentally on a differentiation between groups," Mr De Klerk stated.

"It is based on separate voters' rolls where people from a particular population group choose members of that population group to represent them in their own chambers.

Prosecution

"I therefore regard the existence of separate voters' rolls and thus the existence of separate parties as a fundamental prerequisite of the new dispensation," he said.

Mr De Klerk also stated that he was not aware of any prosecution pending in terms of the legislation.

Asked by the NRP leader, Mr Vause Raw, whether the Black Alliance was a political party and its membership from different race groups therefore contravened the law, Mr De Klerk said he had not studied the alliance's constitution.

He told CP questioners that it was not against the law for coloured and Indian people to address Nationalist youth groups where these were aimed at improving relations and broadening knowledge.

What makes P W suddenly acceptable in Europe ?

W/E ARGUS 14/4/84

ZOLA

PETER SULLIVAN of Weekend Argus political staff examines the reasons behind the Government's latest diplomatic breakthrough

MANY factors motivate people to travel abroad. Prime Ministers are no exception, it is just that the factors motivating the travel are somewhat more complicated.

Making the proposed trip to Europe by the Prime Minister even more complex is the world-wide abhorrence of apartheid and the resultant isolation of the South African Government.

Although there is still no official confirmation from Pretoria or Cape Town, there is no doubt the trip is on. It will take place in the first weeks of June, and will involve visits to more than one country.

Besides the possibility of stop-overs in Africa, Mr Botha's tour will probably include at least Portual, Spain, Italy (and the Vatican), West Germany and Austria. There may be more countries on the itinery, there will certainly not be less.

He will meet heads of Government in Germany and Portugal, possibly in other European countries, certainly in some African countries, and the Pope in Rome.

Predictable

The fact that the trip is taking place will no doubt be opposed by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, by the ANC, PAC and by resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Countries hosting the visit will respond to criticism by justifying the art of communication. There is much in politics that is predictable.

Why now ? What enables South Africa's Prime Minister to make a visit this year that would have been highly unlikely two years ago?

Have we changed? Has the Government changed its policies? What has warmed the chilly diplomatic climate sufficiently to allow a State visit to take place without a frosty receiption?

Mr Pik Botha

There are those who say simply it is the tireless work put in by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, which has made this trip possible.

There is truth in this, for without Mr Pik Botha's beavering Mr P W Botha's reception would have remained icy. Without Mr Pik Botha's groundwork the Prtime Minister's flight would never have taken off.

But this is not the only reason, nor is it sufficient reason on its own. However almost all the other reasons, strangely enough, also seem to have Mr Pik Botha hovering in the background.

The most recent of these reasons is the one which received the most publicity and acclaim, the Accord of Nkomati. World leaders sent their congratulations to South Africa, the first time they had done so in years. Only the ANC objected, and Botswana said it was not significant.

The frontline States remained cautious observers at the signing ceremony, but the general perception of the event was that it was a milestone in this year's peace initiatives started by South Africa.

Genuine

Nkomati was actually the second milestone. The first was the meeting in Lusaka between South Africa, America and Angola.

This came about after South Africa started the ball rolling by saying it would withdraw its troops unilaterally from Southern Angola if Swapo did not exploit the situation.

The Angolan peace move was perceived to be genuine, and when followed by Nkomati this perception was given the stamp of authenticity.

These two peace moves created a climate abroad which allows Mr P W Botha to make a European tour with little trepidation.

What brought about the peace moves? The Defence Force has justifiably claimed some credit, saying its raids ("cross-border preventive actions") ultimately contributed to the peace initiatives.

Some commentators have opted for the simplistic idea of giving the Defence Force all the credit (or the blame) for the peace moves, but there are multiple factors, not a single one.

Another factor which helped make the tour possible was the result of the referendum in November 1983. Whether "no" voters like it or not, Mr P W Botha's huge victory was interpreted abroad as a step in the right direction supported by the vast majority of the electorate.

One could of course continue arguing cause and effect back to Adam and Eve, but it is significant to look at what made the referendum both possible and necessary: the split in the National Party in 1982.

When Dr Andries Treurnicht and his followers left the National Party, they freed Mr Botha of shackles that prevented him from doing what he wanted to do.

Fallible

He is no liberal secretly wanting to implement majority rule, but he is a more flexible ruler than his predecessors and is willing to admit past National Party blunders.

Nobody could survive the Info scandal without realising the party's fallibility. Once he was free of the right wing, he could jettison the policies he disliked and support policies he preferred.

Mr P W Botha has used force where he has thought it necessary, and is now making peace where he thinks it is feasible. His reward for the peacemaking includes a trip to Europe with Mr Pik Botha in the role of the most hard-working travel agent in the business.

CITY

Areas Act a problem for voters

ARGUS 17/4/84

(306A)

Political Staff

VAST population shifts as a result of the Group Areas Act had made it difficult to work out a fair arrangement for coloured constituencies in the Western Cape, the delimitation commission was told today.

A Labour Party spokesman, Mr Charles Redcliffe, said his party found the method used in calculating the quota of voters for each constituency "quite anomalous".

In evidence to the commission the Labour Party proposed that the maximum "loading" be applied in determining the boundaries of Peninsula constituencies.

This means the party wants the maximum number of voters for each constituency in the Peninsula and Cape Flats area.

The Labour Party also proposed that the Peninsula have only 19 constituencies instead of 20 as proposed by the commission.

"Generally agreed"

Another Labour Party proposal was that Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage should have five constituencies instead of the four proposed by the commission

Mr Redcliffe, the party's national vice-chairman, told the commission today that the Labour Party generally agreed with the commission's preliminary proposals for 36 Cape electoral divisions outside the Peninsula and the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage areas.

He said the party was aware that the commission was bound by the Constitution Act to determine the quotas (of voters for each constituency) on the basis of the population register — as opposed to the usual practice of basing the quotas on the voters' lists.

The party was also aware that this method only applied to the first delimitation of electoral divisions for the new coloured house of representatives.

However, the method used was anomalous as voting was to take place on the basis of voters' lists. If voting were to have taken place on the basis of the population register the method would have been considered fair.

Changes of address

The method of determining the quota of voters per constituency assumed that changes of address had been notified when people had moved; it assumed that the population register had been updated.

Experience, however, had shown that few people notified the authorities of changes of address

"This becomes significant when one considers the vast movement of people that has taken place, especially more pronounced in an area like the Cape Peninsula.

"This occurred largely as a result of the resettlement of families under the Group Areas Act," Mr Redcliffe said.

Another problem was that the number of voters as ascertained from the population register did not correspond, in certain instances, to the number of voters on voters' lists.

"Vast disparities"

This had resulted in "vast disparities" in certain electoral divisions between the proposed quota and the total number of voters on voters' lists.

An example was the old Tafelberg constituency where the number of voters in terms of the population register was 18 311 as opposed to 5 715 on the voters' list.

"We submit, therefore, that, in order not to violate the principle of fair representation, a balance must be struck between the number of persons on current voters' lists and the quota as determined from the population register," Mr Redcliffe said.

Mr Charles Julies, leader of the Reformed Freedom Party, said his party agreed with the Labour Party's proposals for the Peninsula, but favoured the commission's proposal for four seats in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area.

Another seat could be created in the Berg River area, he said.

CAPE TIMES 18/4/84

LP plea on delimitation

304A

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

THE Labour Party yesterday proposed to the Delimitation Commission a reduction in the provisional 20 constituencies in the Peninsula to 19 and an increase from four to five in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage complex.

Objections to the provisional delimitation of coloured voting areas were heard by the commission led by Miss Justice Van den Heever. In open session, the commission received representations from the LP and the Reformed Freedom Party.

Mr Charles Redcliffe, vice-chairman of the LP, said he found the method of calculating the quota of voters "quite anomalous" because voting would take place on the basis of the current voters' list, while the quota of voters was based on calculations from the Population Register.

In the Peninsula, the disparity between registered voters (for the now defunct CRC) and the register was of such a degree that it violated the principle of fair representation, he said.

In some instances the disparity exceeded 60 percent, while on average it was about 30 percent. Tafelberg, for example, had a population register of 18 311, while it had only 5 715 registered voters.

The Peninsula, according to the Population Register, had about 303 000 of the total of 853 175 people eligible for registration as voters in the Cape, while PE-Uitenhage had 62 000.

A visit to the world

304A

P W Botha travels to Europe next month for a 14-day visit. Optimists may want to see the trip as a prelude to peace and settlement in Angola/Namibia. That may be asking too much.

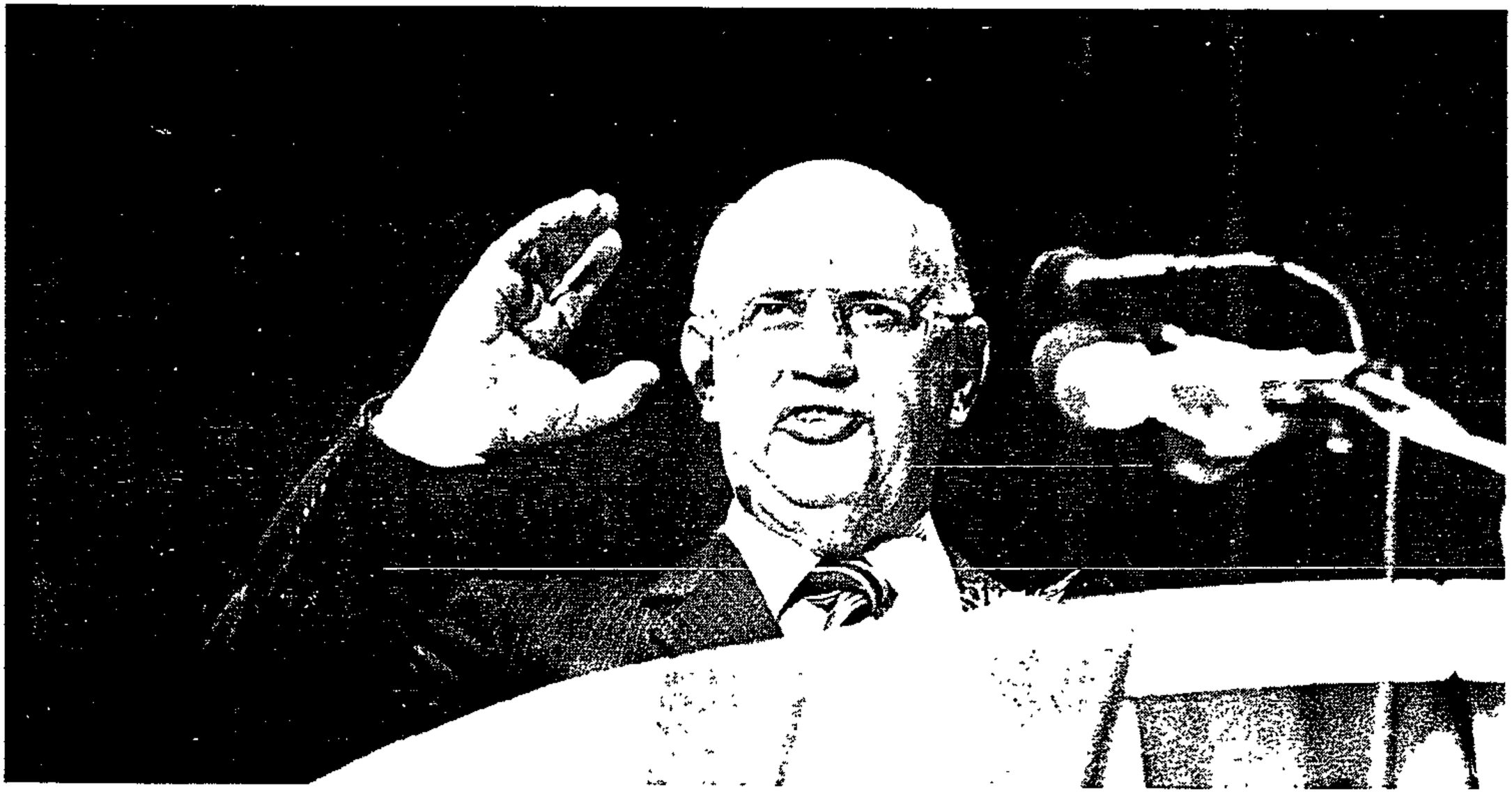
Prime Minister Botha's European tour is certain to raise expectations of further strong advances in the Southern Africa peace offensive.

It would be tempting, for example, to draw parallels between Botha's forthcoming visit — his first since becoming PM — and Foreign Minister Pik Botha's two-week tour last December when he met representatives of eight European governments.

With hindsight, there may be grounds to argue that Pik Botha's trip helped to trigger a sequence of events which not very long ago appeared impossible. First there was an offer to disengage SA troops from southern Angola, accompanied by the establishment of a US-observed Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) with Angolan military authorities. Then followed a series of bilateral meetings with the Mozambique government, culminating in the Nkomati Accord.

Very little official information has been released about the PM's trip, except that his party, including the foreign minister and selected journalists, leaves SA towards the end of May, to return mid-June. The itinerary includes "a number of European destinations" including Bonn and Lisbon. There is even speculation that Botha will have an audience with the Pope. London and Paris will neither confirm nor deny that they are making arrangements to receive the tour party.

Lack of information, and even the dissemination of some disinformation, may well result in some extraordinary constructions being placed on the purpose of the trip. In this regard opinion seems to be divided. Some believe the Bothas are travelling to Europe to collect their reward for the "de-Marxification" of Mozambique and for persisting, despite Swapo's continuing rearguard violence, with efforts to restore



P W Botha ... delivering the goods

(304A)

Kohl, Soares, Thatcher ... Nkomati's fine, but ...

regional stability in Angola/Namibia. After all, as SA's Washington ambassador Brand Fourie is quoted as saying, the Republic's way back into the world is through Africa.

Another view is that the visit is linked to a new phase in the implementation of Western-sponsored plans to bring peace to Angola and independence to Namibia. Government sources believe, probably rightly, that such plans would gain an extra dimension if there were to be meetings between Botha and a few heads of Western governments involved in the plan. The truth, if it were known, probably lies somewhere between these views.

Pik Botha did not set up the Nkomati treaty on his European trip. According to senior government sources, it fell into place "on our changed direction" while he was away. It was the result of "regional" effort. Which is probably another way of saying that Mozambique responded to the harsh reality of Pretoria's military and economic dominance in the sub-continent.

SA initiative

According to West German government sources, the initiative to arrange a meeting between P W Botha and Chancellor Kohl came from SA. In Bonn, and doubtless in other European capitals too, this initiative is welcomed because it not only creates scope for better understanding between heads of government involved, it is the clearest possible indication (given the traditional reluctance to travel abroad of SA prime ministers since Jan Smuts) that Botha wants to consolidate the bridgehead to regional stability — and probably win a measure of understanding of government attempts to create a "new order" in SA itself. Or so NP politicians would have us believe.

At best, European attitudes on SA remain ambivalent. While warmly welcoming the extraordinary turnaround in SA foreign policy and military strategy, from hawk to dove as it were, profound misgivings prevail about the Republic's domestic affairs. The West German government, for example, says its view of "our own interest in SA is that it is best ensured by supporting the demand for equal rights for the people of SA" and the "legitimate interests of the non-white majority should be ... rendered capable of assertion."

Bonn, it seems, remains pessimistic about prospects for peaceful change in SA. German sources told the *FM* this week that, despite the non-aggression treaty with Maputo and the disengagement undertaking given to Luanda, Bonn is unable to shake off the view that "unfortunately there are no signs at present of any fundamental willingness by the SA government to renounce its apartheid policy and give the black majority a share of the power."(*FM* February 3)

But SA domestic issues need not feature prominently on Botha's European agenda. Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Portugal have considerable interests in southern Africa. At this stage their interests would be best served by encouraging the process of detente in the region. A senior SA government official admitted this week: "The Mozambique agreement was relatively simple to achieve because we have many common interests; the arrangement has many mutual benefits. But the next steps in southern Africa detente will prove more difficult. The Angola/Namibia question, which is of more immediate concern to governments in Western Europe, is fraught with difficulties despite the promising advances made."

European governments are doubtless heartened that Pretoria and Luanda's joint ceasefire monitoring exercise has remained intact despite vigorous rhetoric and continuing violence. They may wish to question more closely, however, Pretoria's plans after the JMC has completed its task. What is the status of UN Resolution 435 in Pretoria's book? Does SA still insist that there can be no question of implementing 435 until the Cubans have left Angola? Is there a prospect that SA and Swapo can come to terms on a ceasefire?

The Lusaka agreement in February raised hopes that a formula can be found (perhaps step-by-step mutual withdrawal of SA and Cuban forces) that satisfies all parties — provided the Unita faction can be accommodated in what is wistfully referred to as a government of national reconciliation.

By comparison with Angola's appalling domestic situation, implementing 435 looks like child's play. Yet the prospect of early Namibian independence looks like remaining stuck on the rocks because SA does not have much stomach for the UN plan, while the US, though favouring 435, has special interest in an election year keeping implementation in abeyance until the Cuban bogey is removed next door.

Cuban question

In Europe these issues are understood only too well. Whether there is sympathy on the Cuban question is another matter.

Portugal, for example, has an appalling refugee problem with destitute nationals who fled Angola because of the civil war. There is no work for them in Portugal and their squatter camps are a potential source of unrest. According to officials who accompanied Pik Botha on his last European tour, Lisbon would like to get rid of them and Luanda would like to have them back, to help rebuild Angola's shattered economy. But they will not return until there is guaranteed peace.

In Germany there are emotional ties with a former colony, mingled perhaps with a lingering sense of Saxon guilt. In any event, West German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has reportedly staked his professional reputation on hastening Namibian independence. Face to face talks with the Bothas will not harm his chances of doing so.

In London the prospect of a meeting between P W Botha and Margaret Thatcher seems vague at this stage. The British Foreign Office will neither confirm nor

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deny that the British capital is one of the SA party's tour destinations. In view of recent strains that have developed between the two countries — the Armscor agents' arrests, Britain's hosting of the ANC's European HQ in London and Thatcher's blunt condemnation of SA policies in a series of widely publicised letters to British MP John Lloyd last year — a Botha-Thatcher meeting would seem something of an imperative.

It's a fair bet too that P W Botha will take the opportunity of his meetings with European heads of government to do a marketing job on SA's new constitutional dispensation. This will be his first and last European trip as SA PM. If he does go abroad again it will be as executive president. The Europeans with their liberal constitutional tradition will want to know what Botha is going to do to accommodate blacks in the new deal.

Much future goodwill will hinge on what he tells them.

	31 December 1982	31 December 1983
	R	R
Central Government	1 746 million	1 943 million
Reserve Bank	588 million	1 459 million
Other monetary banking institutions	1 596 million	1 984 million
Public corporations and local authorities	206 million	*
Private sector	8 231 million	*
TOTAL	R12 367 million	*

* Figures not yet available.

Oilseeds Control Board

742. Mr P A MYBURGH asked the Minister of Agriculture:

(1) Whether the Oilseeds Control Board sustained any losses in the 1983-84 financial year; if so, (a) what is the nature of these losses and (b) how will they be recouped;

(2) whether this control board dumped any products in the sea in 1983; if so, (a) why and (b)(i) what products and (ii) what quantities of each such product were dumped;

(3) whether this control board exported any products in the 1983-84 financial year; if so, (a) what products and (b) what quantities of each such product were exported?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE:

(1) The Board's financial year ends on 31 May 1984 and the auditing of the financial records of the Board will only be finalized by the end of November 1984. At this stage it would appear that a loss could develop as a result of the importation of sunflower seed for the replenishment of local vegetable oil requirements.

(a) Not determinable since several matters have still to be finalized.

(b) The Oil Seeds Control Board has not yet decided on that issue.

(2) No.

(a), (b) and (c) fall away.

(3) Yes.

(a) Edible groundnuts.

(b) 3 514 ton.

Public Service: new salary structure

746. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

(1) (a) Which post levels of the Public Service will qualify for the new salary structure announced recently and (b) what (i) are the salaries paid at each post level at present and (ii) percentage increase has been granted in each case;

(2) whether any representative bodies were consulted prior to the announcement of the new salary structure; if not, why not; if so, (a) what specified bodies and (b) when in each case?

The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) The following post levels in the top structure are relevant:
Deputy Director and equivalent gradings
Director and equivalent gradings
Chief Director and equivalent gradings
Deputy Director General and equivalent gradings
Director General and equivalent gradings

(b) (i) The annual salaries on each post level are as follows:
Deputy Director and equivalent: R31 290—33 930
Director and equivalent: R39 630 (fixed)
Chief Director and equivalent: R44 850 (fixed)
Deputy Director General and equivalent: R50 490 (fixed)
Director General: R59 130 (fixed)

(ii) The percentage increase which was awarded in each case is as follows:

	Gross	Nett*
Deputy Director and equivalent	20%	14%
Director and equivalent	30%	21%
Chief Director and equivalent	33%	22%
Deputy Director General and equivalent	32%	22%
Director General and equivalent	31%	26%

(* After deductions have been made for income tax and pensions)

(2) (a) The Public Servants' Association of South Africa, currently the only recognised staff association for public servants, was informed of the investigation.

(b) Second semester of 1983.

Note: The services of an independent management consultant was engaged in the designing of the relevant salary dispensations.

National states: population

759. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

What was the total population of each specified national state as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

Gazankulu: 514 280
Kangwane: 161 160
Kwandebele: 156 380
Kwazulu: 3 422 140
Lebowa: 1 746 500
Qwaqwa: 157 620

Population Census 6 May 1980. Figures relate to persons enumerated in the various states.

Voters

805. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

Whether quotas in respect of the number of voters per constituency in each province have been determined by the commission appointed for the delimitation of constituencies for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, if not, when is it anticipated that these quotas will be determined; if so, how many voters per constituency will there be in respect of each House in each province?

The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

Yes.

House of Representatives:
Cape Province — 14 219
Natal — 8 605
Orange Free State — 3 472
Transvaal — 10 715

House of Delegates:
Cape Province — 4 103
Natal — 9 019
Transvaal — 7 010

ARGUS 26/4/84

Spell out role of the SSC — Slabbert

Parliamentary Staff

THE LEADER of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, has called on the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to spell out the role of the State Security Council (SSC) in political decision-making.

Speaking in the budget debate on the Prime Minister's vote, Dr Slabbert said this was a matter that remained unresolved from the no-confidence debate earlier this year.

The Prime Minister in the past had reacted "very testily" to probing from the opposition on these matters.

"I do not mind being controversial in this if I believe it to be in the country's interest. But I do believe such controversy should not be based on avoidable misunderstanding," Dr Slabbert said.

Allegations that had come to his attention about the SSC were to the effect that:

- The SSC was the real decision-making body on matters of fundamental policy. The Cabinet, the National Party caucus and Parliament were simply "rubber stamps" for the SSC.
- The military establishment dominated in the activities of the SSC.
- The SS C would effectively be the secretariat for the new executive state president.

Dr Slabbert said these allegations had been made publicly in either respected academic journals, newspapers, or seminars.

DEMAND THAT HE DO SO

The allegations directly affected the dignity and status of Parliament in relation to political policy and decision-making.

Dr Slabbert said the Prime Minister was the person who could respond authoritatively in public to these allegations.

It was the responsibility of the Opposition to demand that he do so.

The allegations about the SSC were of the same kind as those made about South Africa's role in the Angolan war, destabilisation in neighbouring territories and about the attempted coup in the Seychelles.

"In short, these are public allegations and no amount of private or confidential briefing is going to undo this," Dr Slabbert said.

The Prime Minister could ignore, deny or confirm this kind of allegation publicly. It was the duty of the official opposition to get a public response from the Government and to state its own position in relation to that response.

No amount of insults or abuse would deter the Opposition from doing so.

When Dr Slabbert raised the issue of the SSC's role during the no-confidence debate in January, the Prime Minister said in his response he regretted the manner in which Dr Slabbert had raised the matter.

The Prime Minister then suggested that Dr Slabbert should have spoken to him privately in his office instead of raising the matter in the Assembly. He accused Dr Slabbert of asking absurd questions.

Mrs Helen Suzman

Cradock men detained

By TOS WENTZEL

Political Correspondent

FOUR persons from Cradock have been detained since March 30, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange told the Assembly.

Answering questions put by Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton), he said they were being held under the Internal security Act "because they engaged in activities which endangered or were calculated to endanger the maintenance of law and order."

Two are in Pollsmoor prison and the other two in a Johannesburg prison.

Commenting on Mr Le Grange's answers, Mr Ken Andrew (PFP Gardens), the Opposition's chief spokesman on black education, said there was a desperate need for urgent action to resolve the problems which had given rise to the boycotting of schools and subsequent incidents in Cradock and Graaff-Reinet.

The huge bill SA must pay for apartheid

26/4/84 (304A) E. Post

By a Special Correspondent

THE cost of the two key pillars of the Government's policies for black people — the homelands and influx control — has now risen to more than R3 500 million a year.

South African taxpayers are now paying more than R1 700 million for the 10 homelands — R126,5 million for consolidation and R267,6 million for decentralisation.

They will also pay out a record R130,4 million in subsidies to bus companies for transporting black commuters — and the South African Transport Services (SATS) has estimated it will lose R750 million "rendering socio-economic passenger services".

These huge figures are contained in the recent budget report presented to Parliament by the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, and in a SATS information paper released when the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, presented his budget earlier this year.

They show that taxpayers are now paying a heavier price for the policies aimed at providing separate political homelands for black people in South Africa and denying them the vote in the rest of the country.

Moreover, the Department of Co-operation and Development is to increase its spending on population control and "settlement" by more than 28% to a total amount of R138,2 million during the current financial year.

The department is to spend R3,1 million on regulation of labour, R3,9 million on "repatriation", R2,3 million on residential control and R128,4 million for "settlement".

During the 1983-84 financial year, it was budgeted to spend R107,2 million on these items.

The only item to have come down during the current financial year was the estimated expenditure for consolidation, which dropped from R160,8 million to R126,5 million.

For the rest, the cost of the homelands and influx control has gone up.

This direct spending on apartheid takes up about 14% of the R25 300 million Budget.

While much of it is taken up with either keeping black people out of the cities, or bringing them into the cities to work, or trying to encourage industries to move to decentralised areas, or the running of the homeland governments (each with their cabinets, parliaments and civil service), some of this money is going to essential services.

For example, when Mr Horwood said R4 200 million would be spent on education during the current financial year, and this did not include the education budgets in the various homelands.

With increasing reports of poverty in the rural areas, it is clear that this type of spending will have to increase in order for basic education and social welfare services to be maintained.

Moreover, with the expectation that the decentralisation programmes will become more expensive as the economy improves — when the demand for labour in the cities increases — it seems clear that these amounts will continue to accelerate in the future.

The South African Government is still committed to the homelands policy, which it sees as the only alternative to one man, one vote. This year's Budget shows that taxpayers of all races are paying a heavy price for that policy.

Where the money goes

Commission for Co-operation and Development	R98 000
Commissioners General	R235 000
Consolidation	R126 500 000
"Development towards self-determination"	R288 223 000
Assistance to governments of self-governing states	R1 013 030 000
Foreign Affairs vote for "Foreign Aid and Development" (Includes aid to independent homelands)	R637 790 000
Regulation of labour	R3 086 000
Repatriation	R3 964 000
Residential Control	R2 309 000
Population registration and identification of persons	R8 233 000
Transport subsidies for public passenger transport	R130 424 000
SATS losses on passenger services	R750 000 000
Decentralisation incentives	R267 600 000
TOTAL	R3 534 500 000

FOR ten years, Carlos Cardoso, now the Director of the Mozambique News Agency (AIM), lived in South Africa. Like many other children from reasonably well-off Portuguese families living in what was then Lourenco Marques, he was sent to school and then to university in the white man's paradise next door.

From 1965 until 1975 he studied in South Africa, first at Witbank High School, and then at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). In 1975 he returned to take up a career in journalism in an independent Mozambique. It was not until another nine years had passed that Carlos Cardoso was able to return to South Africa.

In these articles he gives his impressions of some of the changes that have taken place in South Africa in the space of those nine years.

I had seen it all before . . . a town still called Salisbury in a country still called Rhodesia

Security guards everywhere you go in South Africa today.

THE pinball machines aren't there any more. They've been taken out and replaced by video machines, but the old "Pop's Cafe", in front of Wits University is still standing.

It's still a place where students congregate and chatter. It is an affectionate point of reference for those who passed through Wits in the '60s and '70s.

When I walked in, the Greek owner of the café was serving behind the counter, now a bit older, a bit balder, a bit more stolen.

Cradle

In front of the café there is still the old, familiar Jan Smuts Avenue, cradle of so much of the romantic student politics of several generations. It was here, on the pavement in front of the university, that my generation (1970-1975) continued the tradition of confronting the police.

Nine years ago, on the other side of Jan Smuts Avenue, beyond the pavement, the entry into the university itself was across a spacious lawn. Today that lawn is no more.

In my time here, we left secondary school, innocents of 17, and strode into Wits along a lawn that was at street level. But the 17-year-old innocents of today have literally to climb up, step by step, the ivory tower of the intelligentsia.

Mortals

At the top of the staircase I stopped, and looked down to the street. I had the feeling that anyone up here would need to keep himself in a state of constant mental vigilance if he wanted to identify with the world, and with the ordinary mortals going about their business in the streets below.

When I stepped inside the University, I allowed myself a cynical smile — provoked by the entrance, which had been built as a sort of mini-labyrinth. That design had nothing to do with architectural aesthetics — it was simply that in my time it had been relatively easy to escape from the truncheons of the police by running across the lawn. I wondered what today's students did.

I walked slowly towards the centre of the university campus. To the left I found a new building that sported the name of the multi-millionaire Oppenheimer.

A little further ahead, to the right, was the general library built at the beginning of the '70s. A little further on I came to the "central block," one of the oldest buildings in the Wits complex, whose high columns are an imitation of the Parthenon.

I walked inside, to face another change. A sign of the times. On a door beside the "great hall", a notice bore the words "security information". From the security room strode two uniformed men, presumably hired from a private security company.

Their smiles, and the pleasing cut of their clothes, were altogether fitting for a liberal academic institution like Wits, but I didn't think they altogether hid the jailer in their hearts.

A few minutes later, sitting beside the fountain in front of the old library, I suddenly felt shock and sadness. A corpulent man, in uniform and carrying a walkie-talkie, strolled past.

Fuss

Nine years ago, it was the police who forced their way into the university to beat us up. Now, I am told, they don't need to make such a fuss. A university security apparatus, hired in order to "defend persons and property from possible terrorist actions," now intervenes from within to repress the students.

I left Wits, and went looking for my old student flat about 400 metres down the road from the university, in a block built some time in the 1940s. It wasn't there any more. In fact, throughout the district of Braamfontein landmarks have disappeared.

Buildings that I have fond memories of don't exist now. The economic boom between 1977 and 1980 led to a spate of new buildings. Braamfontein is a very different place today, full of gigantic tower blocks, some of them completely glass-fronted.

And everywhere I saw repeated what I had first noticed at Wits. All the public buildings have their own security systems. In some of them there are machines measuring our paces, and transmitting the image onto a screen somewhere deep inside the building.

On others there are simply uniformed men, walkie-talkies in their hands, guarding the entrances, watching suspiciously as people walk by.

The scenery is completed by an astonishing proliferation of walls. High walls. Walls round houses, walls round company premises. Walls everywhere.

This description might seem too Orwellian for those who have lived all these past nine years inside South Africa — because changes happen bit by bit, and the human mind becomes conditioned to them, lets itself get used to them, as if they were nothing out of the ordinary.

But for someone returning after nine years, the shock is rather strong.

Security

But while I was observing this imposing security apparatus, I had the nagging feeling that I had seen it all before, somewhere else.

Then suddenly I remembered — a town still called Salisbury in a country still called Rhodesia. When we arrived there, in January 1980, to follow the transition that would lead to an independent Zimbabwe in April, we found a city crammed with "anti-terrorist" security devices.

Added to all this, is the interesting (but logical) fact that the security schemes so characteristic of today's South African cities are, to a large extent, controlled by former Rhodesian settlers who scurried off to South Africa when Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF won the 1980 elections.

Fortunes

In a few years they must have accumulated enormous fortunes.

This has reached such a point that in South Africa "security industries" are nowadays among the most viable in the country. They are a highly profitable business — and they force on the rest of the country's industries considerable extra costs in mounting and maintaining all manner of protective devices.

This is one of the things that contributes, in no small way, to the dramatic increase in the cost of living.

The regime has no problem in explaining this new reality. It merely has to cite numbers. In 1972 there were no more than eleven armed actions claimed by the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

But in 1982 the statistics were rather different. In that year there was, on average, one armed action every 53 hours.

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P W Botha leader of contradictions

L/E ARGUS

30 CA

April/May '84

By LEON MARSHALL
Political Editor

MR P W BOTHA has come a long way in politics, in more ways than one.

He was shouting the odds at political meetings, as a party organiser, when most of his contemporaries of today were learning history at school or solving the problems of the world in smoke-filled university hostels where perplexity eternally reigns at the rulers' inability to see the answers.

From those heady days when he waved the banner of rising Nationalism — and apartheid — with as much fervour as those around him, to his rise as a Minister under Dr H F Verwoerd and, finally, his election as Prime Minister, was a long time.

But, in a political sense, his almost six years now as Prime Minister seems an even longer time.

It has seen a reshaping of political fetishes within the Nationalist household in a way that seemed inconceivable a bare few years ago.

To people outside the National Party these changes might not be as evident, or they might appear inconsequential given the vast and extremely vital issues that the new Nationalist thinking leaves virtually untouched.

But one measure of how much the ruling party has changed under Mr P W Botha is the irritation Dr Andries Treurnicht invariably causes in those ranks these days with his racialistic sniping.

Of course, one reason could be that many Nationalists themselves still feel too ill at ease with the new thinking and terminology to stomach these familiar sentiments coming from an influential adversary.

But how long ago was it that a very, very substantial section of those who today deride Dr Treurnicht, sang his praises? And how did they cheer him on and encourage him, with an exuberance bordering on religious fanaticism, to persist with his crusade against integration, by stealth or otherwise

That this has changed, and that Dr Treurnicht and his philosophies stand relatively isolated today, are in large part the work of P W Botha.

It was no easy task. At times he pleaded with his people to search their consciences and adapt their ways; he cajoled them; and to overcome his detractors he at times did not hessitate to make use of unconventional methods which others in his position might have shrunk from.

This week in Parliament — before the oil swindle row drowned the relative calm of "normal" political exchanges and niceties — he received acknowledgement of his efforts in a rather unusual way.

His Parliamentary vote was under discussion, and usually this is a time for the Prime Minister to give account of his and his department's activities over the past year and to lend some insights into his thinking for the future.

Before he could give account of himself, he was praised by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and by NRP leader Mr Vause Raw for his leadership. Dr Slabbert said that under his leadership South Africa was enjoying the most favourable international atmosphere since 1961.

Dr Alex Boraine, PFP MP for Pinelands, added the rider: What success Mr P W Botha has had as Prime Minister could be measured by the distance he has moved from National Party policies.

Dr Slabbert might have regretted what he said soon afterwards when Mr Botha, after brief expressions of humility and appreciation, turned on him on the oil issue and the question of black rights.

Later in the debate he had the Prime Minister vehemently retort to his accusations: "I will stamp on you!"

At the initial stages of the debate he engaged in the complete novelty of being nice to Dr Treurnicht.

It was not much later when the Conservative Party leader heard from the same Prime Minister that he was "a demolisher, a 'twee-gat-jakkals' and a hypocrite."

He spoke calmly and with forethought about his agreement with President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

But for Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the biggest black population grouping in his own country, he had a very stern message: He was not going to lie down to be trampled over by anybody.

P W Botha is a man of contradictions.

He is a tough dealer — a man who insists on having things his way. In the beginning, assailed by the Information scandal and the Conservatives' insurrection, it might not have been so, but at the moment, having established himself as the supreme technocrat, he seems to rely on the "soft" approach for much of the time.

But underneath there always lurks a volatile temper, ready to be unleashed in all its fury at the touch of a sensitive nerve-end.

He has never cared much for the gallery, in the same way as, for instance, Mr John Vorster did. With the least provocation he would simply discard the graces normally thought to befit a Prime Minister and launch into an opponent — sometimes even a political associate.

Perhaps it is not in spite of but because of this style that he has managed to reform Nationalist thinking the way he did.

STRUGGLE AGAINST TRIBALISM

Carlos Cardoso — now director of the Mozambique News Agency (AIM) — looks at some of the charges he sees in the country after leaving it for ten years. This is the second part of a series of articles he has written on the subject . . .

WE have already concluded that it is no longer possible to speak of white South Africans as a homogenous bloc. The obverse is equally true — we cannot speak of black South Africans as a bloc, at least not in any economic sense.

There exists in today's South Africa a black middle class of considerable proportions. In common with the millions of other blacks in the country it shares the absolute deprivation of political rights. In this respect the entire non-white population of South Africa is oppressed. But, in economic terms, some blacks are less oppressed than others.

Anyone who visits Soweto today will find a number of urban neighbourhoods that did not exist at the beginning of the 1970s. What makes these parts of Soweto different is that they are not mere repetitions of the monotonous rows of miserable houses where the black proletariat lives, and where several families will inhabit each matchbox-designed hovel.

Pompous

In these new districts (one of which sports the pompous name "Prestigious Park") there live businessmen, doctors, middle level functionaries working for multinational companies. They have cars. They have television sets in their living rooms. They have smart furniture. Their houses have gardens.

Women in these districts no longer make the bed in the morning. Their mothers had taught them that this was one of their domestic duties, because the bed was something "too intimate" to be left to others. But they have broken with that tradition. Today, the women of "Prestigious Park" rush out of their homes in the morning for their jobs in Johannesburg.

It is the "helper" who makes the bed, and carries out other household tasks. "Helper" is just an euphemism for "servant" — but that word has a stigma. Well-to-do blacks are still ashamed to admit that they are employing servants — the word "helper" sounds much more innocent.

UPRISINGS: P W Botha is reviving initiative.

Uprising

Many members of this middle-class — whose creation was speeded up after the 1976 Soweto uprising — prefer to be invited to the home of a rich white friend rather than to visit their poor relatives in rural zones. In terms of their cultural identity, they are in a period of transition, from the miserable past of the most inhuman exploitation towards an alliance with the white middle class, adopting the latter's lifestyle, patterns of consumption and ostentatious behaviour.

Nowadays there is nothing unusual in members of this class refusing solidarity with black workers' strikes, if these will bring them no immediate benefit. As regards the schooling of their children, their basic concern is not whether the content of this education is tribalist, but whether the school they are attending will provide an opening for a professional career in the world of commerce, industry or finance.

Not that this class is a reactionary monolith. It isn't. Many children from this background left South Africa after 1976 to learn the art of guerilla warfare outside the country. Equally, many of these middle-class families are active in anti-racist organisations, and their involvement in these struggles merits as much praise as does that of poorer strata of the population.

Buffer

But this is the class which the South African Government sees as a potential buffer between itself and the mass of black workers. How might the overall behaviour of this class develop?

Opinions are sharply divided on this question. Some argue that, as a class, it has already been co-opted by the regime. Others deny this, and argue that this class could have a key role to play in the creation of a majority-ruled, but capitalist, South Africa.

Its ideology is predominantly bourgeois, and its driving motivation is to try to share economic power. Therefore, continues this argument, the black middle class role in the struggle against institutionalised racism is guaranteed, since only with the abrogation of all discriminatory legislation will the road be open for it to share in economic power.

A new class alliance could slowly be forged — between this class, and the white middle class, and perhaps also with a privileged stratum of skilled black workers (a group that the multi-national corporations are carefully nurturing).

The role of the black middle class in the struggle against the centrepiece of the apartheid "grand design" — the bantustans — raises further speculation.

RIOTS: The 1976 uprisings speeded up the creation of a black middle class.

Offensive?

In 1976 the Soweto uprising took the initiative away from the government. Today Mr P W Botha is trying to regain that initiative — his Government intends to go onto the offensive rather than merely respond to each new popular initiative.

It seems that central to Mr Botha's strategy is the creation of a federal South Africa — which would be composed of a dominant state in which the whites had guaranteed their hold on economic power, surrounded by a number of ethnically-based and poverty-stricken mini-states — today's bantustans.

Mr Botha could then grant South African citizenship to four- or five-million urban blacks, with the rest of the black population being consigned to the bantustans. The essentials of apartheid would be maintained (even if political rights were conceded to urban blacks).

Mr Botha has started this process. While the most obvious aspects of discrimination (segregated park benches and so on) are being phased out, hundreds of thousands of blacks are being thrown into the bantustans with a violence that has even shocked western governments closely allied with Pretoria.

Role

What role will the black middle class play in this process? There are no easy answers to this question. What is certain, however, is that the ANC, and legal organisations such as the United Democratic Front, deeply rooted in the struggle of the South African people, are giving a much greater emphasis to the struggle against tribalism than was the case in the 1970s.

Paradoxically, it happens to be true that Mr P W Botha's regime is a reformist one. Changes, reforms, are happening, and are altering the political landscape of South Africa.

But they do not arise simply out of the desires of the National Party leaders. It was mass struggle inside South Africa, on many fronts, and the entire liberation process in the region that obliged the Pretoria government to look for a reformist way out of its problems.

And in historical terms, that is actually a retreat.

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The truth for Boy Menwana

monday blues

By Elliot Makhaya

Zwakala e'spanini Joe, ngizakujajisa ithesho Joe! Abelungu ba'snaai abaqavi nix. Oh well, that's a prelude to Sqamthoville where we shuttled seeing as we can't hold any longer to water our dry throats with the "deadly" waters of "immortality", uyajaja, hey Joe?

We had hopped side by side hurriedly to GaMamajozi's phuza-joint to ease on the hypertension imposed on us by the likes of "jy het dit gedoen, jy het nie die gedoen, waarom is jy laat" and all that crap that turns some of us into non-workers but freelance economic adjusters, ya see. Boy Menwana is also an economic adjuster on a freelance basis, as it were seeing as he uses his slick and long fingers to relieve abelungu of their fat wallets in the city.

The topic under discussion, ladies and gentlemen is on getting Boy Menwana a job seeing as the "fingering" business will get him to the coolers, soon. Boy Vups is the adviser and keeps on hammering to Boy Menwana: "Wena ozwakela e'spanini Joe, ngizakujajisa ithesho, is maaklik Joe. And nog al uzothola uclipper a week, Joe."

Molls

While isiqamtho fills the room, the molls in their mshoza-finery dance about furiously to the chants of "halaala zwakala mfowethu." It's a real pantsie-mshoza hoopla, old boy. And they keep on remarking: "Akana mali umabalani". They obviously referred to us cos we hardly had time to surrender our ties and accessories at home, ya see.

And so Boy Menwana, who's been nagged with this job-seeking thing, finally pulls out a stack of greeners and "chocolates" (R20 notes) and displays it to the phuza congregation. "Wat is die, hey? Jaja lana Joe, mina angeke ngithi more baas. Never. Nina niyaspana but before nishaya udresh niyasokola, hey?" says Boy Menwana to his tormentors. They are all shit.

Then comes a chorus from a "bevy" of mshozas in the cabin: "Ba jwetse wena Bra Boy Menwana. Makhowa ga a re patale." In appreciation of the chorus, Boy Menwana tells the roly-polly auntie, Mamajozi to give the ladies two bottles of the fermented grape and chops. It's like a feast for the young molls while we struggle to raise the next beer, ya see.

Boy Menwana injects himself silly with uVeeOu. And he gets a black-out. Boy Dipotla is another freelance economic adjuster who came in with Boy Menwana. He's been on the quiet side. Realising that Boy Menwana is pissed, he lets his fingers do the walking in Boy Menwana's pockets, Joe. And he's turn the "instant" tycoon. He orders grog for the molls who seem unshaken by the number of bottles they down.

The moment of truth dawns when Boy Menwana wakes up: He silently goes through his pockets and realises he's been done. "Jaa hulle het my gewerk. And ek suspect jy Boy Dipotla. Uzoyikhipha mfowethu, 'Strues bob.". Boy Menwana charges like a tiger and all hell break loose. At this juncture, because some of us can't stand the sight of blood, we quit.

We got it through the grapevine the next day that both Boy Menwana and Boy Dipotla were admitted to hospital. The two blokes are friends ya know — economic adjusters — but only separated by ndaramba, greenbacks they accumulated through their slick fingers. I'll never put my foot at this place again, no matter how thirsty one is, 'Strues bob.

Boozers are quite cute. I mean, when it comes to naming their favourite phuza cabins. Take for instance these few: Greenhouse (the colour of the house), Wits (patronised by academics), Halfmark (beers go for peanuts), Colosseum (fun all-round), Lover's Paradise (where the dudes meet), Bophutatswana (the music churned out is good), Magogo (the shebeener is an oldie), Msinga (fights at the drop of a hat) and Las Vegas (patrons dress to detail).

Okay soul sister, take it easy. We know how you feel after those bottles of wine. Your head's splitting right under that beautiful permed hair. Don't worry madam, it'll be all over. Even your boss, just take a closer look at him, has got a monumental hangover. Sekunjalo madoda. See ya next Monday. Ta.

TELLY VIEW

TV 1

The News — 4.00

- **One Life To Live** — Dr Wilde instructs Astrid to arrange a dinner date with Karen Knowing what a helpful and sensitive person Karen is, Wilde is convinced that she will be easy prey. Meanwhile Karen pays a visit to Marco who is still in jail She asks him to be patient and assures him that he will be released shortly. Marco expresses his love to Karen who admits that the feeling is mutual — 4.06
- **The Monday Magazine** — Dance workshop film and interviews — 4.32
- **Disney Educationals** — In Birdland there is one special citizen Orange Bird The bird can't talk but instead bright orange pictures show over his head. It is nearly time to fly south and Orange Bird is told to start a self improvement programme to be strong enough for the journey — 4.50
- **Hand in Hand** — 5.08
- **The Voyagers** — Jeffrey and Bogg take a lesson in the law of the Wild West from legendary Billy The Kid himself. They also meet Teddy Roosevelt, whom Jeffrey saves from death — 5 12
- **News** — 6.00
- **Video Two** — a programme with teenagers in mind — 6.14
- **Key to Knowledge** — Often spectacular, and sometimes catastrophic, storms are intense transformation of energy in the earth's atmosphere On film there are some spectacular storm sequences — 6.49
- **Knight Rider** — Michael and disembodied Kitt must stop a computer whizz kid from using the Trans Am and Kitt to steal an art collection worth ¼-million dollars — 7.09
- **Nuus** — 8.00
- **Die Weerberig** — 8.29
- **Tshechov-Novelle** — stories based on the work of Russian dramatist Anton Tsheckov — 8.36
- **Verslag** — an actuality programme — 8.45
- **The Afrikaans Drama-seisoen** — 9.15
- **Nuus** — 11 04
- **Dagsluiting** — 11 19

TV 2

Ikhaya Labantwana — Duck and his friends show the children how much fun can be had from making things out of paper, but Pig only manages to get it in a mess — 6 05

- **Pouffi and Fouki** — Nomfuneko is trying hard to study for her exams and needs help. Discovery helps Nomfuneko with her studies and shows the differences between reptiles and mammals and explains how humans are the most superior development of mammals — 6.20
- **Ingqubo Ngcaciso** — The programme takes an overall look at the chemical field, and what it means It also looks at the correct and incorrect use of chemicals — 6.43
- **Izindaba** — 7.00
- **Ezomsebenzi** — The qualified artisan is the guiding hand behind a vast range of jobs and services throughout the country But the one thing each artisan has in common is to undergo training as an apprentice — 7.13
- **Actuality** — 7.35
- **Johannesburg Regional Round-up** — This programme reflects activities occurring in the Transvaal TV2 area — 7.51
- **Izimbali Zesizwe** — The content in this magazine programme is almost at the woman and her immediate relationship with her child and her family — 7.59
- **Simulane Indlebe** — This programme deals with chat shows in the studio where prominent people discuss a wide variety of topics Profiles of successful people from all walks of life and a look at the odd things that ordinary people do — 8.07
- **Uchungechunge Lomculo eGoli** — a music programme — 8.17
- **Ezemidlalo** — 8 32
- **Izindaba** — 9.00
- **Imozulu** — 9.28
- **Ezenkolo** — 9.31

TV 3

Ditumediso — 6 00

- **Legae La Bana** — Duck and his friends show the children how much fun they can have by making things out of paper but Pig only manages to get in a mess — 6.05
- **Maaberone** — In this episode Maaberone disappears and Leeple is convinced that she is not alone — he sends a group of warriors under the leadership of Lekoena to look for her — 6.17
- **Thuntsha Lerole** — Traditional music performed in QwaQwa by the Harmony Gold Mine Mohobelo Group, Harmony Dithoko and KLaolao Dingaka — 6.30
- **Ditaba** — 7.00
- **Tsa Mesomo** — A look at how and why artisans go through an apprenticeship and their role in the society — 7 12
- **Dipapadi/Metshameko** — 7.35
- **Tsa Kua Le Kua** — a journal programme — 8.19
- **Di A Rora** — a music programme — 8 37
- **Dikgang** — 9 00
- **Tsa Bosa** — 9 28
- **O Re Bahalele Bosigong** — 9.30

BOP-TV

- **A Re Tshamekeng/Dumelang Bana** — A children's programme — 5 30
- **Woody Woodpecker** — a cartoon series for children — 5 40
- **News** — 6 00
- **Little Vic** — a series about a black boy and his horse — 6 05
- **Vietnam — Children of the Dust** — A documentary — 6 31
- **Lazarus Syndrome** — a medical

Where to go

- **Club Stardust, Sharpeville: 7.30 pm**
- **Jazz Disco Club, Varkfontein: 7.30 pm**
- **Club 2000, Tladi: 7.30 pm**
- **Easy By Night, Katlehong: 6.30 pm**
- **Five 2 Seven, Eden Park: 7. 30 pm**
- **Leratong Inn Club, Klipgat: 7.30 pm**
- **Mzala, Ncala Hall: 7.30 pm**
- **Nhlapo's Bar Lounge and Discotheque, Katlehong: 10 am**
- **Forest Club, Eden Park: 7.00 pm**

702 MUSIC RADIO

- **All Night Show: 1 am to 5 am**
- **Dawn Patrol: 5 am to 6 am**
- **John Berks: 6 am to 9 am**
- **Talk Back with John Berks: 9 am to 10 am**
- **Mike Mills including the Hits of the '60s: 10 am to 1 pm**
- **Jim Hicks: 1 pm to 4 pm**
- **Stan Katz: 4 pm to 7 pm**
- **Alex Jay: 7 pm to 10 pm**

RADIO BOPHUTHATSWANA

- **News Actualities and Music: 5.08 am**
- **A Pleasant Day: 6.30 am**
- **News in English: 8 am**
- **Music for Pleasure: 8.06 am**
- **News in Setswana: 11.00 am**
- **Browsing Around: 11.15 am**
- **School Lessons: 2.02 pm**
- **On The Beat: 2.15 pm**
- **Listeners' Choice: 6.06 pm**
- **Wishing You Well: 8.11 pm**

Ponko has come back

ONE of the weekend's highlights on TV 3 is Saturday's re-screening of the popular drama series, "Le tla mpona," featuring Peter Mokoka, who portrays Ponko, a poor man who suddenly becomes wealthy and arrogant after inheriting money from the estate of his wife who was killed in a motor accident.

The drama took off with Ponko picking a heated argument with one of his colleagues, Bontle, and resigning from his clerical job because he could no longer stand her cynical remarks about his state of "bachelorhood."

His resignation was also prompted by the knowledge that he would soon be financially self-sufficient after getting a large sum of money from his wife's insurers.

Bontle is a spinster who together with her father, Radipadi, make desperate and indirect attempts to influence Ponko into marrying Bontle. Ponko realises this and he tells both of them that he would not have Bontle as his wife even if she were the last woman on earth.

After his wife's death, Ponko had developed a negative attitude towards marriage and he was condemning it as a threat to one's freedom.

He was however, finding it difficult to live alone but his pride would not allow him to admit it. There was no food in his house and he was always complaining of hunger and hated having to cook for himself.

In many shebeens, buses, taxis and in school classrooms, it became common to hear his fans repeating some of the cynical slogans Ponko used to pass at those he looked down upon because of their poverty, like "Go jang ko tlase koo"

Those who have seen how Peter Mokoka portrays Ponko in the drama series will agree that the ries will agree that the powers that be in Auckland Park) or is it Commissioner Street — are either unable, or plainly refusing to recognise talent even when they see one.

After the last screening of "Le tla mpona", Mr Mokoka should have been used on many other drama series and TV film shows.

Mr Mokoka is articulte, charismatic and witty. It does not seem like there is any other actor who could have played the part better. The man was just born to be an actor and he needs more exposure.

He has a unique style which makes him different from some of the best actors of Ken Gampu and Washington Sixolo's calibre. He could save viewers from the yawnful dramas on black TV channels in which almost all actors used are just picked from the street and their acting is so clumsy and childish it makes one wonder who makes the choice of actors and what is the criteria used.

For another exciting viewing time, watch Ponko on Saturday night on TV 3.

POPPIE NONGENA: The cast of 'Poppie' which opens on May 4 in Soweto.

Black woman's burden

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

Poppie Nongena is a fictionalised name of a real South African black woman. The play chronicles her life over the past 40 years, a series of uprootings and separations from her family, building to her children's involvement in the Cape Town youth rebellions of the late 70s.

The Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (Pact) will present Poppie at the Pace Commercial College Theatre, Soweto on May 4 and 5.

And it will play in Pretoria from May 9 to May 19, after which the production transfers to Cape Town where theatre impresario Basil Rubin will present it at the Nico Malan Theatre from May 30 to June 23.

Poppie is based on Elsa Joubert's Die Swerfjare van Poppie Nongena. It has been adapted for stage by Sandra Kotze and Elsa Joubert. It is directed by the renowned South African actor-director, Marius Weyers.

The English production of the play again stars Nomsa Nene in the title role which she played three times previously — at the Market, in New York and for Pact last year. Familiar faces from last year's production are Peter Sephuma, Whinnery-Isiah Setimo and Arthur Masekwameng. They are joined by newcomers Thembsie Times, Themba Nyathi, Carolyn Barkhuizen, Lochner de Kock and Aubrey Radebe.

Politics are inseparable from Poppie's history; grievances accumulate, and the black population grows steadily more impelled to gather and act. But the play never degenerates into tract. It remains solidly focused on the specific, on individual lives that record assaults on humanity.

Poppie's people come from coastal town of Lambert's Bay. They work in fish canneries there until 1955, when the government decides to disperse the black population, many of whom have moved from ethnic lands to towns.

Poppie is poor but loved, part of a tight familial tapestry. Before the resettlement laws, her chief worry is choosing a husband, afterward, it is basic survival.

All black women are ordered from Lamberts' Bay and herded to the mountains, even though their families have lived on the coast for generations, or, like Poppie, they are shunted to Cape Town.

In Cape Town, Poppie finds that she must have a pass, and to get a pass, she must have a job. She finds, too, that jobs are scarce, poorly paid, and the work more gruelling than that which her family has been forced to surrender.

Her husband is in Lambert's Bay. Her children need food, and she needs a roof over her head. There's nothing for her but work as a live-in maid for a family of 11.

The show's style is that of a simple narrative interspersed with songs and short, acted-out scenes. It is totally effective. It is also steeped in the humour of the Xhosa and it is one of the bitterest ironies that South African blacks seem for more tolerant of whites than the whites of them.

P W Botha and white SA at crossroads

CAPE TIMES 3/5/84 (300CM)

The Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

ON the face of it, the Nkomati Accord, the second Carnegie inquiry into poverty in South Africa and the Crossroads squatter camp near Cape Town do not appear to have much in common.

Nkomati was a remarkable diplomatic success; the Carnegie conference is an academic investigation which produced some 300 research papers and Crossroads is a squatter camp which has recently been in the news with faction fights, arson and similar unpleasant occurrences.

Yet, in a vital way, Nkomati, Carnegie and Crossroads are inter-related. They represent the coming together of different patterns of development which could represent a moment of truth not only for Mr Botha and his cabinet, but also for white South Africa with its set of core political beliefs.

These beliefs can be spelled out in a simple way. For years, white South Africans have attemped to persuade the world that we mean well with "our" blacks. We have refused them the vote, not for racist reasons, but because we feared that a black government would, like elsewhere in Africa, lead to an irreversible loss of technocratic efficiency. And this would make it impossible to produce jobs, food and shelter for all the people of South Africa.

Better conditions

This was, in fact, the goal and rationale behind the white technocracy in South Africa; this was indeed a credible justification of white prosperity. If only the West would invest more, if only the total onslaught would go away, South Africa would produce even better living conditions for the black groups in the country.

This is where Nkomati comes in. While there is indeed a threat of ANC insurgency and Russian intervention the "total onslaught" ideology has been exploited to mobilize white opinion for political ends and to distract attention from the country's internal problems, including black poverty. Nkomati has dealt a severe blow not only to the ANC but also to the total onslaught. For how could one continue talking in these terms once one had made peace with Mr Machel, one of the chief "total onslaughters"?

Analyst

The Nkomati Accord has been widely interpreted as a watershed in our internal and external relations. It has indeed shifted the spotlight from the black insurgents at South Africa's borders to the blacks inside the country. Caught unawares by the dramatic peace accord, Pretoria's opponents abroad are now arguing that Nkomati (and the new constitution) will set South Africa free to pursue the represssion and control of blacks even more vigorously.

As astute analyst Heribert Adam has written: "With the external perception of threat diminished as an excuse, domestic policies will come under increased scrutiny." Pretoria's friends in the international community are fervently hoping that Nkomati will enable whites to address vigorously the crisis of black poverty and living conditions."

This is where the Carnegie inquiry comes in. It outlined the magnitude of the crisis. The findings of one research paper after the other drove home the single theme: The vast majority of blacks (and an astonishingly large proportion of coloured people) are desperately poor. While government spokesmen may still derive some comfort from the finding that the proportion of blacks in the homelands below the Minimum Living Level has over the last 20 years declined from 90 percent to about 80 percent, the brutal fact is that the absolute number of people below the bare minimum level has doubled. And the number of destitute has increased five times!

More poverty

Studies prior to Carnegie found that half the male migrant labour force is unemployed and that about 40 percent of the households in even the larger homelands like Kwazulu is landless. There are ever-growing numbers of people without land and without jobs — and that spells ever more poverty, starvation and even deaths.

The government's preferred solution is decentralization and the Development Bank. However, decentralization is extremely expensive. To be really effective, South Africa will have to cripple itself financially. There is now almost complete consensus among scholars that by far the cheapest and the most effective means of alleviating the desperate poverty of the homelands would be to lift influx control.

This is where Crossroads comes in. Crossroads, with its roughly 50 000 inhabitants, is the most visible symbol here and abroad of the great lengths to which blacks will go in their efforts to escape the survival crisis in the homelands. It is also the most crucial test of whether the state will be prepared to accept, however reluctantly, the irresistible pressure of black urbanization.

It was Mr P W Botha himself who last year, after a helicopter ride over Cape Town, decided that all blacks in the Cape Town metropolitan area would have to be relocated in Khayelitsha. "Legal" residents will be resettled there while "illegals" (some 30 000 of them) will be sent home. In the long run this is an alarming prospect for all blacks in Cape Town. But first of all it means that Crossroads, this town of 50 000 inhabitants, will be razed. There are strong indications that this may be done in June or July.

The government's belief that all this can be done on a voluntary basis is surely one of the most stupendous exercises in self-deception in South Africa's history.

This decision is on Mr Botha's personal account and he should be under no illusions about the costs for him personally. His reputation (deserved, in my opinion) as a reformer and a man with much more humane disposition towards blacks than his predecessors, will go up in the smoke of Crossroads. He will fatally damage the careful alliance he has forged with the business community which is firmly insisting that it can only co-operate with the state if an end is made to removals and if the townships are stabilized.

It goes even further. If Crossroads is razed the diplomatic gains of the Nkomati breakthrough will also be obliterated. To the outside world this will be taken as the answer to the potent question of what South Africa intends to do internally with the greater freedom gained from external pressure. I have no doubt that the international uproar will be of almost the same magnitude as that caused in 1977 by Steve Biko's death and the banning of black organizations.

On resettlement and the destruction of black people's homes, the government is dangerously out of touch with world opinion. It still does not appreciate the remarkable impact on American public opinion of the Magopa resettlement last year. It still does not anticipate that the destruction of Crossroads may well push the United States irrevocably on the road to disinvestment and sanctions.

But snubbing the Carnegie inquiry and destroying Crossroads has even wider implications. Can whites continue to say they care about black poverty if they ignore the findings of an inquiry headed by Professor Francis Wilson, one of South Africa's foremost scholars and widely respected for his integrity? Will the smouldering ruins of Crossroads allow whites to continue believing that white technocracy and the capitalist system are beneficial to blacks as well? Dare we attempt to justify our high living standards if blacks are not even allowed to move to the cities and if we send the Crossroads squatters home to sure destitution and starvation?

Ultimately, the bell is tolling not only for Mr Botha and the business community. It is tolling for all of us. It is better to stand up now — before the security forces surround Crossroads on a winter day in 1984 and a news embargo descends upon the scene.

The destruction of Crossroads — and all that goes with it — can still be prevented.

Mr P W Botha

President Machel

Prof Francis Wilson

Cape Times 4/5/84

Separate parties to be retained

30 GA

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Prohibition of Political Interference Act might be considerably amended in the current session of Parliament — but the basic principle of racially separate political parties will be retained, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his budget vote, Mr De Klerk said three basic criteria would have to be met: Political parties would be for members of one race only, election agents would have to be of the same race as candidates and public meetings in election campaigns could be addressed only by people of the same race as members of the party involved.

A draft bill would probably be introduced in the current session.

Nkomati catalyst brings problems to the surface

OPINION

A WEEKLY FEATURE PRESENTING A WIDE VARIETY OF VIEWS

HERMAN GILIOMEE

ON the face of it, the Nkomati Accord, the second Carnegie inquiry into poverty in South Africa and the Crossroads squatter camp near Cape Town do not appear to have much in common.

Nkomati was a remarkable diplomatic success; the Carnegie conference is an academic investigation which produced some 300 research papers and Crossroads is a squatter camp which has recently been in the news with faction fights, arson and similar unpleasant occurrences.

Yet, in a vital way, Nkomati, Carnegie and Crossroads are inter-related. They represent the coming together of different patterns of development which could represent a moment of truth, not only for Mr Botha and his Cabinet, but also for white South Africa with its set of core political beliefs.

These beliefs can be spelt out in a simple way. For years white South Africans have attemped to persuade the world that we mean well with "our" blacks. We have refused them the vote, not for racist reasons, but because we feared that a black government would, like elswhere in Africa, lead to an irreversible loss of technocratic efficiency.

And this would make it impossible to produce jobs, food and shelter for all the people of South Africa.

This was in fact the goal and rationale behind the white technocracy in South Africa; this was indeed a credible justification of white prosperity.

If only the West would invest more, if only the total onslaught would go away South Africa would produce even better living conditions for the black groups in the country.

This is where Nkomati comes in. While there is indeed a threat of ANC insurgency and Russian intervention the "total onslaught" ideology has been exploited to mobilise white opinion for political ends and to distract the attention from the country's internal problems, including black poverty.

Nkomati has dealt a severe blow not only to the ANC but also to the total onslaught. For how could one continue talking in these terms once one had made peace with Mr Machel, one of the chief "total onslaughters".

The Nkomati Accord has been widely interpreted as a watershed in our internal as well as external relations. It has indeed shifted the spotlight from the black insurgents at South Africa's borders to the blacks inside the country.

Caught unawares by the dramatic peace accord, Pretoria's opponents abroad are now arguing that Nkomati (and the new constitution) will set South Africa free to pursue the represssion and control of blacks even more vigorously.

As the astute analyst, Mr Heribert Adam has written: "With the external perception of threat diminished as an excuse, domestic policies will come under increased scrutiny."

Pretoria's friends in the international community are fervently hoping that Nkomati will enable whites to address vigorously the crisis of black poverty and living conditions.

This is where the Carnegie inquiry comes in: It outlined the magnitude of the crisis. The findings of one research paper after the other drove home the single theme; the vast majority of blacks (and an astonishingly large proportion of coloured people) are desperately poor.

While Government spokesmen may still derive some comfort from the finding that the proportion of blacks in the "homelands" below the Minimum Living Level has over the last 20 years declined from 90% to about 80%, the brutal fact is that the absolute number of people below the bare minimum level has doubled.

And the number of destitute has increased five times!

Studies prior to Carnegie have found that half the male migrant labour force is unemployed and that about 40% of the households in even the larger homelands like KwaZulu are landless. There are ever growing numbers of people without land and without jobs — and that spells ever more poverty, starvation and even deaths.

The Government's preferred solution is decentralisation and the Development Bank. However, decentralisation is extremely expensive. To be really effective South Africa will have to cripple itself financially.

There is now almost complete consensus among scholars that by far the cheapest and the most effective means of alleviating the desperate poverty of the homelands would be to lift influx control.

This is where Crossroads comes in. Crossroads with its roughly 50 000 inhabitants is the most visible symbol here and abroad of the great lengths to which blacks will go in their efforts to escape the survival crisis in the homelands.

It is also the most crucial test for whether the state will be prepared to accept, however reluctantly, the irresistible pressure of black urbanisation.

It was Mr P W Botha himself who last year after a helicopter ride over Cape Town decided that all blacks in the Cape Town metropolitan area will have to be relocated in Khayelitsha.

"Legal" residents will be resettled there while "illegals" (some 30 000 of them) will be sent home. In the long run this is an alarming prospect for all blacks in Cape Town.

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Will the smouldering ruins of Crossroads allow whites to continue believing that white technocracy and the capitalist system are beneficial to blacks as well?

Dare we attempt to justify our high living standards if blacks are not even allowed to move to the cities and if we send the Crossroads squatters home to sure destitution and starvation?

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(1) to (8) The Government of kwaZulu has been consulted and close liaison about the matter will be maintained with that Government.

The matters raised in questions (1) to (6) are still being investigated.

Mr G B D McINTOSH: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply given by the hon the Deputy Minister, is he prepared to give us an undertaking that the Department of Environment Affairs and Fisheries, which will be responsible for the building of the dam, will make some money available to finance the decent and orderly movement of those people, unlike they did in the Bergville area?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it is not possible for me to guarantee the raising of any money by other departments. What this Department is prepared to guarantee, however, is that they will work in close liaison with the Government of kwaZulu to resettle those people.

The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS AND FISHERIES: Does the hon member want dams to be built in Natal or does he not? He should decide about that very quickly. [Interjections.]

*11. Maj R SIVE—Agriculture—Reply standing over.

304A Hansard

Walvis Bay: Coloured voters

Q. Col. 1115 4/5/84

*12. Maj R SIVE asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

(1) Whether the Delimitation Commission has decided to include the Coloured voters of Walvis Bay in an electoral division of Cape Town for the purpose of representation in the House of Representatives; if so,

(2) whether he intends to create in respect of the said Coloured voters a separate electoral division similar to the one for the White voters of Walvis Bay; if not, why not; if so,

(3) whether he will amend section 49(4) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No 110 of 1983, accordingly?

The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

(1) The Delimitation Commission has not yet presented its report.

(2) I am not empowered to create electoral divisions.

(3) The hon member is familiar with the way in which Acts of Parliament are amended. I have received no representations towards the amendment of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983, in this respect and have not considered such an amendment.

Maj R SIVE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply given by the hon the Minister, should the Coloured people ask for a separate constituency to be established at Walvis Bay, will he be prepared to consider such request favourably?

The MINISTER: At this stage the establishment of electoral divisions for Coloured people has already progressed to such a stage that I really believe it is too late to stop the process now. I believe we should adhere to our target date.

Maj R SIVE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply given by the hon the Minister, when the Delimitation Commission has completed its work and it should be found that Walvis Bay is part of a constituency of

Cape Town, will the hon the Minister then favourably consider the establishment of a separate constituency for Coloureds in Walvis Bay, as was done in the case of the White voters?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I cannot create electoral divisions. That can only be done in terms of the current legislation, which does not in the case of the Coloured make particular provision for the creation of a separate constituency at Walvis Bay. The hon member must, however, I believe, also check on his facts. One of his hon colleagues yesterday strongly opposed the small number of voters which we will have in Coloured constituencies in the Orange Free State. I believe that in this instance things might even be worse, and the hon member might also meet with strong opposition from within his own party. [Interjections.]

Maj R SIVE: Mr speaker, further arising out of the reply given by the hon the Minister, is he not aware of the fact that there are only about 3 500 White voters in the White constituency as compared with between 15 000 and 20 000 voters in other constituencies?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am well aware of that. I do not believe, however, that the number of Coloured voters in Walvis Bay will reach anything near the figure of 3 500.

*13. Dr M S BARNARD—Health and Welfare—Reply standing over.

Hansard Q.Col. 1117

Cradock: magistrate

4/5/84

*14. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) What (a) is the age, (b) are the educations and (c) is the departmental experience of the magistrate of the district court of Cradock, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply;

(2) whether the said magistrate has made a report to the South African Police concerning the activities of a person whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) in what manner and (b) on what date was the report made?

The MINISTER OF INDUSTRIES, COMMERCE AND TOURISM (for the Minister of Justice):

(1) (a) 26.

(b) Diploma Iuris.

(c) Clerical duties—5 years.
Public Prosecutor—1½ years.
Head of Office—1 year.
Additional Magistrate—1 year.

(2) No.

*15. Mr P H P GASTROW—Law and Order—Reply standing over.

*16. Mr P G SOAL—Education and Training—Reply standing over.

New salary structure

*17. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 746 on 24 April 1984, the new salary structure has been extended to (a) chief inspectors and rectors and (b) in-

Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche

ARGUS 7/5/84

Terre'Blanche denies giving a nazi salute

30CA

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, has denied that he executed a nazi or any other kind of salute after his speech at the Afrikanervolkswag rally at the weekend.

Mr Terre'Blanche, flanked by a bodyguard of six uniformed men, one wearing a pistol, was seen lifting his hand after his speech.

Speaking from his home in Ventersdorp, Mr Terre'Blanche said it may have been a gesture to indicate that he had completed a speech. "If it was a salute, then I was saluting the Afrikaner people," he said.

He made it clear, however, that he did not like the interpretation of his actions in the Press.

"I do what I want to, as I want to, as long as it agrees with my conscience and the laws of the country," he said.

The rally at the formation of the culture organisation was reminiscent of the 1930s and 40s, the Ossewabrandwag, the stormjaers and the centenary celebrations of the Battle of Blood River, said Professor Willem Kleynhans of Unisa's political science department.

The emotive scenes on Saturday "were traditional and typical of National Party rallies during the 1930s.

"The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha would represent J B M Hertzog, a former Prime Minister of South Africa, a fusionist, while Dr Treurnicht and Mr Jaap Marais were the purists representing Dr D F Malan."

Militant core

Row brews among Afrikaners as right-wingers form new movement

Argus 7/5/86

30 A

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

RENEWED tensions have been created in Afrikaner political and cultural circles by the founding of a militant new movement, the Afrikanervolkswag.

Markedly right-wing and extremist trends at its inaugural meeting in Pretoria on Saturday are worrying some Nationalist leaders.

The Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party were united in their support for the movement.

The executive consists of CP and HNP supporters. This could lead to far closer co-operation between the two.

The AV is also poised to take control of the Federasie van Kultuurvereniginge (the FAK), the main grouping of Afrikaans cultural organisations.

Concern is felt in some political circles over the intemperate remarks of some speakers at the meeting, which was attended by a crowd of between 5 000 and 7 000, and a militaristic display by the ultra-right-wing Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging.

Paramilitary

Its leader, Mr Eugene Terre' Blanche, was escorted by a paramilitary guard, one of them armed with a revolver.

Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the CP, and Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP, were among the speakers.

The movement professes to be only cultural, but the Transvaal Nationalist leader, Mr F W de Klerk, expressed concern about its militaristic undertone and said it was playing recklessly with the sentiments of Afrikaners.

Professor Gawie Cillie, chairman of the FAK, has complained that the FAK was not consulted in the plans to start the AV. He says the movement will go in a political direction from the start. Among its aims is a white homeland.

Patrons

Many of its patrons are former Nationalist politicians, among them former ministers Mr Jimmy Kruger and Mr S L Muller and the former Speaker of the Assembly, Mr Henning Klopper, as well as Mrs Betsie Verwoerd, widow of Dr H F Verwoerd.

Dr Connie Mulder, former Minister of Information, told the meeting that the Afrikaner was "sick and tired" of falling about at the feet of enemies.

Professor Carel Boshoff, the former chairman of the Broederbond, who was elected chairman of the AV, today rejected the criticism.

"All invited"

He said from Pretoria that all Afrikaners had been invited to help start the AV.

People who had made what appeared to be a militaristic appearance had done so in their personal capacities. This would not be the character of the AV. It would not be a political movement, but politics sometimes formed part of a nation's cultural life.

The movement will conduct a membership drive before its first national congress, in September or October.

Religious leaders condemn Volkswag

By BRIAN STUART
Religion Reporter

THE use of religion and a swastika-like symbol at the establishment of the Afrikanervolkswag in Pretoria on Saturday were unanimously condemned by religious leaders in the Cape today, including the NGK family of churches.

At the event, calls were made for racial purity in the name of Afrikanerdom, with a claim of Christianity for the organisation.

The Rev Tappies Möller, moderator of the Western Cape Synod of the Ned Geref Kerk, said Christianity stood apart from militarist concepts and the term Christian could not be used to support racial concepts.

The Rev David Botha, former Moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, said he found the symbolism used on the occasion "offensive" (aanstootlik).

"REPULSIVE"

Dr John de Gruchy, former chairman of the United Congregational Church and head of the Department of Religious Studies at UCT, said he found the Volkswag meeting "repulsive".

Dr de Gruchy, who has just returned from an international symposium to mark the 50th anniversary of the German Confessing Church in opposition to Hitler's brand of religion, said there were clear parallels between the Volkswag and pre-war German calls for racial purity as a sort of "Aryan Christianity".

Referring to the use of the swastika-like symbol, he said: "It is very reminiscent of those events and it evokes the same emotional response.

NOT CHRISTIAN

"At the heart of Christianity lies the cross. The swastika is a perverted distortion of the cross, in the same way as the Volkswag's statements reflected a perverted distortion of Christianity.

"There is nothing Christian about it."

The Rev Abel Hendricks, Cape chairman of the Methodist Church and former head of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, said of the Volkswag claims: "It is almost an insult to God.

"You cannot possibly associate the symbol of the swastika with the Gospel. It has caused so much pain and hurt and now to revive emotions that run as high as that..."

ljoen said he had
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ry improvements.

well as the percentage increase over the last year was higher than that for defence spending.

tives of the country's universities had said they were in favour of greater flexibility in this regard.

They had asked for the

ACHIA 15 cm Pot 3,50
EST 12 cm Pot 1,95
12 cm Pot 2,95

'Tragedy for education'

ARGUS 8/4/84 (304A)

Parliamentary Staff

IT was "an enormous tragedy" for South Africa that education under the new constitutional dispensation would still be subject to apartheid, the Assembly was told.

Mr Horace van Rensburg (PFP Bryanston) said this was a rejection of the most valuable recommendation of the De Lange committee on education and had come as a disappointment to thousands of teachers, parents and others of all races.

The continuation of the apartheid system was also "a cruel setback" in South Africa's process of reform.

TWO OPTIONS

Predicting that apartheid would eventually be abolished, Mr van Rensburg said the Government had two options:

- It could abolish apartheid at its own initiative: or,
- It would eventually have to give way under pressure and thereby lose control over the process.

Mr van Rensburg said most South Africans wanted an education system that was not based on apartheid.

CHARTER

Teacher organisations representing about 150 000 teachers in South Africa and South West Africa had joined in condemnation of apartheid at the weekend and declared themselves in favour of a charter for teacher unity.

The charter called for one Ministry of Education and equal standards of education for all, regardless of race, creed or sex.

Mr van Rensburg called on the Government to announce a programme for the elimination of race discrimination in the allocation of education funds.

SEVEN TIMES

He said whites were at present allocated seven times the amount granted to blacks for education and 24 times the amount allowed for sport.

The present annual allocation for each child for the various race groups was: whites R1 385, Indians R871, coloured R593 and blacks R192.

"This crass form of discrimination cannot be tolerated any longer," Mr van Rensburg said.

Replying to points raised during the debate, the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said it was wrong to use the expenditure per child as a starting point in considering education finance.

NEW FORMULAS

Other factors also had to be taken into account. The Government was seeking new formulas for financing education.

The Government was, in fact, making concerted efforts to bring about equal education opportunities for all race groups as soon as possible.

However, the standards achieved in the more advanced education systems could not be allowed to be lowered in the process.

Changes in the education system could not be achieved overnight.

BRIDGE GAP

Efforts to bridge the education gap in respect of black and coloured children were seriously hampered by the high rate of population growth of these groups and by a shortage of trained teachers.

While the Government was committed to bringing about equal education, the extent to which this could be achieved would be up to individual communities.

Dr Viljoen said the Government was considering the imposition of levies on families to pay for education.

This was a matter which had to be co-ordinated between the provincial authorities.

He gave an assurance that legislation to put such a move into effect would not be introduced before the public had been fully informed.

ARGUS 8/5/84 (304A)

Both sides bring Volkswag under fire

Parliamentary Staff

THE new right-wing movement, the Afrikanervolkswag, and its founders have come under fire from both the Government and the official Opposition in the Assembly.

The strongest attack was made by the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who denounced the formation of the movement as "a reckless, irresponsible action" aimed at dividing the Afrikaner in all spheres of life.

"I warn the Afrikaner people to resist with strength and determination this reckless and sly attempt to politicise our cultural life," he said.

Earlier, Mr Horace van Rensburg (PFP Bryanston) called on the Government to act without hesitation against the Afrikanervolkswag if it should engage in acts of racism or violence.

Interjections

Conservative Party members defended the movement by way of interjections.

At one stage Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said: "I would rather walk with Jaap Marais (leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party) on the road to separate development than with the National Party on the road to integration."

The formation of the Afrikanervolkswag became a major issue during yesterday's debate on the National Education budget vote.

Referring to the inaugural meeting of the movement held in Pretoria at the weekend, Mr Horace van Rensburg said speeches by right-wing leaders such as Mr Jaap Marais and Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche had been militant and provocative.

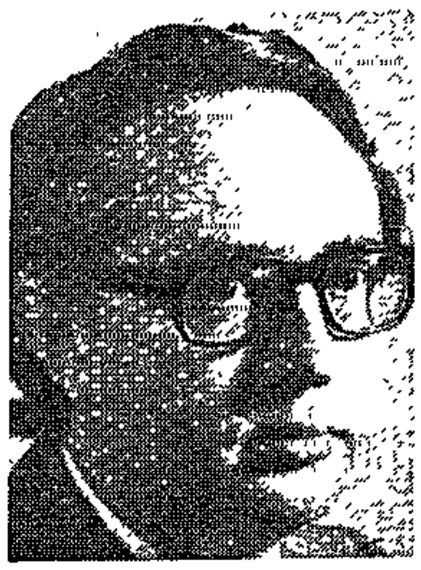
The movement showed signs of becoming "a new Ossewabrandwag in cultural guise."

HNP ideology

Mr P J Clase (NP Virginia) said the Afrikanervolkswag was associating itself with a right-wing rejection of the Government's new constitution.

It was a foregone conclusion that the movement would propagate the political ideologies of the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP).

Under a cloak of "culture" the organisation was seeking to mislead people.



Mr Horace van Rensburg

Dr Gerrit Viljoen

Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the founding of the new movement was "an event of political abuse of culture without precedent in Afrikaner history."

The blatant political motivation behind the establishment of the Afrikanervolkswag was clear from the unusual prominence of right-wing political leaders at its inaugural meeting.

He accused the founders of the movement of selfish action and of failing to rise above their own personal ambitions.

Another clear indication of the political nature of the movement was its loud denunciation of the National Party's policy in particular.

The Minister said no case whatsoever had been made out for an additional cultural organisation among Afrikaners.

He also accused the Conservative Party of "unbelievably cynical and shameless political opportunism" in "hijacking" the HNP's policy.

Dr Viljoen condemened the founding of the Afrikanervolkswag as a move by far-rightwing extremists to extend political division to all spheres of life, including religion and the church, culture, education and business life.

Replying to a question across the floor, Dr Viljoen said Professor Carel Boshoff, one of the founders of the Afrikanervolkswag and a former leader of the Afrikaner Broederbond, should resign as head of the Voortrekker youth movement.

Professor Boshoff had placed himself in such a contentious position in public life that it would be to the good of the Voortrekker movement if he resigned in the present circumstances.

Cultural body slated as militant

CAPE TIMES 8/5/84

304A

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Hints of Nuremberg rallies, "swastikas" and talk of war at the founding congress of the controversial Afrikanervolkswag were roundly condemned in Parliament yesterday.

The new, ultra-right-wing organization is threatening to rip Afrikaner unity apart and a television programme on its formation at the weekend has drawn howls of protest throughout the country.

Opposition spokesmen warned the government in Parliament yesterday to be on its guard against the organization and the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the movement was a blatant misuse of cultural traditions for party-political ends without "equal or precedent in Afrikaner history".

Political observers believe that the "broeder twis" which is now brewing will overshadow the Hertzogite split in 1969 in vehemence and bitterness.

The founding congress in Pretoria's Skilpadsaal — where the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and Conservative Party (CP) were also formed — was marked by militant speeches and youths wearing nazi-type uniforms and insignia.

The leaders of both the CP and the HNP as well as the leader of the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) addressed the mass gathering.

Nationalist as well as opposition MPs hit out at the new movement yesterday.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen

Mr Horace van Rensburg

Mr Horace van Rensburg, chief opposition spokesman on education, said the militant speeches at the rally by Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP, and Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, head of the AWB, were out of keeping with a cultural organization.

"The question many are asking is whether we have seen the birth of a new cultural organization or the emergence of a new, militant, activist front in the mould of the old Ossewabrandwag," he said.

The government would have to be vigilant against reckless propagation of racism and violence.

Mr Roger Burrows, Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinetown, called for an assurance from the government that no state funds would be given to the "supremacist, racially divisive 'cultural body' ".

Clearly referring to the weekend television programme on the inaugural congress, he said: "All South Africa saw a strong hint of Nuremberg rallies — flags and flames, swastikas and guns, talk of war and blood.

"Let there be no doubt that if we are to see a face-off between the Afrikanervolkswag and that other racially-structured group, the National Forum — a black consciousness organization, we will be precipitated into anarchy and chaos."

Replying to the debate on National Education, Dr Viljoen, a former head of the Broederbond, clearly rejected claims that the Afrikanervolkswag was a cultural organization.

The motivation for the organization lay clearly in the inability of the right-wing political leaders to rise above their own political ambitions.

'Spoilers'

There was no need for another Afrikaner cultural organization and instead of consolidating forces, there were now attempts to weaken existing organizations.

The new movement was nothing more than a coming-together of the "spoilers" of 1969 and 1982 — references to the HNP and CP respectively.

"I want to warn against the reckless, irresponsible, and for the Afrikaner, potentially self-destructive, action of the far-right to completely divide Afrikanerdom at all levels," said Dr Viljoen.

● **Just what did Eugene mean?, page 3**

ARGUS 8/5/84 30KA

Afrikanervolkswag to battle with FAK at congress — Viljoen

Political Staff

THE next battleground in the war to win control over Afrikaans cultural direction will be at East London in July when the umbrella organisation, the Federasie van Kultuurvereniginge (FAK), holds its annual congress.

Today Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of National Education and a former chairman of the Broederbond, confirmed he believed the Afrikanervolkswag (AV) would try to grab control of the FAK in July.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the AV will try to wrest control of the FAK away from more moderate people," Dr Viljoen said.

"But I am also sure the majority of Afrikaner cultural leaders throughout the country feel concern at the military line of the AV.

"The number of delegates allowed to attend the FAK congress is so large that if these leaders wake up — as I am sure they will do — and are all represented, they will thwart any attempt to pirate it."

The row over the founding of the AV to rival the AB took up much of Parliament's time yesterday when National Party and Opposition MPs hit out at the military-style ceremony.

Dr Viljoen today described the AV as having a cultural front, an emotive style and political aims.

The AV is led by Professor Carel Boshoff, another former AB chairman, who said today the aim of the organisation was to establish communication channels for the Afrikaner. He denied it was a political organisation and said the image of the AV as having military goals was not correct.

The present chairman of the FAK, Professor Gawie Cillie, has rejected the AV as political and said its aim appeared to be a white homeland.

Several AV supporters are on the FAK executive and the battle in July will be to take control of the executive before redirecting the body's main thrust.

what did Eugene mean by that salute?

Some incensed South Africans claim that Mr Terre'Blanche's rapid fly-catcher was actually a nazi salute.

Mr Terre'Blanche, on the other hand, says he was merely saluting Afrikanerdom and not trying to step into the jackboots of Hitler.

However, observers of the ethnic scene noted yesterday that saluting outside the armed forces is not an ethnic Afrikaner tradition.

They pointed out that traditionally Afrikaners have been poor saluters because of their belief that all men were equal in the sight of the Almighty, if not always in certain group areas down on earth.

Through the ages Afrikaners have saluted an individual, ideal or institution, if they saluted at all, by removing their headgear and — on serious occasions — muttering "God bless him/it".

However, they were more likely to mutter: "He's only a man, after all — and why are they raising the wheel tax?"

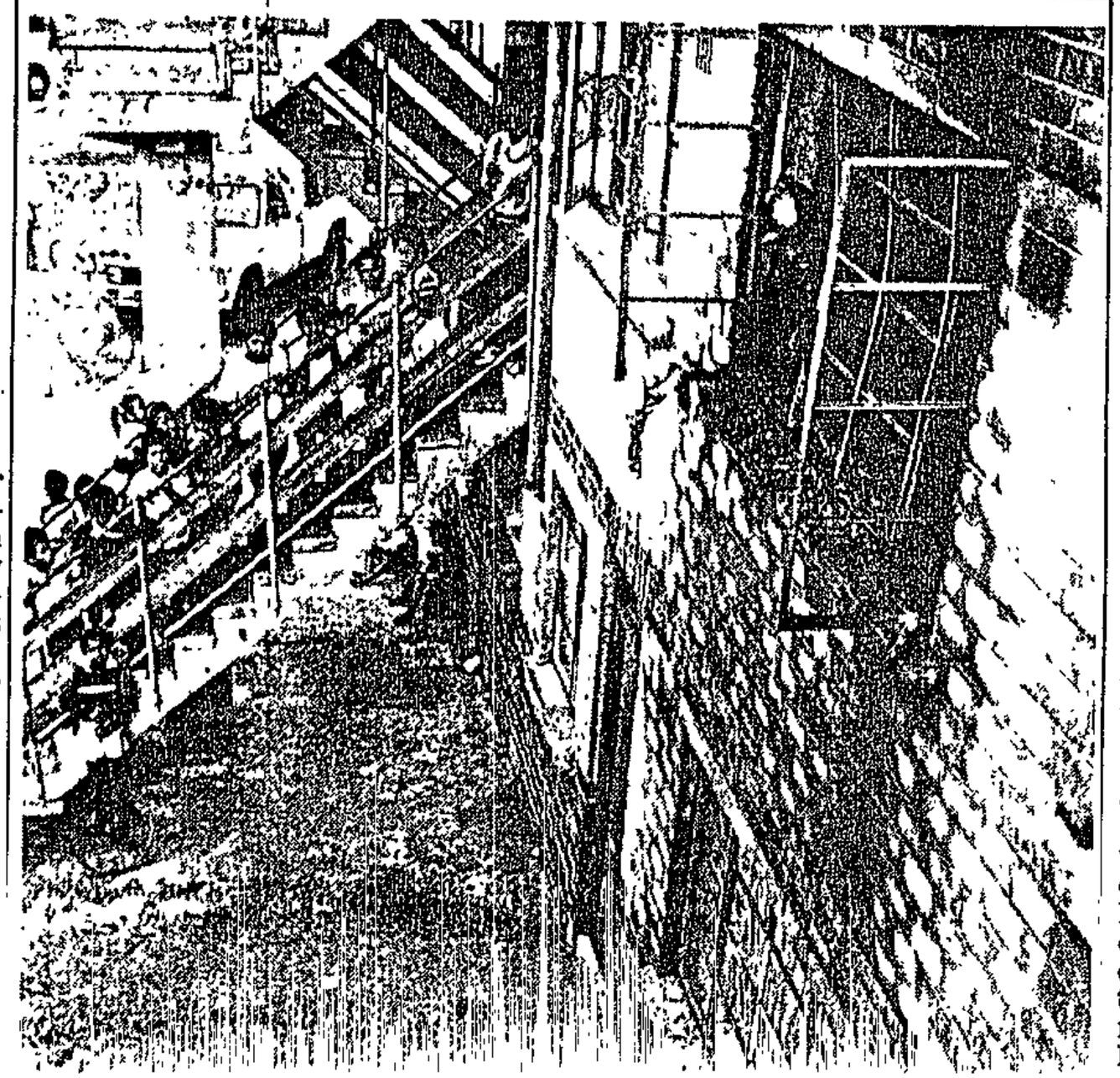
From a traditional point of view, therefore, it would have been quite enough for Mr Terre'Blanche to clasp his hat to his ample bosom, roll his eyes skywards and sing the first verse of "Kent Gij Dat Volk", the anthem of the old South African Republic.

Failing that, he could have shouted "Remember Amajuba!" or "Remember Blood River!" with equally good effect.

It is also a fact, observers say, that Mr Terre'Blanche's flip of the wrist was unfortunately close to the parting wave habitually used by the late Hitler instead of the straight-armed salute his underlings fancied.

Observers also noted a remark by another Volksfront speaker, Colonel Japie Jacobs — who professed to see the Zulu impis massing somewhere behind the last row of chairs in the Skilpadsaal — that the South African Police had been taken out of their khaki uniforms so that they would not have to wear the same colour as the English police.

They pointed out that South African policemen wore blue uniforms till after the National Party victory in 1948, when the the government put them into khaki so that they would not wear the same colour as British coppers. The same government then later took them out of khaki and put them back into blue.



Death of Kuswag 4 captain

Chief Reporter

CAPTAIN Jim Nicholson, 48, master of the Safmarine-operated anti-pollution vessel Kuswag 4, which returned to Cape Town from East London on Friday after taking part in the search for the crew of the missing yacht Rubicon, died on board his vessel in Cape Town docks yesterday morning.

He was thought to have had a heart attack, or a massive stroke.

Kuswag 4 was to attempt, when the weather improved sufficiently, to put a diving team on board the East London drydock caisson that drifted on to the rocks below Chapman's Peak on Saturday.

School fire: Arson probe

Crime Reporter

A SCHOOL administration block in Belhar was extensively damaged in a fire suspected to have been started by arsonists early yesterday.

Nearby residents rushed to the Accordian Street Primary School to help fight the blaze about 6.30am. Firemen arrived a short while later but seven rooms and their contents — including the principal's office, a sick bay and the staff room — were badly damaged before the fire was finally extinguished about an hour later.

The front door to the administration block had been forced by unidentified intruders during the night, a police liaison officer, Captain Gerhard van Rooyen, said. A case of arson was being investigated.

"Luckily, a lot of parents living near the school rushed out and sprayed the fire with extinguishers and hoses," the school's principal, Mr A M F Adams, said.

"Some equipment appears to have been stolen and a lot of books, files and stationery were completely destroyed in the fire."

The flames opened up holes in part of the building's roof and destroyed furniture, ceilings and light fittings.

Children helped their teachers clean up some of the rubble yesterday.

FREE FROM Elizabeth Arden

Mr Terre'Blanche at an AWB meeting.

Just what did Eugene mean

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

WAS Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche — self-appointed repository of all that is good and fine in the Afrikaner soul — being appropriately ethnic when he let his Volksfront audience have that quick up-and-down flip of the right arm at the Skilpadsaal at the weekend?

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Failing that, he could

Teachers 'at end of tether'

CAPE TIMES 8/5/84

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Anger among the teaching profession is mounting at the continued delay in announcing the promised substantial salary adjustment.

In Parliament yesterday, the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, again acknowledged the gap between salaries in the public service and those in the teaching profession.

However, he gave no indication about the extent of the long-delayed increases or when they would come into operation.

vice, which had been substantially boosted by the application of the principle of "occupational differentiation".

The principle had only been partially applied to teachers.

Teachers were angered by the unexplained delays in honouring undertakings given the profession three years ago, Mr Ballard said.

"We are being inundated with inquiries from teachers, many of them irate."

He said the profession wanted the balance between public service

Brand protests at road curbs

Municipal Reporter

THE City Engineer, Mr Jan Brand, has protested strongly at a "sudden crippling reduction" by the Provincial Administration in this year's proposed spending on the metropolitan transport five-year programme for roads.

A report containing Mr Brand's protest was before the City Council's Utilities and Works Committee yesterday.

In his report, Mr Brand recommended that the "very serious" effects of the cut should be brought to the attention of the Provincial Administration and the Government.

Death of Kuswag 4 captain

Chief Reporter

CAPTAIN Jim Nicholson, 48, master of the Safmarine-operated anti-pollution vessel Kuswag 4, which returned to Cape Town from East London on Friday after taking part in the search for the crew of the missing yacht Rubicon, died on board his vessel in Cape Town docks yesterday morning.

He was thought to have had a heart attack, or a massive stroke.

Kuswag 4 was to attempt, when the weather improved sufficiently, to put a diving team on board the East London drydock caisson that drifted on to the rocks below Chapman's Peak on Saturday.

Captain Nicholson was, when he died, supervising the preparation of Kuswag 4 to

CAPE TIMES 9/5/84 (304A)

Row rages over 'fascist' body

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The row over the formation of the controversial Afrikanervolkswag raged on in Parliament yesterday, with various parties labelling it "fascist, racist, violent, dangerous and ugly".

However, the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, staunchly defended his party's support for the recently formed body, saying the CP rejected any organization that displayed militant ideologies like national socialism or fascism.

Speaking during an often bitter and emotion-charged debate on the National Education vote, Dr Treurnicht conceded he did not agree with everything that had been said at last Friday night's founding ceremony of the new Afrikaner organization — which sparked howls of protest across the country.

But he stressed that he did not feel "the slightest regret" over his appearance as a speaker at the meeting which the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has described as a blatant misuse of cultural traditions for party-political ends without "equal or precedent in Afrikaner history".

Dr Treurnicht warned Afrikaners against allowing themselves to be served by a cultural organization representing only one political standpoint.

"We reject the endangering of freedom of cultural association by politics," he said.

The CP accepted the need to struggle against those wishing to deny this freedom provided the struggle stayed within the bounds of "Christian decency".

Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) said he wanted to reassure the Progressive Federal Party, the New Republic Party and English-speakers — including Jews — that they had nothing to fear from the new organization.

The government, he said, had engaged in a massive intimidation exercise against formation of the new organization.

"The struggle will continue," he said.

Responding to opposition calls to take action against the Afrikanervolkswag, Dr Viljoen cautioned against making a martyr of the organization.

The minister said the organization should be left to its own devices and the public would give it the judgement it deserved.

The government had a good record of dealing with organizations which resorted to violence and racial hatred, he said, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, would know how to use the law to act against the organization should it resort to violence.

Earlier, the PFP's spokesman on education, Mr Horace van Rensburg, described Dr Viljoen's reaction as "laughable", given the National Party's own record of blatant and shameless secrecy and prejudice.

The NP had in the past exploited and abused virtually every cultural organization it could to promote its politics.

He chided the minister for his failure to give the assurances the PFP had called for to act against the new organization.

Mr Van Rensburg said if the government did not have the conviction to act effectively against the Afrikanervolkswag, then the PFP would do so. This was met by a deafening chorus of derisive jeers from government benches.

The NRP's chief spokesman on education, Mr Ron Miller, said it was the constitutional and democratic right of any South African to establish a cultural organization — "provided it was not abused, did not break the law and did not propagate a policy that was offensive to a large section of the population".

However, when the CP, the HNP and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging established the Afrikanervolkswag, they had abused their constitutional rights and had misled people into believing it was a cultural body.

In Sunday night's programme on SATV the organization had shown itself to be not only racist, but also "a new phase of fascism".

The leader of the NRP, Mr Vause Raw, said in a statement released in Cape Town yesterday that the new body, although dangerous and ugly, did not deserve "political over-reaction".

Indians, coloured promised a 'real say' in local councils

ARGUS 11/5/84 (30)

Political Staff

LEGISLATION to give Indians and coloured people a real say in local government could come before Parliament this year, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, has announced.

At a Press conference after the second meeting of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs, Mr Heunis said various recommendations were to be made to the Cabinet and legislation would be moved in Parliament as soon as possible.

TARGET AREAS

One of the main target areas was the establishment of regional bodies to provide services and to collect and distribute money to groups of local authorities.

Mr Heunis said the regional bodies, if accepted by the Government, would not replace the second tier of government but would be an extension of the third tier.

The recommendations had arisen from the reports of sub-committees of the Council.

AFTER STUDY

Mr Heunis said the sub-committees' reports would not be made public immediately but could be released after they had been studied by the Government.

At yesterday's council meeting, Mr Heunis said although there were many differences between members who represented different race groups and political persuasions, they had been prepared to work together within the parameters of Government policy to find solutions to the problems of local government.

The council had dealt with reports on voting qualifications for local government, regional service boards, the training of representatives and officials and the control of local government.

Mr Heunis said he could not say what recommendations were made.

TRANSITION PERIOD

He pointed out that changes would not come simultaneously but there would be a transitional period during which problems, including the control of local government, would be tackled.

The position of blacks in local government was not discussed as it was not within the brief of the council to do so.

The possibility of legislation going before Parliament this year depended on the ability of his department to prepare the documentation to put before the Cabinet.

RAND DAILY MAIL, Friday, May 11, 1984 (304 A)

SECURITY DRIVE WITH LESOTHO AND BOTSWANA SPEEDS UP

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

SOUTH AFRICA'S drive to forge security pacts with Lesotho and Botswana gained momentum yesterday as South African and Lesotho security officers met for talks in Bloemfontein and officials from South Africa and Botswana prepared for imminent talks.

Unlike Swaziland, which secretly signed a non-aggression agreement with South Africa in February 1982, Lesotho and Botswana have resisted overtures to sign a formal accord with South Africa and although at the same time strongly signalling their policies of denying military bases to the African National Congress.

But South Africa's intensified pressure for formal agreements comes as the terms of the Southern African Customs Union are being re-negotiated.

All three BLS countries — as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are known — are members of the union and are heavily dependent on it for revenue. Thus Lesotho and Botswana may not be able to refuse South African demands.

Nearly 40% of Botswana's, and more than 70% of Lesotho's, reveune comes from customs union payments.

The South African Minister of Finance Mr Owen Horwood alluded to the re-negotiation of the customs union agreement in a recent speech in Parliament.

After saying the 1969 agreement between South Africa and the BLS countries had been outdated by the granting of de facto membership to South Africa's "independent homelands", Mr Horwood referred to the "distorting influence of inflation" on calculations under which payments are made to the BLS countries.

"In brief, the agreement in its present form does not meet the needs of the eighties," he said.

An in-depth investigation had been ordered into all aspects of the agreement and "an exchange of notes and discussions with the countries in question has taken place", Mr Horwood added.

At present payments to the BLS countries are calculated according to their share of goods imported into the customs union, multiplied by an "enhancement factor" of 1,42.

South Africa's preparedness to use its position as the dominant partner in the union to achieve wider socio-political objectives was seemingly foreshadowed in a speech by the Prime Minister Mr P W Botha at the launching of the South African-controlled Development Bank.

He said: "We see the customs union not in isolation as a revenue-sharing arrangement, but as part of a comprehensive regional development strategy."

At the time, Mr Botha's speech was interpreted by some observers as a sign of his intention to use the customs union to draw the BLS countries into his proposed Constellation of States.

The signing of non-aggression pacts between South Africa and the BLS countries would be consistent with that aim.

A top-level Swaziland delegation under the Swazi Prime Minister Prince Bhekimpi meets Mr P W Botha for talks in Cape Town today.

Over the next few days, SA diplomats, security officials and politicians will be faced with the most hectic round of negotiations with neighbouring States so far in the current regional peace initiative.

Discussions started yesterday with Botswana and will be held today at different venues with Swaziland and Mozambique. In a related round of key talks, parties involved in the South West Africa dispute meet today in Lusaka. And there indications that talks with Lesotho to arrange a security pact will be held within the next few days.

This is Southern Africa's week of diplomacy at a glance:

ANGOLA

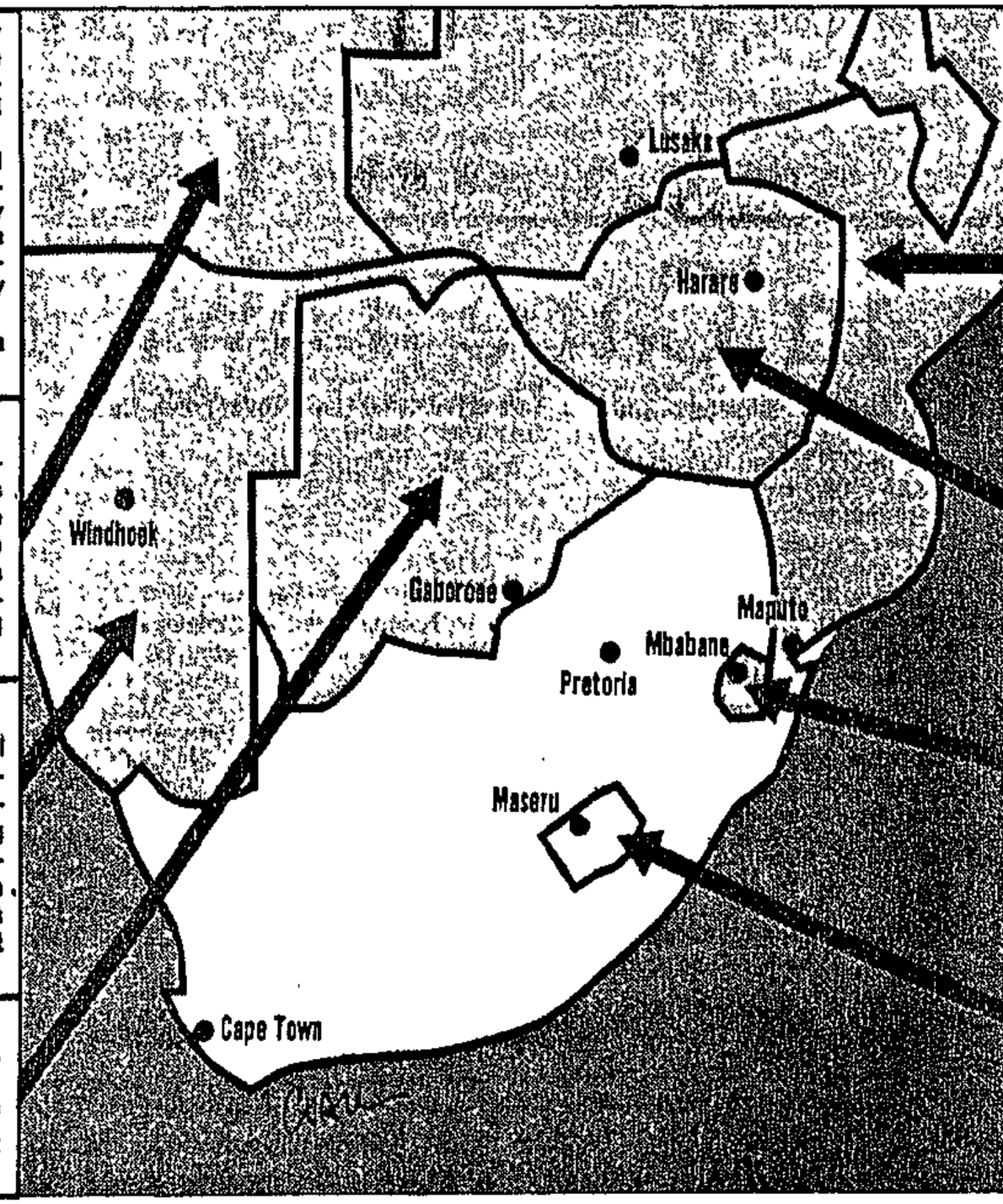
The work of the Joint Monitoring Commission established in terms of the Lusaka agreement earlier this year, has progressed well. The JMC is monitoring the military disengagement process in southern Angola and countering Swapo's activity in the area. Relations between South Africa and Angola have been described as good. Further meetings between political leaders of the two countries could occur soon.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Talks get underway in Lusaka today between political parties — including Swapo — involved in the dispute. South Africa will be represented by the Administrator General, Dr Willie van Niekerk. The meeting will be hosted by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. There are indications that the talks could lead to a significant breakthrough in the seemingly endless SWA dispute. There has even been talk of agreement to form a government of national unity.

BOTSWANA

Talks are expected to be held shortly between officials of the two governments to thrash out details of a security arrangment which will prohibit the use of each other's territory for acts of aggression against the other.



MOZAMBIQUE

Talks will be held in Maputo today between members of the Joint Security Commission set up in terms of the Nkomati Accord. The JSC comprises security and foreign affairs officials of the two countries and will monitor alleged contraventions of the accord. The JSC will also set up a security operation to guard the power lines from the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme to South Africa. The joint security operation to secure the line was agreed to in recently signed contracts for the resuming of power supply from Cahora Bassa to South Africa. Today's JSC meeting will discuss details of the operation.

ZIMBABWE

Relations with South Africa were described this week by Mr Pik Botha as reasonably good. He said there was no need at this stage for a security pact because Zimbabwe had stated publically that its territory may not be used for acts of aggression against SA.

SWAZILAND

A delegation of Cabinet Minister's and other senior officials headed by the Prime Minister, Prince Bhekimpi, arrived in Cape Town yesterday. They will hold talks on a wide range of subjects including security, with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, today. South Africa signed a non-aggression pact with Swaziland more than two years ago, but its existence was only made public this year.

LESOTHO

Talks were held this week between SA and Lesotho to discuss details of a security arrangment to stop cross-border insurgency.

Talks won't alter SA's polecat status

N. Mercury 11/5/84

Stanley Uys
LONDON BUREAU

PRIME Minister Botha's grand European tour becomes grander by the day. At the time of writing, it includes Lisbon, Berne, London, Bonn, Brussels, Rome, Vienna and (probably) Paris. One hears that Mr Botha himself is a little overwhelmed by the way doors have been opening to him in Western Europe.

Way out of isolation

A current description of the tour is that it is meant to 'respectabilise' apartheid. No such thing will happen. Nothing can respectabilise apartheid. In fact, the only way in which the Western European leaders have been able to agree to receive Mr Botha is by re-stating their abomination of apartheid.

The function of the tour is to 'respectabilise' contact with Mr Botha — what the Americans call 'constructive engagement' and the West Germans 'critical dialogue.' If Mr Botha can achieve this he will have started to lead South Africa out of the isolation which began in 1948, when the National Party came into office, and which deepened when Dr Verwoerd took South Africa out of the Commonwealth in 1961.

This could be a watershed in South Africa's external relations, depending on Mr Botha's follow-through, and the Anti-apartheid Movement here has perceived this development. It is mustering all its forces now to block South Africa's emergence from isolation, which explains the sudden violence of the reaction in Britain to Mr Botha's visit. Mr Peter Hain is even comparing Mr Botha with Hitler.

Theoretically, it would be possible for the two interests — one seeking to end isolation, the other to promote it — to co-exist, but it would be an increasingly uneasy co-existence, with the former demotivating the latter.

Nothing can 'respectabilise' apartheid. — Liberal leader David Steel

The Western European leaders found themselves in this dilemma when they were asked to invite Mr Botha to their countries. None of them was keen. They knew they would be accused of going soft on apartheid. But they asked themselves how they could reject dialogue with Pretoria if South Africa's black neighbours themselves were engaged in it — how they could be more African than the Africans themselves?

They appraised the likely public reaction in their respective countries and concluded that, while undoubtedly there would be a sense of outrage among sections of their populations, they would be able to weather the storm.

However, Mrs Thatcher clearly believes that a one-day visit by Mr Botha — a working lunch at No 10 Downing Street or at Chequers — is a risk worth taking, and that the British police will be able to match wits with the demonstrators, employing their tried and tested methods of firm persuasion rather than truncheons. It is remarkable, indeed, how even in this highly democratised country, the police are able to contain most of even potentially explosive street demonstrations.

Pro and anti 'outcast'

The divide which Mr Botha's visit has opened in Britain is not between supporters and opponents of apartheid, but between the pro and anti 'outcast' schools of thought. It is a divide over methods.

The Liberal leader, Mr David Steel, belongs to the pro 'outcast' school. In a letter to The Times this week, he explained the difference between countries where there is repression of civil rights, possibly even on a bigger scale than in South Africa itself, and repression on grounds of race.

'I believe,' said Mr Steel, 'the apartheid system to be uniquely indefensible and malevolent in its precept and practice... apartheid is not simply an attack upon basic rights, it strikes at human dignity, the right to be and be recognised as an individual. That is why the racialist oppression in South Africa represents an intolerable affront not only to the coloured races of Africa and the rest of the world, but to any basic concept of humanity.'

Therefore, said Mr Steel, Mr Botha's visit was unacceptable. 'It is better that he remain an outcast until apartheid is abolished.'

This, incidentally, is an issue which is being debated increasinly here: why there should be contact and dialogue between the West and countries (in the Soviet bloc, South America and elsewhere) where repression of civil liberties matches or even exceeds repression of civil liberties in South Africa, but no contact or dialogue with South Africa, because repression on grounds of race is 'uniquely indefensible.'

Mr Steel's letter raises an absolutely fundamental issue if Mr Botha is to remain an 'outcast' until apartheid is abolished, then negotiation can play no part in the abolition, which leaves only violence, even revolution, as the method by which to achieve apartheid's abolition.

This is where Britain, and the rest of Western Europe, divide within themselves. All the governments which have agreed to receive Mr Botha prefer negotiation — 'constructive engagement', 'critical dialogue', call it what you like — to confrontation.

That is why they are prepared to talk to Mr Botha, against the opposition of those citizens who think dialogue is a waste of time. They suggest that all the gains may be Mr Botha's on his trip and all the losses theirs; but they are ready to go out on a limb, nevertheless.

But talk is all they are going to do. Mrs Thatcher, for one, is not going to lift the arms embargo, or scrap the Gleneagles Agreement on sport; nor, I imagine, is she going to shut down the ANC's office in London, as Mr Botha wants her to do.

Instead, she may ask Mr Botha what he intends to do about apartheid in his own country, and certainly she will ask him what he proposes to do about independence for Namibia.

It is a measure of South Africa's continuing polecat status that Mr Botha's visit to Britain is the first by a South African prime minister since 1961, when Dr Verwoerd took us out of the Commonwealth.

The fact that doors have opened marginally in a number of European capitals now to admit Mr Botha does not signify any lessening of this polecat status: Mr Botha's visit will be an embarrassment to all the host governments in one degree or another. The reason why the host governments have agreed to see him is to discuss with him whether there is anything he is prepared to do to remove the polecat status.

Present indications are that Mr Botha does not intend to give much away — that he will move triumphally from capital to capital (if dodging demonstrators can be called triumphal) and then return to Pretoria to share his triumph. But somewhere along the way he might reflect quietly and personally, on his country's polecat status.

Nothing to be proud of

A polecat status is nothing to be proud of, however righteous the cause might be. There is nothing laudable about carrying a passport that is unacceptable in most of the world. Even in Western Europe, where hopes are still entertained that apartheid is reformable, the visa gates have been clanging down symbolically one by one on South African visitors.

Only when these gates clang open again in Western Europe will South Africa's emergence from isolation start to become a reality — and that will not happen until Mr Botha begins to do something about apartheid — not in Namibia, or in the frontline states, but in his own country.

MONDAY MORNING
Measurement.

304A Hansard Q.61.1219 11/5/84

Voters

*18. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

How many (a) Coloured and (b) Indian persons registered as voters from 1 March 1984 up to the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING (for the Minister of Internal Affairs):

(a) From 1 March 1984 until 30 April 1984 34 102 applications for registration as voters were received. The total increase of registered voters over this period was 23 282.

(b) From 1 March 1984 until 30 April 1984 4 961 applications for registration as voters were received. The total increase of registered voters over this period was 2 348.

East Rand/Far East Rand: draft guide plan

*19. Mr J H VISAGIE asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 11 on 3 February 1984, the draft guide plan for the East Rand and the Far East Rand is still expected to be released by the middle of 1984; if so, on what date; if not, when is it expected to be released;

(2) whether he is considering furnishing the members of the House of Assembly concerned with information in this connection before the official date of release; if not, why not; if so, when;

(3) whether the guide plan committee foresees additional large Black cities like Soweto coming into being in the Vaal Dam supply area; if so,

(4) whether this committee has made any projections or has had any projections made to determine the ability of the Vaal Dam to supply the needs of such Black cities;

(5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) Yes. The precise date cannot be determined at this stage, but it is expected that the draft guide plan will be released during July or August of this year.

(2) No. The draft guide plan will emanate from the activities of a statutory committee. Only after the proposals of this committee have been cast in the form of the draft guide plan, can they be made available to members of the House of Assembly concerned and other interested persons and bodies for information and comment.

(3) and (4) Planning regarding the establishment of new Black cities is undertaken in a broad national and regional context and is therefore not part of the investigation of the guide plan committee concerned.

(5) No.

A Nugent: passport/residence permit

*20. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

(1) Whether one Arnold Nugent entered the Republic in 1982; if so, on what date;

(2) whether this person was in possession of a valid passport at the time; if so, for which country;

(3) whether this person has been issued with a (a) temporary or (b) permanent residence permit; if so, when;

(4) whether this person was asked to furnish details of any previous criminal activities or convictions; if not, why not; if so, with what result;

(5) whether this person has been given notice to leave the Republic; if so, when (a) was he given such notice and (b) is he required to leave the country; if not,

(6) whether any steps have been taken in respect of the residence permit granted to him; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when;

(7) whether any steps are to be taken against this person; if not why not; if so, what steps;

(8) whether he has received any representations from any persons, bodies or foreign governments regarding Arnold Nugent; if so, (a) when, (b) from whom and (c) what was (i) the nature of the representations and (ii) his response thereto?

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING (for the Minister of Internal Affairs):

(1) Yes, on 6 March 1982.

(2) Yes. A British passport.

(3) (a) No.

(b) Yes, on 24 February 1982.

(4) Yes. In his application form dated 8 June 1981, his reply to the question of whether he has ever been found guilty of an offence, was given as "no". In response to reports which have been published on Nugent, the South African Police were requested to investigate the matter. In the course of their investigation the Police obtained a statement from Nugent in which he furnished details of serious criminal convictions.

(5) Yes.

(a) 1 May 1984.

(b) Before 31 May 1984.

(6) and (7) Fall away.

(8) No.

Hansard Q.61.1222 11/5/84

Kwa-Dabeka

*21. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

(1) How many family housing units are there in the Kwa-Dabeka section of Clermont;

(2) whether there is a waiting list for accommodation in this section; if so, how many families are on the list;

(3) whether there is a delay between applying for and receiving accommodation in this section; if so, what is the extent of this delay;

(4) whether accommodation is made available to families in accordance with the order in which names appear on the waiting list; if not, (a) why not and (b) what excpetions are made in this regard?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION:

(1) 797.

(2) Yes, 1 745 families.

(3) Yes. The delay is caused by the fact

A sorry attempt to turn back the clock of Afrikaner history

W/E ARGUS 12/5/86 JOHA

AFRIKANERVOLKSWAG: AN ASSESSMENT BY POLITICAL EDITOR LEON MARSHALL

THE Afrikanervolkswag is not a new invention. It is an imitation — a bad one at that — which is its greatest weakness.

It is an attempt to revive past sentiments which had been the driving force behind the Nationalists rise to power.

The spirit of the past fed on many Afrikaners' sense of deprivation and suppression, real or imagined which goes back in history to probably shortly after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, to the release of the slaves and the Great Trek, the frontier wars with the Xhosas and the bloody battles with the Zulus, and the two Anglo-Boer wars.

Negotiating with 'foreigners'

It needs a glance only at the way history books had been written and fed to successive generations at schools and even universities to see why to this day Afrikaners like those now converging in the Volkswag, and probably quite a few others outside that circle, feel uncomfortable when they see the leaders of the "volk" negotiating with foreigners.

"Foreigners" include the evil money powers which, under the name of Hoggenheimer, could be used in past days to frighten children into going to bed or eating their food.

It causes unease when they see the entire Nationalist Cabinet drive to Johannesburg to negotiate with Hoggenheimer in his lair.

Foreigners include people of other races, to the extent that they do not work in one's kitchen or around the farmhouse or look after one's children. It causes extreme discomfort to see the modern-day leaders of Afrikanerdom talk to these people on a semi-equal footing.

The agreements signed with black (Marxist!) leaders at places like Nkomati borders on treachery. Dealings with foreign powers, like the Americans, are as bad and dangerous.

And what is to be expected after a life-time of history lessons and political speeches in which everybody outside the confines of the laager were depicted in terms of an international conspiracy with the sole objective to destroy Nationalist Afrikanerdom?

The image of the laager was well illustrated by Mr John Vorster's early attempts as Prime Minister to establish contact with black African states and improve relations with foreign countries.

Mr Jaap Marais . . . salvation in struggle.

Mr Henning Klopper . . . happier days.

The slogan devised for it was "beweeg uitwaarts" — 'move outwards'. It resulted in upheaval when the HNP broke from the Nationalists and sought to set up their own laager in 1969.

At last week's launching of the Volkswag in Pretoria, HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais's speech most clearly reflected the desire to turn back the clock of Afrikaner-Nationalist history.

The Afrikaner nation's salvation, he told the attentive gathering, did not go through Nkomati, Washington or the Carlton Hotel. It was based on struggle, war and resistance.

Somebody introduced as a former police colonel embroidered on the laager imagery. Peering into the distance over the audience, he warned against the approaching Zulu impi.

Eighty-year-old Mr Henning Klopper, a respected former Speaker of Parliament, recalled what a happy association Nationalist-Afrikanerdom used to be. It was only when the so-called learned people got into the act that everything started going wrong.

Mr Klopper was a founding member of the Broederbond, the secretive, exclusive society that had been the brains trust behind Nationalism's rise to power.

He also was leader of the historic "trek" by oxwagon from Cape Town to the north in 1936 which, with its connotations of the Great Trek a century before, is said to have done more than anything else to fire the spirit of Nationalism.

It is said that a respected Afrikaans journalist who accompanied the "trek", afterwards recounted that when the oxwagons left the Cape, God was acknowledged as the leader and Mr Klopper as deputy leader. When they crossed the Orange River into the Free State, Mr Klopper's home province, he took over as the leader.

Youngsters

The militancy of speeches at the Volkswag conference and the presence of gun-bearing youngsters who acted as guards for AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche have caused great concern and indignation, also among Nationalists.

But history lessons and "cultural training" at school never really created sympathy for the authorities who suppressed the Rebellion during World War I and who acted against the likes of Jopie Fourie. On the contary, the sympathy tended very much to be on the latter's side.

The Ossewabrandwag, too, came out relatively clean-faced.

The Nationalist battle was fought on every front, from political platforms to school classrooms and pulpits. And for those who gathered in Pretoria's Skilpadsaal, the way to regain lost political power is perceived to be no different.

The ultimate betrayal of the self-isolationist cause came when it was announced that power had to be shared with coloured and Indians.

But whether they would have the same success as the National Party is doubtful. As correctly observed by Mr Klopper, many Nationalists have come to realise that politics is not a matter of the heart but the business, too, of the "learned" people.

No longer

Far worse for the Volkswag and its political cohorts, however, is that whereas there might have been some point to it years ago — Afrikaners cannot today claim to be the down-trodden, suppressed, deprived, poor, struggling, powerless group that they might once have perceived themselves to be.

That perception has moved to other quarters where it stands to be exploited with even greater success.

Boshoff's AVW role fans political war

CAPE TIMES 14/5/84

304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Establishment stepped up its political war at the weekend against Professor Carel Boshoff, dissident former chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB), who opposed the pending new tri-racial parliament and helped found the ultra-conservative Afrikanervolkswag (AVW).

Professor Boshoff found his position as "hoofleier" of the Voortrekkers and his post as professor of theology at the University of Pretoria under attack at the weekend.

But he hit back at the motives of some of his detractors and warned of possible legal action against sections of the media for ascribing a nazi image to the AVW, in spite of its statements to the contrary.

Following expressions of concern that Professor Boshoff's leadership of the AVW made him a controversial and potentially divisive figure, the Transvaal regional executive of the Voortrekkers debated his position of national leader at the weekend.

Professor Boshoff

It resolved to request the national executive to bring the movement's "guidelines" on leadership to his attention to enable him to reassess his position as leader.

It was put to Professor Boshoff that outsiders found it anomalous for him to be acceptable as Voortrekker leader while he was still chairman of the AB, a secret organization open only to a small Afrikaner elite and resented by many non-members, but unacceptable as leader of the AVW, a non-clandestine movement open to all Afrikaners subscribing to its ultra-conservative aims.

Professor Boshoff replied: "Double standards are applied. If you support the government you are acceptable. If you criticize its policies and point out the serious consequences, you are unacceptable."

According to the Afrikaans newspaper Rapport, the rector of Pretoria University, Professor Danie Joubert, has given Professor Boshoff an ultimatum to resign either as AVW leader or as professor of theology.

● **'Afrikaner is beyond AVW mentality', page 7**

Education 3

Wedepohl (21
Brookes (26
* Samoff (2
* Carnoy (2
De Clercq (

GROUP NO 53
Law 1

Mgqi (79)
Davis and C
Budlender (
Mgqi (92)
Dyson (276)

GROUP NO 49
Decentralisation

Bell (243)
McCarthy (244)
Todes (245)
Ardington (246)
Harries (249)

GROUP NO 50
Education

Nasson (94)

GROUP NO 51
Education 2

Roodt and Lawrence (99)
Davids (102)
Short (103)
* Von Kleist (104)
Corke (106)

GROUP NO 52

Nasson (97)
* Smith (98)
* Vermaak and Verwey (100)
I Moll (101)

Pillay (95)

CAPE Times 14/5/84 3ORA

'Afrikaner is beyond AVW mentality'

Staff Reporter

THE Afrikaner has escaped the mentality of the Afrikanervolskwag (AVW), the editor of the Sunday Afrikaans newspaper Rapport, Dr Willem de Klerk, said yesterday.

Attacking the AVW, Dr De Klerk levelled possibly the worst insult in Afrikaner political circles at the right-wing body — "hensoppers".

The term, implying "backstabbers" and "cowards", dates back to the South African War and refers to those Boers who took advantage of an amnesty declaration and laid down their arms to return to their farms, as opposed to the "bittereinders" who opted to carry on fighting.

Relief

Accusing the AVW of "crawling back into the barracks" in his column, Kortom, Dr De Klerk said the Afrikaner was too resilient and sober to be trapped in a "Skilpad Hall" (the hall where the AVW held its launch meeting last weekend).

The television coverage of that meeting and ensuing comment had culminated in relief and enlightenment, he said.

"Indeed, there's a sigh of relief for we have escaped the mentality that has shown itself in such a grotesque manner.

Heartache

"Together with the relief is the heartache, because I don't find it so easy to pull myself away from the 'Skilpadsaalmense'. It's my flesh and blood and I hope, like so many others, that we (the Afrikaner) will stand together.

"There was a hope that we wouldn't become 'hensoppers'. The Skilpad Hall has shown us differently.

"That was an obstreperous 'no' for the participants in the further safeguarding of the Afrikaner volk. It's a retreat back to the barracks. The AVW/CP/HNP/AWB have skulked away — the hensoppers," Dr De Klerk said.

GROUP NO 13
Natal/KwaZulu
Ardington (53)
**Webster (54)
Robbins (55)
Gandar and Bromberger (5
Bromberger (272)
Bromberger (274)
McLaren (288)

GROUP NO 14
Transvaal
Van Nieuwenhuizen (63)
Schutte (64)
Templeton (77)
Schneider (66)
Harries (67)

GROUP NO 12
Eastern Cape/Ciskei
Bekker (277)
Damana (40)
Manona (30)
* Ellis et al (189)
Schweitzer (190)
Roberts and Ripp (234)

GROUP NO 11
Transkei 2
Tapscott et al (48)
Tapscott and Muller (46)
Hendricks (294)
Tapscott et al (45)
Cragg (44)
Muller (not Wakelin) (43)

GROUP NO 10
Transkei
Muller (not Wakelin) (43)
Cragg (44)
Tapscott et al (45)
Hendricks (294)
Tapscott and Muller (46)
Tapscott et al (48)
Segar (49)
Nattrass (237)
Bembridge (261)
Moll (47)

ARGUS 16/5/84

304A

Petitions out against Boshoff

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Professor Carel Boshoff, the founder and interim leader of the controversial Afrikanervolkswag is now the subject of at least two petitions circulating at the University of Pretoria where he lectures in theology.

The former chairman of the Broederbond is under siege by the Afrikaner establishment for his strong conservative and anti-Government views and his association with the Volkswag, which has an image of militant and racist extremism.

Prof Carel Boshoff

One of the petitions circulating at the university is understood to have been signed by theological students who are unhappy about Professor Boshoff's political image.

The other is being circulated by the Afrikaner-Studentefront, a right-wing group dominated by Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party supporters, and is strongly in favour of Professor Boshoff's performance as a lecturer and as the leader of the AV.

The right-wing petition urges the university authorities to be careful not to commit an injustice against the professor.

Widespread reports

There have been widespread reports that the university authorities have informed Professor Boshoff that he must either resign as leader of the AV or quit the university's teaching staff. It is said that he must make his decision by today.

Both university authorities and Professor Boshoff have refused to comment publicly on the matter.

Professor Boshoff said yesterday he had not heard reports that 10 professors at the university had signed a secret petition urging his dismissal.

N. Mercury 18/5/84 (304A)

South Africa never out of the news in Europe these days

A LEAFLET has just arrived on my desk headed 'No to Botha' and calling for demonstrations on June 2 against Mr Botha's visit to Britain. Pointing out that Mr Botha's visit will be limited to a 'few hours', during which time he will be 'wined and dined by Mrs Thatcher,' the leaflet claims the visit has been 'universally condemned' and that 'we must ensure that this message is brought home loud and clear with a massive turnout on June 2'.

The language of the leaflet is unrestrained. It accuses Mr Botha of being at the head of a regime 'guilty of numerous crimes'

One hears that South Africa is euphoric about the Nkomati Accord, the Lusaka talks (first with the Angolans and now with Swapo), and Mr Botha's forthcoming visit to Western European capitals, and there is of course some cause for this euphoria. In an immediate sense, Mr Botha has been hitting the political jackpot.

Critical look

But there is a wide world outside which is not sharing the euphoria — which, paradoxically, is taking a particularly critical look at South Africa in its moment of maximum self-congratulation.

Somehow everything has come together at the same time. South Africa is never out of the news these days.

This is the season for anti-South Africa television films. Viewers here have just seen *The British Desk*, about the alleged undercover activities of South African agents in Britain (with Eschel Rhoodie and Gordon Winter in starring roles), a rerun of Ron Pickering's hard-hitting film on sport apartheid, plus a new panel discussion, a searing film on 'brutal torture,' starvation and miserable housing conditions in South West Africa, a biting documentary on Zola Budd (probably the most controversial South African sportsman or sportswoman ever to come to Britain), and a two-hour feature film on the South African rugby tour of New Zealand in 1981, due for general release soon on the cinema circuit here.

Propaganda

This is only the half of it. Scarcely a day passes now without a news or current affairs programme, on television or radio, containing an extended reference to South Africa, or John Arlott supporting the sports boycott, or listeners stating their views in radio telephone-ins on Mr Botha's visit, Zola Budd, and *The British Desk*, or Mrs Thatcher being grilled at question time in the House of Commons.

A one-day conference on South Africa's 'destabilisation' of its black neighbours was held here recently and a similar three-day one in Oslo, 'Anti-racism Year' was launched by the Greater London Council (Ken Livingstone's pad) with speeches by the ANC's Oliver Tambo and others, and the Anti-apartheid Movement has been celebrating its 25th anniversary with a lobby of MPs and other activities.

Stanley Uys
LONDON BUREAU

This is not to say that this anti-South Africa blast represents the views of all Britishers, or even of the majority of them. Pretoria has some friends here, and there are a lot of other people (in Whitehall, the business community and elsewhere) who, while they find most of the Government's practices repugnant, nevertheless do not believe in ostracism.

But the most vocal commentary on South Africa's policies and practices, the one that is heard most stridently, is the hostile one. Some of the country's friends are prepared to stand up and be counted, but not many of them.

The most devastating recent commentary, in my opinion, has been the television film shown this week, *Namibia — Africa's Last Colony*. According to the producers, it was made without the South African Government's permission, and the film crew were detained before filming was completed. The film sets out to chronicle allegations of torture, murder, rape, intimidation, unemployment, bad health, poor education, and so forth.

It is one in a series of six which are being presented quite openly on television as 'not the carefully balanced reports of professional reporters, trained to be as objective as possible, but a passionate statement by someone who lives in the world he describes and who will continue to live in it long after the programme is over'.

The 'someone' in question in the film is Nora Chase, Director of Education for the Namibia Council of Churches, who was in exile from 1963 to 1978, when she returned to South West Africa under the special 1978 amnesty. She displays extraordinary courage in the way she speaks out.

The effectiveness of this film lies in its descriptions of daily life. In this sense, it is not the usual 'political' film, which talks about votes and constitutions and political parties. It shows malnourished children, babies with matchstick legs, families in hovels, overcrowded hospitals, overworked doctors — the whole lamentable scene.

boycott in N Tvl

CAPE TIMES 19/5/84 (304A)

Lebowa threatens black consumer

By BARRY STREEK

THE Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, has threatened to launch a black consumer boycott on Northern Transvaal towns if the Conservative Party wins the Potgietersrus provincial by-election on June 27.

Dr Phatudi said in an interview that the withdrawal of black spending power could cripple a number of neighbouring Northern Transvaal towns.

If Lebowa's white neighbours took steps like voting for the Conservative Party, it "will force us to consider whether we should do something about it".

Dr Phatudi said he had spoken to leading people, including town councillors in Potgietersrus, and appealed to them not to be destructive.

He believed the withdrawal of spending power by black people in Lebowa could cripple towns like Pietersburg, Grobblersdal, Tzaneen, Warmbaths, Naboomspruit and Potgietersrus, the last three of which are in the Potgietersrus constituency.

Dr Phatudi said he was not surprised that the Conservative Party could win the by-election.

"Lebowa's progress, socially and economically, has made a tremendous impact on the white voter in the Northern Transvaal and they have been frightened by our advancement — and then somebody tells them to take care of yourself and close your ranks, otherwise you will be overwhelmed by the advancing Lebowa.

"They have been warned by their political leaders that if they allow their ranks to be liberal, they will find themselves having to share with blacks in a common society and, therefore, they must take care."

He regretted the trend towards the CP, but he felt white people should rather welcome the fact that gaps, such as cultural and educational gaps, were being closed and "we are sharing a common culture as South Africans".

He believed a CP vote in Potgietersrus would be a "retrograde step" and it would reflect a return to the "laager of conservatism".

His government was, however, determined to move forward, not to the cost of white people, but to the advantage of all South Africans.

If Lebowa's white neighbours rejected this hand of friendship, "we have answers to the problems, one of which is buying power.

"We can use our buying power to cripple those who are not co-operating with us in a systematic and responsible way. We can cripple all the towns that have physical contacts with us. We can cripple them with the use of our buying power."

He could tell the people of Lebowa not to shop at particular shops in the area and if that happened, "I don't see how that particular business will continue.

"They will close down, no matter the size of the business."

He said such consumer action could be avoided by opening the door of opportunity to everyone regardless of race.

"We don't want to use this potential power to the detriment of South Africa if we can help it, but they musn't force us to use our buying power against them," Dr Phatudi said.

Change — SA's split personality

Cape Times 19/5/84

By LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

304A

Professor Schlemmer is the Director of the Centre for Applied Social Studies at the University of Natal, Durban. This article is reprinted from Indicator, South Africa, which is published four times a year by the centre. The second part of the article will appear in Monday's Cape Times.

IN recent weeks, with the peace talks in Angola and the peace agreement with Mozambique, the South African government's image in the local and overseas media has swung dramatically.

The erstwhile "destabilizer" of neighbouring states has now been hailed as peacemaker and agent of international accord.

Yet is is fairly inevitable that some issue or event in due course will resurrect older images of the South African government again, until some new initiative rekindles hope for reform and change.

So the cycles of expectation and disillusionment will continue. South Africa's split personality confuses friends and enemies alike.

These apparent inconsistencies are inevitable.

They are also completely understandable given the situation of the South African regime. In broad terms the responses in terms of its basic goals, resources, opportunities and pressures.

Peace moves

The last few weeks and months provide an excellent example of what many critics and observers see as deep contradictions in the South African government's policy programme.

In March, the South African government was being officially commended by the United States, Britain, West Germany, Egypt and a number of other states for the peace moves in Southern Africa.

Various commentators, including Dr Gerrit Viljoen and South African Ambassador to the United States, Dr Brand Fourie, could forecast that South Africa's international position in the West would be bolstered by the Southern African developments. An almost euphoric mood was created in South Africa. The government was seen by almost everyone as bold and positive.

Virtually simultaneously, the Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, told Parliament that 7 128 coloured and Indian families were still due to be moved in terms of the Group Areas Act. It would appear that 1,75 million Africans are still to be relocated. It was announced in Parliament furthermore, that the number of arrests in terms of influx control laws had increased between 1982 and 1983.

Indian politicians, on the eve of the implementation of the new constitution which will give them representative chambers in Parliament, found themselves having to condemn the continuation of petty apartheid measures.

At about the same time, Mr Kotze announced that he was prepared to accept the recommendation of the Strydom Committee, appointed to investigate group areas legislation, that some central trading and business areas be opened to all races.

Ideologies

Other recommendations of the Strydom Committee have created the expectation that a significant amount of desegregation of central urban or general facilities like cinemas, beaches and restaurants is likely to occur in the near future.

Although apparently contradictory, these contrasts present a fairly clear and continuing pattern: substantial positive initiative in the international sub-region irrespective of the races or ideologies involved, a growing openness to non-racial arrangements in the economic, industrial and commercial spheres, but a continuing and unyielding insistence on the separation of residential communities and their most immediate facilities.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen

The South African government's actions, like those of any other government, have to be understood in terms of fairly basic elements in decision making. Of most importance are underlying goals or charters, and resources, opportunities, costs and pressures.

Stripped of rhetoric and relationizations, the policy charter of the present South African government can be seen to rest on three basic elements:

1) The protection of white and Afrikaner interests and security in perpetuity.

2) The organization of political life in terms of ethnic group relations and the principle that "good fences make good neighbours". The South African government has long held the view that ethnic political autonomy is a precondition of good government. This is the "pluralism" principle which is adhered to even when groups cannot be geographically separated, as in the new constitution, making provision for separate chambers of whites, coloureds and Indians.

3) Pragmatism in dealing with economic, social and strategic group interdependence by promoting close co-operation and links between autonomous groups, regions or states This is after all an integral part of the future which the government sees for the homelands in South Africa. The basic idea of a "constellation" or commonwealth of Southern African states is long established — it was first proposed by Dr Verwoerd.

These three basic goals explain most of the policy initiatives by the government. Taken together they amount to an organizing principle which can be expressed as follows: separate the racial groups, define their autonomy, thereby reducing the whites' moral, political and social obligations to other groups, then co-operate as "voluntary" partners to solve common problems.

This principle does not exclude a great deal of economic interdependence. The "regions" delineated in the government's regional economic development planning cut across political and group boundaries. The principle can even lead beyond "voluntary" co-operation or consultation to some degree of actual power-sharing, as long as the group basis of the power which is shared is preserved, as in the new constitution for whites, coloureds and Indians.

Weak and strong

Within this principle of group separation followed by functional integration, a great deal may be negotiable. The principle itself, however, appears to be totally non-negotiable, almost irrespective of the costs to any party.

The South African government is very strong in some areas and very weak in others. Areas of strength are its:

- Control over economic resources
- Technology and expertise
- Military strength.

This military muscle has recently been used to create or perhaps even force a climate of negotiation in Southern Africa, particularly in the case of Mozambique and Angola.

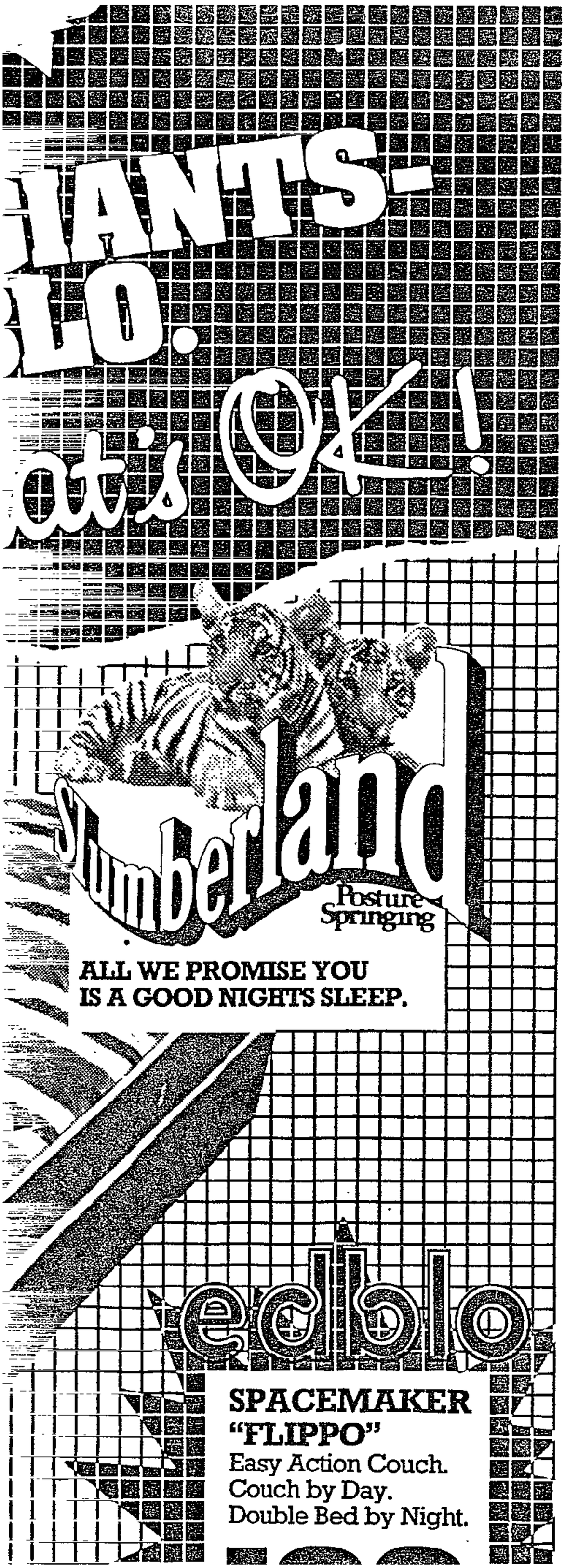
It has other potential functions as well, however, since South Africa can offer training and weapons supplies and could even act on behalf of neighbouring governments in the military field if they were threatened. Hypothetically it could for example quell a civil war in a nearby African state if it saw advantages flowing from such action.

Given these strengths, South Africa is very well placed to perform all the roles of a regional super-power and to reap all the rewards if close economic and diplomatic relations are established with the other states of Southern Africa

The South African government's weaknesses, as everyone knows, are apparent in:

- Low political credibility, made doubly serious by its consequent vulnerability to international economic campaigns against South Africa, and
- A lack of freedom to exercise all the political options open to it.

(To be concluded on Monday.)



Labour defies race politics law

304A

S. Times 20/7/84

By NORMAN WEST and MICHAEL JOHNSON

THE Labour Party will field election candidates for both the Indian House of Delegates and the coloured House of Representatives in August.

The action was taken in-spite of the law against mixed political parties.

In Cape Town yesterday the Labour leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said his executive was meeting over the weekend to discuss potential candidates and strategy.

He has made it clear his party's constitution placed no racial bar on membership.

The first two Indian branches of the LP were formed in Benoni last weekend.

They are Rynsoord, under the chairmanship of Mr Abram-Mayet, an Indian member of the President's Council, and the Actonville branch, of which Mr Ahmed Labat, a Benoni attorney, is chairman.

The two branches have been invited by the Transvaal LP leader, Mr Jac Rabie, to attend the party's provincial congress next month.

REV ALAN HENDRICKSE
No racial bar

In terms of the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act, coloureds must vote for the House of Representatives and Indians for the House of Delegates.

Meanwhile, the New Republic Party has published an advertisement in a Natal newspaper offering assistance to register all voters.

"On the face of it this advert appears to be a contravention of the Prohibition of Political Interferance Act," said Mr Michael Emanuel, chairman of the Natal coastal region of the Progressive Federal Party.

"We think the idea of assisting the Indians and

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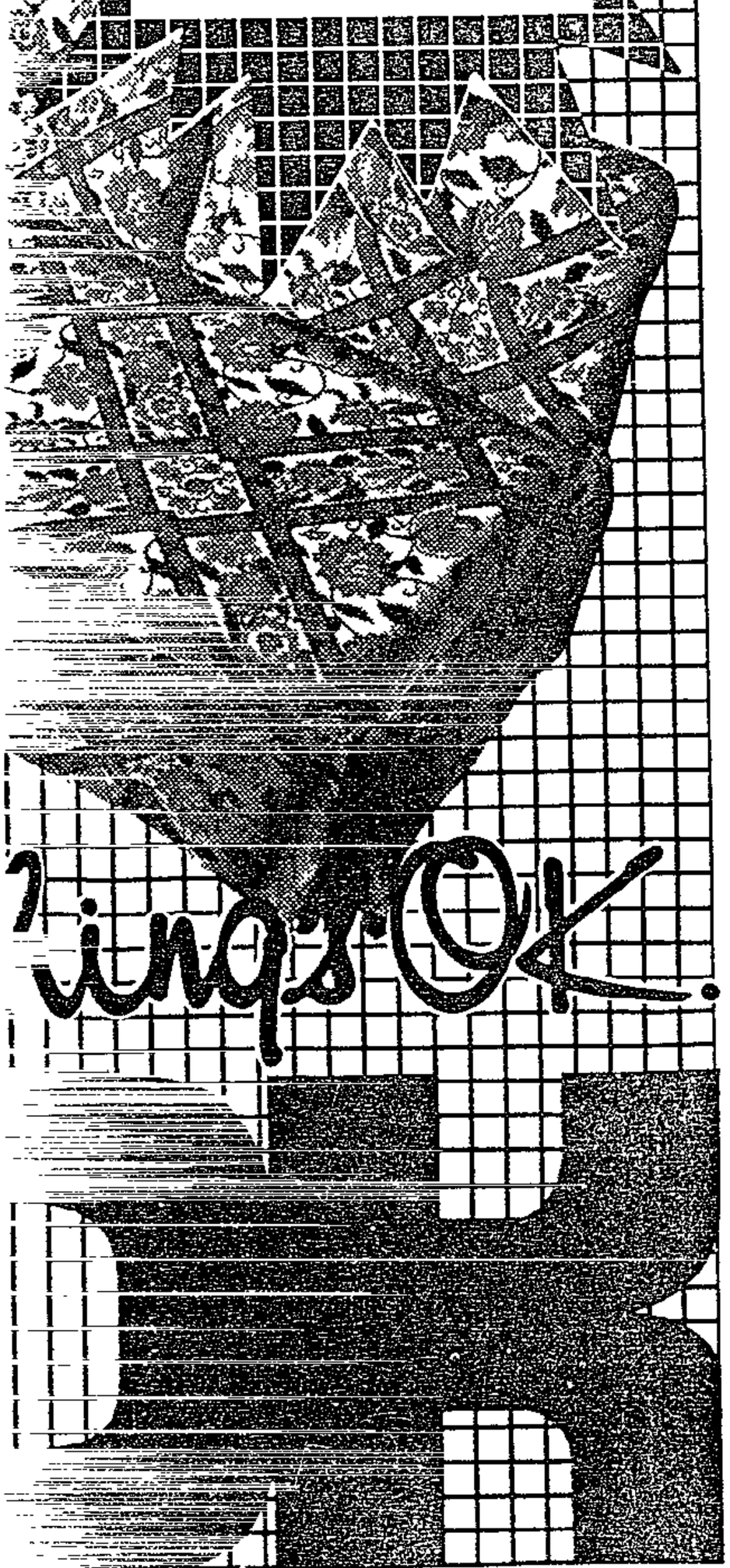


of Improper Political Interference Act, coloureds must vote for the House of Representatives and Indians for the House of Delegates.

Meanwhile, the New Republic Party has published an advertisement in a Natal newspaper offering assistance to register all voters.

"On the face of it this advert appears to be a contravention of the Prohibition of Political Interferance Act," said Mr Michael Emanuel, chairman of the Natal coastal region of the Progressive Federal Party.

"We think the idea of assisting the Indians and coloureds in their legal obligation to register as voters is a good idea in essence, but the PFP will not follow suit as the law forbids this."

Natal Indian Congress executive Dr Farouk Meer said his party opposed the Prohibition of Political Interferance Act as it believed all South Africans should be a part of the political process.

The leader of the Solidarity Party, Dr J N Reddy, said he believed the NRP was simply assisting people to register.

Parties' poser

By TICKS CHETTY

THE SEARCH for suitable candidates for the parliamentary elections has become one of the most taxing tasks facing Indian and coloured political parties.

With the elections little more than three months away, there are candidates aplenty — but few of a calibre to operate at parliamentary level.

Labour and Solidarity party spokesmen agreed this week that the limited availability of experienced politicians and experts in different fields could blunt the effectiveness of the House of Representatives (coloured) and the House of Delegates (Indian).

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National Peoples' Party in the Indian Council, says his party has "enough suitable candidates", but adds that he would like to have "more medical and top welfare men".

Mr Albie Stowman, Labour's Natal leader, said the Government stipulation that teachers must quit their jobs first before contesting elections was hampering the search for candidates.

"We were looking to them to become candidates," he said. "But no teacher is going to gamble his career for the elections."

Mr J N Reddy, Solidarity leader, urged capable people who had refused to have anything to do with the new parliament to reconsider their stand and become active participants in the election campaign.

Change — South Africa's split personality

CAPE TIMES 21/5/84 (304A)

By LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

who is the Director of the Centre for Applied Social Studies at the University of Natal, Durban. This is the conclusion of a two-part article. The first part appeared in the Cape Times on Saturday. The article is reprinted from Indicator, South Africa, which is published four times a year by the centre.

THE South African government is constrained in the political field not only by its own basic policies but also by the right-wing forces operating in the political arena in South Africa.

Directly constraining the government is the very strong tradition of white hegemony (baasskap) which exists within the government itself but which is most clearly symbolized by the two right-wing opposition parties.

Because there is in fact a continuum of similar opinion linking many National Party personnel with the right-wing parties, the government is extraordinarily sensitive to right-wing rhetoric and critism. Hence the right-wing parties exercise a constraining effect out of all proportion to their support in the electorate, which is under 15 percent.

These contraints exist mainly in regard to social and political concerns which directly affect white communities. In the international sphere and in matters of economic co-operation with black states and internal black authorities the right wing is less concerned and therefore less vigilant and threatening.

Given these political and social constraints, the South African government must fall back on the use of its economic and technical resources in order to increase its political credibility. Hence detente in Southern Africa has a double purpose — the goal of security from insurgency across the border, and the opportunity to show a critical world that Africa needs and accepts South Africa trade, aid and technology. Dr Brand Fourie, in a television interview following the signing of the peace treaty with Mozambique, stated clearly that the route to good relations with the West runs through black Africa.

The problem of political credibility internally is most evident with regard to the issue of black rights. Here again, the government has tried to compensate for the lack of policy reform and gain credibility using economic tools such as, for example, the Small Business Development Corporation. With inflation creating very real constraints on government expenditure, the scope is limited. This is one reason why the government has recently placed so much emphasis on black technical training and has accepted and in some ways even promoted the growth and institutionalization of (non-political) black trade unionism. Black wage increases and consumerism are seen as potentially able to deflect political aspirations within the common area.

Finally, the responses of the South African government cannot be fully understood without considering the pattern of pressures on it. Prominent among these are the financial problems and challenges which the government faces.

In an excellent review, Pottinger has enumerated the following serious financial pressures on the treasury: the devastating drought and floods in the East, the poor gold price, low tax income due to the recession, government budget overshoots, rural development failure in black areas, the creation of the new development bank, costly incentives involved in the new decentralization policy, massive housing and educational backlogs among coloureds, Indians and blacks and the coming costs of the new constitutional machinery, including the planned changes to local authority structures among all groups.

Given these pressures the government must endeavour to save money somewhere and a settlement of the very costly Namibian war would make a substantial difference. Furthermore, as the Minister of Finance outlined recently, South Africa needs a considerable amount of foreign loan and investment capital at present, and therefore it is particularly necessary to counteract overseas economic campaigns against the country at this stage.

These pressures are most easily and immediately dealt with by the kind of regional peace initiatives currently underway, because these moves have the most unambiguous effects both in saving money and in improving external relations.

The pressure to increase political credibility by extending political rights to blacks in some form is much less compelling for a variety of reasons.

Firstly pressures from blacks themselves are more often than not seen to lack credibility. Most of the black spokesmen do not have a visible constituency or organizational base, with the exceptions of Chief Buthelezi (Inkatha) and Bishop Tutu (the progressive churches).

Secondly, black activists, in the government's view, most often present totally non-negotiable and over-ambitious demands; this is particularly characteristic of the black youth activism, seen mainly in student disturbances at schools and universities.

Thirdly, the mass of blacks, in their day to day responses to events, appear to be mainly concerned with welfare, security and quality of life and not primarily with political claims. This is certainly not entirely the case but it is the manifest impression created for most whites and those observers with impact on the government.

The arguments so far presented suggest that the contrasting pattern of policy outlined above will persist in the short term. There will be no deviation from the principle of ethnic autonomy and hence the separation of communities will persist A "national convention" to restructure society or even less major deviations from the plural basis of policy seem to be impossibilities at this stage.

At the same time, the government will attempt to accommodate and respond to international and internal pressures by desegregating non-community facilities, and by an aggressive development policy, both inside the country and in the region. When the economy emerges from the present recession, and if the gold price rises, development initiatives could be quite substantial.

Obviously many, if not most critics of the South African government abroad and to the left of the government in South Africa will argue, with more than a little justification that significant overall progress for blacks must inevitably be very limited as long as there is separation of communities and a lack of political bargaining power. This is very true in the field of education, for example.

The government's attempts to use economic or foreign policy manoeuvres to compensate for or counterbalance its political policies are also not likely to convince the black middle class spokesmen who are so important in interpreting black reactions. Hence, political credibility and legitimacy will remain the government's Achilles heel as both internal and external pressures for basic policy reform will continue to mount.

Increasing moral pressures and probably some economic sanctions can be expected from abroad. The United States House of Representatives has just passed a bill (the Export Administration Act), to which amendments punitive to South Africa have been attached, and more and more cities and states in the United States are withdrawing public money from corporations with South African operations.

However these mounting pressures, both external and internal, are seen by the government to be directed against the one non-negotiable element in the South African government's policy stance — group separation and ethnic autonomy. Irresistible force meets immovable object. A waste of political energy, perhaps because as the years roll by neither will give ground and, as I have argued previously in Indicator, the revolution will not occur.

Current pressures for general, sweeping reform and political desegregation on their own will be a waste of energy, because the addition of more specific proposals, against the background of general pressures, could significantly facilitate change.

Some very significant changes to the quality of life and to the bargaining power of black people can occur in ways which do not directly confront the paradigm of the government, but which would rather stretch and extend it. For example, if the black local authorities, newly equipped with increased internal powers by the government, had representation on say a high level "council of local affairs" they could perhaps negotiate for increased funding, more land for expansion and for more adequate access to metropolitan services and amenities. The benefits of high-level representation of a similar kind for the non-independent homelands would also be fairly obvious and immediate. This would at least counter the political alienation of the black people.

With this concept of regional and metropolitan authorities on which whites, coloureds and Indians will be represented with the possibility of limited black representation at some stage, the government has at least recognized the interdependence of groups in local geo-political settings. It would make sense to argue for an extension of the powers of the black groups in these bodies, and for an increase in the bodies' authority and powers. It would also make sense to argue that each region is to some extent unique in its problems and collective attitudes, and therefore that some regions, like for example the Witwatersrand, the Eastern Cape, or the metropolitan Natal-Kwazulu area should be allowed to negotiate their own particular power-sharing arrangements at regional level.

One realizes immediately of course that these suggestions overlook some of the deeper-lying and more general causes of inequality in South Africa. If such change initiatives as those broadly suggested above are successful, however, they would not merely be palliatives. They would after all increase the bargaining power of blacks to negotiate for further gains.

Whatever the merits or demerits of these specific proposals may be, it seems necessary that proponents of change in South Africa consider the areas of lesser or greater flexibility in the government's policies, and direct their strategies accordingly.

One might suggest that sound analysis is a first step in the possible cure of our split personality — analysis of the structures which underly apparent contradictions. This will reveal areas of least rigidity in policy, where specific and well-backed pressures could have significant effects, as was the case with the labour reforms in 1979.

 (304A) Star 21/5/84

Tricky problems to be solved before the new Parliament meets

It is a complicated exercise, but if answers are not found there could be more chaos than consensus during the first years of the new dispensation, writes Peter Sullivan, The Star's Political Correspondent.

Members of all parties represented in the last all-white Parliament of South Africa are busy examining the entrails of the new constitution to see exactly how political ideals will work in practice.

It is a perplexing operation, for decisions have to be taken on rules of procedure, on times, on venues, on methodology, on conventions, on budgets... all decisions affecting a bunch of politicians not yet elected.

Not that this Parliament lacks experience in taking decisions on behalf of the unrepresented. It has been doing that since 1910 with few qualms. But this time the decisions will be examined and tested within a year by the people for whom they were taken.

There is an important parliamentary committee called (somewhat obscurely) the Standing Committee on Standing Rules and Orders which is now having a devilish job deciding how the new standing joint committees will work in the new three-chamber Parliament. So it has set up several sub-committees to investigate problems and suggest solutions. A series of problems have already been identified but not yet solved.

The main problem appears to be the Budget. This is the basis of all parliamentary work, the way the electorate gets political satisfaction for taxes taken by the Government and spent wisely or unwisely.

Under the Westminster system, the Cabinet Ministers each swear an oath of secrecy, decide how the cake should be made and how it should be cut, and inform Parliament of this decision during the Budget speech. Then each Minister defends the way he has spent his allocation.

The Minister of Finance has to defend the way he raised taxes and the way he (with collective Cabinet responsibility) allocated the funds.

Under the American system, the President bargains with Congress on how much should be raised in taxes and on where this should be spent. It is all done publicly. Sometimes Reagan wins, sometimes Congress refuses to play ball.

Under South Africa's new system, it will be difficult to have collective Cabinet responsibility, for the Cabinet will contain members of different political parties who believe in totally different budgetary policies. No credible coloured or Indian party leader is going to accept a budget laid out along National Party lines and then defend that to his caucus.

Some leeway will have to be given to Cabinet members to disagree with the final decision, despite all the talk of consensus.

Another problem causing sub-committee members to scratch their heads is the question of the No-confidence debate. It will work all right in the white House, for the Government will defend its policies against the Official Opposition.

But in the (coloured) House of Representatives, the leader of the dominant party will have to defend his party against the Leader of the Opposition and then he will have to table his own motion of no confidence in the State President (unless he agrees in toto with National Party policy). The same has to be repeated in the (Indian) House of Delegates.

Where does this leave the State President — spending most of the first month of Parliament defending himself (and his Government) against three motions of no confidence? Seems a little crazy, but that appears to be the plan at the moment.

Then there is the real nitty-gritty: the cure-all of the new system is supposed to be the standing joint committees still to be established, on which all parties will serve. They will operate by means of consensus where this can be achieved.

Assume a Bill is introduced to desegregate the railways. If there is consensus in the joint committee there will be a joint sitting of all three Houses which will rubber-stamp approval of the Bill and it will become law. Fair enough.

Now assume it is not approved by the joint committee. Then the same Bill is introduced separately in the three Houses and a public debate ensues.

But how is consensus not achieved in the joint committee?

Does each party in each of the chambers have proportional representation on each standing joint committee (of which there are 20 to 30)? What if a party, say the Purified Hindustani Party, has only three seats in one of the Houses — how does it get representation on the major committees (Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Railways etc)? And does its member's vote count as much as the National Party member's vote. And is there voting in the first place, because remember the committees act on consensus, not conflict politics?

Once a joint committee has taken a decision, is this decision binding on Parliament? Can MPs still move amendments to the Bill already approved by the committee ?

These are some of the trickier questions which have to be decided before September, when the first session of the new Parliament takes place. These are the questions a sub-committee is addressing, with, apparently, a mixture of success and bewilderment.

There are still some physical matters to be dealt with by the politicians, bureaucrats and protocol people: parking for MPs for three Houses, airport privileges, Press representation in three Houses, timing of debates, siting of joint committees.

Other intriguing questions relate to the State President.

What happens at Question Time? If a question is asked in one House, does that stop MPs in another House from asking the same question (such as who filled the Minister's swimming pool)?

If all are allowed to ask all questions, is every day a question day and does the State President have to spend half his day answering questions in the Houses?

Then there is protocol. Is it the State President's duty and obligation to attend debates in the Houses, or is it his privilege ? When he is called to a House, is it because it is the House's privilege or is it because it is the House's obligation to call him? What if he is called to two Houses at the same time — where does he go physically, and who decides this for him, along which parameters ?

If it seems complicated, that's because it is. One can only hope that in examining the entrails of the Constitution Act, the sub-committees will come up with solutions which the standing committee can accept. If they don't, there could be more chaos than consensus for the first years of the new dispensation.

Or, as Dr van Zyl Slabbert told referendum voters, they (the constitution's authors) must go back to the drawing board — if it still exists.

Political parties: Rules change

ARGUS 23/5/86

(304A)

Political Correspondent

THE Prohibition of Political Interference Act is to be modified but the main race restrictions will remain.

This emerges from a statement issued today by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk.

The main effect of the proposed changes will be that members of one race group will be allowed to address meetings, including public meetings, of another group outside an official election campaign period.

Wide restrictions on any form of agency for one political party by members of another race group are dropped.

PROVISIONS

Instead the provisions of the Electoral Act will be applied.

This means only agencies strictly involved with an election will be subject to the race bar.

In the case of a coloured party, its officially appointed electoral agents will still have to be coloured, but domestic, organisational arrangements of the party will no longer be so strictly regulated.

An effect of this change will be that a coloured party will be allowed to employ a white-owned consultant firm, as the Labour Party does in the case of Communitel.

PROHIBITED

Opposition MPs recently maintained that the Labour Party's arrangement with Communitel is also prohibited in terms of the Act.

The minister made it clear that the prohibitions on members of one race group belonging to the political party of another will remain, as will the probition on overseas funding of political parties.

The retention of the race bar brings into question the Labour Party's decision to have Indian members and to put up candidates for the coloured house of representatives as well as for the Indian house of deputies.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, today expressed his party's disappointment over Mr de Klerk's announcement and again called for the scrapping of the Act.

CANDIDATES

He also made it clear that the party intended to continue having Indian members and to put up candidates for the house of deputies.

He said the Act had never worked.

"Every one of us, including the Government, has contravenened the Act and the only sensible, honest and morally correct thing to do is to scrap it."

Fosatu urges worker boycott

24/5/84 Star

By Carolyn Dempster, Labour Reporter

304A

Under the banner "Workers Unite — don't vote" the Federation of South African Trade Unions has launched a boycott campaign against the August elections for the new constitution.

In August, coloured and Indian voters are to go to the polls to elect representatives to sit in the Government's new tricameral Parliament.

Fosatu has urged all workers to stand together against the new constitution.

Fosatu Worker News said pamphlets will be distributed to workers nationally, calling on all coloured and Indian voters to boycott the elections.

SELF—SEEKING

"Forget those who for their own self-seeking reasons are trying to lead us back to apartheid. Without support, they cannot govern anything," the pamphlet says.

Fosatu also attacks "sell-out" coloured and Indian leaders for saying that once they are inside the system, they will use their position to negotiate for blacks.

"A minority cannot negotiate for a majority. No minority can be liberated in South Africa if the majority remain oppressed," the pamphlet says.

"Where is the real change? The fact is that racism is still the law of the land — we still have the Group Areas, Influx Control, the Immorality and Internal Security Acts."

Row over local govt's future

Cape Times 24/5/84

3044

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Opposition parties clashed in Parliament yesterday over the future of provincial and local governments when the new constitution comes into operation at all levels.

The Progressive Federal Party's chief spokesman, Mr Colin Eglin, called on the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, to give the country immediate details of how the two lower tiers of government would work.

However, Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party which controls the only non-Nationalist provincial council, called on Mr Heunis not to "rush" the process.

When Mr Heunis, whose department's budget was being discussed, interjected that he had just been on the receiving end of demands for details, Mr Raw shot back: "I wouldn't pay too much attention to what the Progs say."

Earlier Mr Eglin had said there were three "gaping holes" in the new system which could cause it to collapse and one of them was the future of provincial and local tiers of government.

Nobody knew what form of local government there would be for coloured people, Indians or whites.

Another "gaping hole" was the omission of non-homeland blacks from local government and the omission of all blacks from any say in the central government.

The government recognized that something had to be done in this regard and had appointed a special cabinet committee to investigate it. However, it was time Mr Heunis disclosed what progress had been made.

As long as blacks could not share in government peace, progress and prosperity and possibly the whole system would be at risk.

Caution

Mr Raw wanted to know what work the special committee had been doing and whom it had consulted.

He felt there were areas in which South Africa was not moving fast enough but he called for caution on the future of provincial and local government.

"I would like to know why the minister has set such short deadlines for the committees investigating the matter to report," said Mr Raw.

He was interested only in seeing that what emerged was the best system, achieved through a maximum degree of consensus.

The minister was being too hasty and there were ominous signs that it had already taken certain decisions and was pre-empting the results of the investigations.

When challenged by Mr Heunis to be more specific he said: "It seems clear they are planning the elimination of provincial councils."

There were similar signs about local authorities too.

Mr Val Volker (NP Klip River) hit back at Mr Eglin saying it took time to devise a new system for the two lower tiers of government and everything could not be introduced at the same time.

While blacks had been omitted from the parliamentary structure he believed that there would be multilateral liaison between all groups to co-ordinate action on matters affecting all groups.

However, he strongly rejected a "fourth chamber" in the new constitution for blacks.

This however did not mean that blacks were being totaly omitted from responsible decision-taking. It meant simply that the matter was being dealt with at a different level.

"We have seen the failure of single parliamentary structures throughout Africa. We can't have centralization of power, we must have devolution of power."

Implementation of new deal: Heunis releases timetable

Parliament and Politics

CAPE TIMES 24/5/84 BOKA

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday unveiled long-awaited details of the steps leading up to implementation of the new constitutional dispensation.

Highlights of the programme include the election of the State President on September 5, the announcement of ministers appointed to the cabinet and the three Ministers' Councils on September 14 and the official opening of the new tricameral Parliament on September 18.

Mr Heunis announced the timetable for the implementation of the Constitution Act of 1983 at the beginning of the budget vote on his portfolio.

The countdown of major events that will usher in the new constitutional era is:

● September 4: The date for the commencement of the Constitution.

An Acting State President will be appointed and will remain until the new State President has assumed office.

Indirectly elected members of the House of Representatives for coloured people and the House of Delegates for Indians will also be elected then.

● September 5: The electoral college will meet in the Senate chamber for the election of the State President — widely tipped to be the present Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

● September 14: The inauguration of the State President will take place in Cape Town after which he will announce the appointment of ministers to the cabinet and to the three Ministers' Councils, the deputy ministers as well as the portfolios they will hold.

The ministers and deputy ministers will then be sworn in.

● September 17: Nominated members of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates will be appointed and will be sworn in together with the indirectly elected members of the three Houses.

The electoral college will reassemble to elect the Speaker of Parliament — expected to be the present Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff.

● September 18: The official opening of the new tricameral Parliament will take place.

Each House will assemble at 8.30am for the election of its Chairman and at 9.30am the Speaker and his entourage will make the traditional courtesy call on the State President.

The official opening of Parliament will then be conducted by the State President at 11am.

● September 19: The Houses will designate a number of members of the President's Council by majority vote.

● September 20: The opposition parties in each House will nominate a number of persons for appointment in the President's Council by the State President.

● September 26: The President's Council will hold its first meeting during which certain formalities like the election of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman will be dealt with.

Mr Heunis also announced that a special banquet would be held in Cape Town on September 3 to take leave of the present State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, and the Vice State President, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch.

ARGUS 24/5/84 (30CA)

PARLIAMENT

New deal: Spell it all out, says Eglin

Parliamentary Staff

THE Official opposition has accused the Government of leading the country "blindfolded" into a new constitutional era by not spelling out how the new constitution will work in practice.

Speaking at the start of the debate on the Constitutional Development vote, Mr Colin Eglin (PFP Sea Point) said there were three "gaping holes" in the new set-up which were so large they "could cause the whole new system to collapse".

These concerned second and third tier government, the exclusion of blacks and the scope of reform in the new system.

Mr Eglin said the country had the legislative framework of a constitutional plan, but people had little knowledge of how it was going to work in practice, how it would be funded or what it would cost.

"The question of cost and financing and budgeting should not be left in the air, they should be dealt with here and now," he said.

Playing with theory

The Prime Minister had given a detailed estimate of cost for hypothetical scenarios under the Conservative Party's concept of coloured homelands.

"It is all very well to play around with theory, but so far neither the Prime Minister nor the Minister of Finance, nor indeed any other Minister had stated how much has been allowed for the new system which is going to come into force in a few months' time."

On the position of second and third tier government in the new system, Mr Eglin said that local government was "no more than a gaping hole" in the new constitutional plan.

"No one knows what form of local government there is going to be for coloured, Indians or whites.

"No one knows under what laws or ordinances they are going to operate, or what their boundaries will be, or their authority will be, or how they are going to be staffed and, most of all, how they are going to be financed."

"To a grinding halt"

Mr Eglin said the omission of blacks could bring the whole system to a grinding halt unless this gap was filled quickly and effectively.

The Government had recognised that something had to be done in this field by appointing a special Cabinet committee. But while it stated on the one hand that the position had to be considered with an open mind, it also said the matter had to be evaluated in terms of the Government's general principles for constitutional development.

The third "gaping hole" in the constitutional plan was the question of the system's ability to accommodate reform.

Mr Eglin warned that pressures for change would increase rather than decrease and the new constitution would survive only to the extent that it responded to these pressures.

ARGUS 24/5/84

Diary of the new constitution

THE new constitution for the Republic of South Africa will come into effect on September 3, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has announced.

The new tricameral Parliament would be opened by the new State President on September 18, he said during debate on his department's budget vote.

Preparations for implementing the new constitution were advanced enough also to announce that on:

- September 3, when the constitution comes into effect, an acting State President would be appointed.
- September 4, elected members of all three houses would elect an electoral college to choose the new State President and indirectly elected members.
- September 5, the electoral college would assemble in the present House of Assembly to elect the State President.

The new Speaker would not be elected on that day as the nominated members of the coloured and Indian houses (of Representatives and Delegates) would not yet have been appointed.

After electing the new State President the electoral college would adjourn until September 17 to elect a Speaker. — Sapa.

14 acts of sabotage in '84

Parliamentary Staff

THERE have been 14 acts of sabotage and armed attacks this year — including the attack on the refinery in Durban last week — the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has told Parliament.

Replying to questions asked by Mrs Helen Suzman, he said there had been armed attacks on the police on two occasions, and one on a private dwelling apart from the attack on the Durban refinery.

There had been explosions in two motor vehicles, at two power stations, twice on railwy lines, at threee offices occupied by state departments or foreign missions and one at a petrol depot.

Uncertainty and euphoria over new constitution

ARGUS 24/5/84 (304A)

Parliamentary Staff

THE Government faced a flood of Opposition questions in the Assembly about how the new constitutional system would work in practice.

With only a few months before the new three-chamber parliament comes into existence, yesterday's debate reflected uncertainty in Opposition ranks and euphoria on the Government side.

The debate — on the constitutional development budget vote was one of the last remaining opportunities for opposition parties under the present system to seek detailed information about the change-over and its implications.

However, throughout yesterday's debate few answers came from the Government side. There was mainly praise for the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, for his work to get the system off the ground, and euphoric assurances that the system would work.

As Mr Val Volerk (NP Klip River) put it: "For many people the new dispensation is the dawn of a new day."

"Consensus"

And Mr Gert Terblance (NP Bloemfontein North): "The days of wild demands and claims are past. The key to the new dispensation is consensus."

The Conservative Party used the occasion for another attack on the Government and the new constitution on the lines that whites were being deprived of their sovereignty.

Mr Colin Elgin (PFP Sea Point) put a series of questions which, he said, had so far remained unanswered.

He wanted to know how the new departments of "own affairs" for the different population groups would be financed.

How would budgets be drawn up?

Would provincial governments disappear, or were they going to continue for whites, with another for coloured and Indians?

When would the existing provincial administrations know about the Government's plans for their future?

If the Government could not remove existing obstacles, how would it deal with socio-economic demands for housing, job opportunities and for a more equitable sharing of resources?

Education

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) called for a clear statement from the Government on financial aspects of the new dispensation.

He said the Government was committed to equal education for all.

"Are we going to give a lump sum to each of the houses of parliament so they can decide? Or are we going to ensure that money is spent or allocated for specific purposes?" Mr Schwarz asked.

Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) said that under the new system the whites would lose their sovereignty. The sovereignty of parliament as an institution of Western democracy would be harmed.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said: "As long as there is a living white community that values its freedom this constitution will be an obstacle."

Speakers on the Government side rejected the oppositon arguments and praised the constitution.

RAGUS 24/5/84 (SOWA)

PARLIAMENT

Treurnicht calls for state repudiation of some black leaders

Parliamentary Staff

THE leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has challenged the Government to repudiate black leaders who had made threats about the new constitution.

Speaking during the debate on the Constitutional Development vote, Dr Treurnicht said there were elements of blackmail in the political debate.

Referring to statements by coloured leaders that they would withdraw from the new constitutional system if discriminatory measures were not abolished within certain periods, Dr Treurnicht said this was "confrontation politics".

Dr Treurnicht also referred to reports that the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, had said that his people would boycott Northern Transvaal towns if the CP won the Potgietersrus provincial by-election.

These threats would be taken further, he said.

"Today he threatens the CP — tomorrow he will threaten the National Party."

He asked whether the fact that Lebowa had not accepted independence meant that Dr Phatudi had his eye on the rest of South Africa.

"Lebowa must be encouraged to accept independence. If blacks do not accept independence they do not get the right to rule over whites."

Turning to statements made by the Kwazulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and the Johannesburg civic leader, Dr Mothlana, on majority rule, Dr Treurnicht said the time had come to put these statements in perspective or to repudiate them.

Dr Treurnicht said his party agreed that blacks outside the national states needed channels to meet their political aspirations — but these channels could not be white political structures.

The CP, he said, rejected a multinational unitary state.

Mr Harry Schwarz

Exclusion of blacks 'gaping hole' in new deal

ARGUS 25/5/84

304A

Parliamentary Staff

THE Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, has called for the creation of a multiracial statutory body to investigate and advise the Government on the constitutional position of blacks.

Speaking during the debate on the constitutional development and planning portfolio, Dr Slabbert said the creation of such a body would help to fill the new constitution's "gaping hole" — the exclusion of blacks.

Untenable

In addition, the body could serve as a structure for continuous negotiation and consultation between whites and blacks on matters of common interest.

Dr Slabbert said it was an "untenable situation" that whites, coloured people and Indians would decide on the constitutional future of blacks in the new dispensation while blacks themselves would be excluded.

He suggested that the proposed body be called the constitutional advisory council (staatkundige adviesraad).

The council had to consist of experts, both black and white, and community leaders who were acceptable to the people.

They had to meet regularly and have power to take evidence.

Dr Slabbert warned that the body would not have "a ghost of a chance" if it was a separate black advisory council.

"And it must not be appointed unilaterally," he added.

Dr Slabbert said the body would operate outside the existing structures and would be able to look at constitutional position of blacks "with an open mind and with a new vision".

The Government would have to refrain from issuing points of departure or directives beforehand because this would compromise members.

The creation of such a body would be "a small step" towards filling the enormous gap in the new constitution — the exclusion of blacks.

"If we do not pay attention to the creation of structures between black and white, the whole constitutional experiment is going to blow up in our faces," he said.

Dr Slabbert's proposal drew some reaction from the National Party and the New Republic Party.

Dr C J van der Merwe (NP Helderkruin) said the appointment of a cabinet committee by the Government to examine the position of the black people showed that the Government was attending to black development.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert

Dr Slabbert had compared "common interests" between blacks and whites with those between whites, coloured people and Indians.

Cultural differences between blacks and whites, however, were much greater than betweeen the other groups.

Dr van der Merwe said Dr Slabbert's concept of a constitutional advisory council was to some extent a movement away from the PFP's idea of a national convention.

"Whatever structures are created, one must have the acceptance of the people concerned," Dr van der Merwe said.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) remarked that he understood Dr Slabbert's "story" but did not want to have anything to do with it.

Understand

"It is clear that the Government and the Official Opposition are beginning to understand each other, but when one speak's to the Government about a separate state for coloureds the Minister understands nothing," Dr Hartzenberg said.

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr W Vause Raw (NRP Durban Point), said he welcomed the fact that Dr Slabbert had made a positive suggestion — "but it is not exactly a new suggestion."

Mr Raw claimed the NRP had a similar idea a few years ago when it proposed a "Council of State".

Heunis welcomes Slabbert plea on blacks

Argus 25/5/84 (300A)

Parliamentary Staff

THE LEADER of the Opposition's proposal for an advisory body on the constitutional future of blacks has been welcomed by the Minister of Constiutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, as "constructive".

Mr Heunis said Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's plan was "far more realistic than a national convention".

Dr Slabbert made his proposal during yesterday's debate on the constitutional development budget vote.

He called for a statutory multiracial body which could serve as a structure for continuous negotiation and consultation between whites and blacks on matters of common interest.

"SIMILAR"

Replying to the debate today, Mr Heunis said Dr Slabbert's proposal was similar to something which had already been considered.

"On the Schlebusch commission we agreed that in order to increase the acceptability of any new proposals there had to be the widest possible consultation between the various population groups."

The idea then was that blacks would also be included.

● Exclusion of blacks 'gaping hole' in new deal — Page 19.

THE CONSTITUTION 304A

Hell-raising pledge

With about three months to go before the first SA Indian MPs take their seats in the new tricameral Parliament, the Durban-based Solidarity Party seems to be emerging as the most credible in a field of distinctly low-profile Indian hopefuls.

Solidarity's leader, Jayaram Reddy, is widely tipped as a candidate for Cabinet rank, possibly Deputy Minister of Commerce, especially in view of the recent honorary doctorate of commerce conferred on him by the University of Durban-Westville.

The party claims to have achieved a card-carrying membership of 12 000 in the short time it has been in existence. "We are the largest Indian political party in SA's history," claims Solidarity's chairman, Pat Poovalingham.

Whether or not to vote in the elections is, of course, being hotly debated among this 900 000-strong minority which showed overwhelming support for the anti-constitutional Congress groups in the 1981 SA Indian Council election.

However, the stakes are different this time. Assuming that Solidarity forms the majority party in the Indian House of Delegates, its game-plan looks intriguing. Poovalingham tells the *FM* the party will "create as much hell as possible for government" when it comes to matters designated as "general affairs" under the tricameral system.

For example, his party will "oppose any principle of law which seeks to strip blacks of SA citizenship" and will turn on the pressure over forced removals and the like.

On the very sensitive question of whether Indians will be drafted for military service after an Indian House is created, Solidarity will "oppose resolutely any conscription of Indians until and unless there is a fair and just SA," says Poovalingham. There has been no word from government about the possibility of conscripting Indians, he adds, explaining that after September it will be more difficult for government to do so without the approval of the Indian House.

"We will also call on the Prime Minister to justify his proclamation of free enterprise in SA," says Poovalingham, who resigned from the President's Council (PC) two years ago in protest against the exclusion of blacks.

Poovalingham sees no conflict between his resignation then and his role in the tricameral parliament (which excludes blacks) because, he argues, the PC was charged with formulating a constitution for the whole of SA, whereas the (Indian) "ethnic chamber is not going to legislate for other groups."

Poovalingham . . . will say 'no' to conscription

He adds: "There is a big difference between being in Parliament and being the government. We will follow the line of the PFP. In reality, the National Party will dominate so-called general affairs." Therefore, the party will use the Indian chamber to snipe at government's shortcomings.

Only with relation to "own affairs" does Solidarity envisage a more substantial role for itself. "The facilities given to us are no better than that given to (self-governing) KwaZulu," observes Poovalingham, who dismisses "glib" talk about consensus on "general affairs," which will encompass legislation affecting blacks.

Consensus is, of course, the watchword of the new system, but, Poovalingham feels, "you can't have consensus between a tiger and a cat — and we are only a kitten."

He adds that he will "reject" any offers of a Cabinet job because "we can't be part of the government."

Financial Mail May 25 1984

Details of new-deal budgeting

CAPE TIMES 25/5/84

304A

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The cost of the new constitutional dispensation should not be measured in money terms alone, but also by the political and socio-economic stability it would bring, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Speaking in Parliament in the debate on his budget vote, Mr Heunis said: "Political stability has a price and we must have no illusions about it."

However, care had to be taken against unreasonable demands by the State on scarce resources which could be detrimental to long-term economic growth.

Mr Heunis gave details of the envisaged system within which budgeting for the new dispensation would take place.

He said enabling legislation was likely in the current session of Parliament.

He also announced the possible establishment of a high-powered committee to determine State spending priorities and to establish "norms and standards" on which to base allocations of funds to the three Houses of Parliament for "own" affairs.

Formula

Mr Heunis said in reply to a point raised by Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) in the debate on Wednesday, that it was reasonable to assume that the respective Houses in the new system would have discretionary powers to use funds granted to them from a central revenue fund.

To give the Houses a more secure idea of what funds would be available on a long-term basis for financing "own" affairs, provision was made in the Constitution for a money-transfer formula.

In establishing the formula for the transfers, "norms and standards" would be used which — in the case of education for example — could depend on the pupil/teacher ratio in schools.

Norms and standards would probably also play a role in the allocation of funds for "general" affairs, as well as in annual ad hoc grants.

Priorities would have to be established on a regular basis by the government which would comprise the central Cabinet and the Ministers' Councils.

Because the cabinet would approach the issue from the point of view of "general" affairs, and the Ministers' Councils from that of "own" affairs, there would have to be consensus between the two groups on the question of norms and standards.

Forum

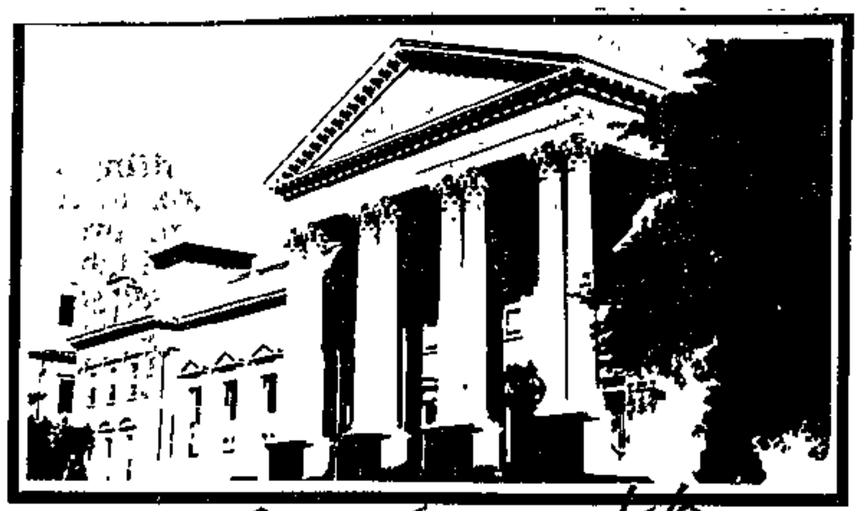
This process would hopefully also lead to consensus being achieved among members of the three Houses.

It was likely that a statutory forum would be created where representatives of the cabinet and Ministers' Councils would try to reach consensus. It might be known as the State President's Committee on Priorities.

However, the cabinet would retain final responsibility, and would therefore have to finally approve any decisions.

The guidelines would influence the drawing up of the Budget by the Minister of Finance and would also influence the groups concerned with budgeting for "own" affairs.

Parliamentary involvement in the budgetary process was likely to be mainly through an envisaged Standing Committee on Finance.



Cape Times 25/5/84

PFP call for negotiation on blacks' future

30KA

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The government should create a new statutory body on which blacks and whites could negotiate the constitutional future of black South Africans, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Speaking during the Constitutional Development and Planning budget vote, he cautioned that all the effort being invested in the new constitutional dispensation would be wasted unless the situation of blacks received equal attention.

Echoing the sentiments of the PFP's chief spokesman on constitutional affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, Dr Slabbert warned that "this whole experiment is going to blow up in our faces" if the constitutional needs of blacks did not get the attention they deserved.

'No separate black council'

He proposed that since blacks were at present excluded from common structures, a new intermediary body — a political advisory council — should be formed.

Dr Slabbert warned that the new body should not be a separate black council. "That won't stand a snowball's chance of working," he said.

"It must also not be appointed unilaterally and no government decision must compromise it in any way. If such a body is created it must not be seen to be negotiating something separate, it must clearly be seeking a solution to a shared problem."

Dr Slabbert said the new body should hold regular meetings and include black and white community leaders and various experts.

One of the consequences of the new dispensation was a process of polarization between black and non-black, he said.

'No forum for black leaders'

The only way to counteract this was to work for a solution to the black constitutional dilemma while implementing the new constitution.

"I believe there are many black leaders who are prepared to give their co-operation but there is no forum in which they can deal with common interests," he said.

Dr Slabbert said the guidelines laid down for the Cabinet Committee investigating the constitutional position of blacks were the same guidelines used to achieve the new dispensation for coloureds and Indians.

But while the situation of coloureds and Indians there had been subject to joint negotiation in a statutory forum, this was not the case for the constitutional investigation for blacks.

"We have the absurd situation that white, coloured and Asian will now be sitting to negotiate the constitutional future of the black man, while blacks themselves will not be there."

Row over MP's bid to recruit informers

W/E ARGUS 26/5/84 (30KA)

Political Correspondent

A TRANSVAAL member of Parliament, Dr M H Veldman, has been trying to get teachers in his constituency to spy on their colleagues to determine their political affiliations.

The attempt has been condemned by PFP national education spokesman Mr Horace van Rensburg as being reminiscent of what happened in nazi Germany and "what happens behind the Iron Curtain".

Mr van Rensburg is trying to establish in what areas similar tactics are being used by the National Party to sniff out their opponents.

Dr Veldman sent out a letter to selected people at various schools in his Rustenberg constituency requesting the recipients to determine the attitude of their colleagues as soon as possible. The letters were on parliamentary letter heads and were dated March 6 1984.

In his letter he said suggestions about dealing with the "doubters" would be appreciated.

Attached to the letters was a schedule asking for the names of the schools, the names, addresses and telephone numbers of the teachers, as well as whether they favoured the National Party, the Conservative Party or another party.

In an interview Dr Veldman said he saw nothing wrong with the letters. He rejected any suggestion that they were an intrusion of privacy, although he conceded that some teachers may have interpreted his actions in that way.

But, he added, "I'm not worried about that".

His actions have also angered Transvaal teachers and the president of the Transvaal Onderwysers' Vereeniging, Dr M Maree, was due to meet Dr Veldman at the weekend.

Dr Maree could not be reached for comment.

Mr van Rensburg said: "For an MP to use his position of authority to ask teachers in his constituency to tell him of the political affiliations of teaching colleagues is deplorable.

"To officially ferret out the political affiliations of teachers smacks of witch-hunting of the worst form.

"It must be remembered that they are employees of the State and are concerned that their political affiliations may militate against them as far as jobs and promotion are concerned."

Mr van Rensburg called on the Prime Minister to severely reprimand Dr Veldman as this type of behaviour "is intolerable in a democratic society".

Dr Veldman said he was trying to establish who was uncertain about Government policy because "of the way it is being dished up by other parties". He said he wanted to be able to contact these people to explain the policy correctly.

THE OBSERVER
From The Observer

WHEN Mrs Margaret Thatcher has Mr PW Botha to lunch on Saturday there will be no small talk. The South African Prime Minister is a one-dimensional person who has spent his whole life in politics. Apart from a fascination with the military, he has no outside interests or intellectual pursuits to divert his conversation. Perhaps they will get on.

It is ironic that this irascible, hawkish politician, who sent shivers of trepidation down many spines when he became Prime Minister six years ago, should be the first South African premier to get a personal invitation to Number 10 since Smuts dined there with Churchill in the days of the War Cabinet.

That is the kind of stamp of acceptability that Afrikaner nationalism has craved through the three-and-a-half decades of isolation that apartheid policies have brought upon South Africa.

Botha, the hawk, has achieved it because he has managed to present himself as a reformist and regional peacemaker.

The presentation may not be an altogether accurate reflection of what Botha is doing but it is true that he has made some significant changes to the political structure of South Africa and that these could start a process that will develop its own momentum. This has been thought sufficient to warrant some encouragement.

The changes have required courage. They have split the National Party and the whole Afrikaner Volk, a trauma of a kind which is not readily comprehensible to Europeans. It would be better understood in Black Africa, which has the same kind of tribal political culture. The schism is called a Volkskeuring, a rending of the people, and is something of which an Afrikaner leader's nightmares are made.

For an old tribal party boss like Botha, it must have been an agonising thing to contemplate. But Botha's main characteristic is a bulldozing determination. He is intolerant of opposition and nothing is further from his nature than tact. Once he has decided on a course of action, he pursues it with a singleness of mind that can be heedless of consequences.

His forcing through of changes at the cost of Afrikaner unity has earned him a degree of admiration from liberal opponents, but this does not extend to a liking for the man himself. Botha is not lovable. Even close colleagues who have worked with him for years say there is no warmth in the relationship.

He has mellowed somewhat since becoming Prime Minister, but his manner remains aggressive and authoritarian. He addresses his audiences in a hectoring style, waving an admonishing finger at them like an angry schoolteacher. He has a blazing temper which can erupt in a flash if he is opposed or contradicted.

One former Cabinet Minister, who has now left the party, tells how only the intervention of a secretary prevented Botha from assaulting him physically during a row in the Prime Minister's office.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the veteran liberal, confesses to an abiding dislike of the man. She has sat opposite him for 31 years in the Cape Town Parliament and says he is the only Cabinet Minister with whom she has never been on speaking terms. "He may love little children and dogs for all I know, but I have only encountered him as an aggressive, hostile politician," she says.

An admirer who worked closely with him for 30 years says there are really two Bothas: the uncompromising, hard-hitting politician and a flexible administrator who knows how to pick the right man for the job and who listens to advice. He describes him as dynamic and single-minded, a man who knows how to get things done.

"But beware if you cross him," the old staffer says. "He gets very emotional about certain things and if you catch him in an angry mood it's better to shut up. You will never win the argument when he's upset, he just overwhelms you. Rather let him cool off for a few days, then he will be reasonable again."

Pieter Willem Botha was born on a farm near the small Orange Free State Dorp of Paul Roux on Jauary 12 1916. He went to the high school in nearby Bethlehem, then to university in the provincial capital of Bloemfontein but dropped out after a year of law studies. He is thus the first of South Africa's nine Prime Ministers without a

Botha is no

PW Botha is not going to Europe and Britain because he needs to achieve something. He is going because he has already achieved something. And his hosts will receive him because they are aware of this.

The South African Prime Minister is not going cap in hand to ask favours, political, military or economic — unlike so many other visitors to Europe and Britain.

He is going as the pivotal figure in a vital region of the world, as a man who managed what many have tried elsewhere — he was instrumental in pushing Russian influence back and opening the doors in Southern Africa to growing Western influence.

His mere going to Europe and Britain is an indication that this is accepted and will confirm in the world's eyes that South Africa is at last seen to be what it has always been, namely the leading power in the subcontinent without whom no decisions of any importance in this part of the world can be taken.

Not that this will mean that the Prime Minister will have an easy ride.

ree views of PW's historic European shuttle

The Hawk

flies out...

He became Prime Minister fortuitously in 1978. The disclosure of a Watergate-type scandal in the Information Department destroyed Prime Minister John Vorster and his heir apparent, Information Minister Connie Mulder. In the crisis the choice of successor fell on Botha, who was the longest-serving member of the Cabinet.

It was not long before the new Prime Minister with the Ariel Sharon image, who had ordered South Africa's rash invasion of Angola in 1975, began unexpectedly making some doveish gestures. He became the first Prime Minister to visit the black township of Soweto, outside Johannesburg. He extended trade union rights to blacks. He held two meetings with big business, traditionally dominated by the opposition English-speakers. And he began speaking of the need for change.

"We must adapt or die" became his catchphrase. This caused large numbers of white South Africans who had tried to dissociate themselves from apartheid to turn to him They want reform but they are fearful of black rule and Botha appeared to offer the magical combination of change with the tough maintenance of control.

At a referendum last November he won an overwhelming 66 percent endorsement from white voters for a new constitution that will give a subordinate role in the central government to the coloured and Indian minorities but will continue to exclude the black majority. He attracted enough new support from the traditionally opposition English community to more than make up for the loss of Afrikaner hardliners in the Volkskeuring.

Here's what Mr Botha hopes to gain in Europe

By Prof Jack Spence, Pro Vice Chancellor, University of Leicester

WHAT does South African Prime Minister PW Botha hope to gain from his visit to Western Europe during the coming week?

First, there is an obvious domestic payoff: that the Prime Minister has been invited at all to meet his counterparts in four countries will be interpreted by many white South Africans as clear evidence that the Republic's pariah image is at last giving way to a more realistic acknowledgement of the Government's achievements in the areas of constitutional reform and foreign policy towards neighbouring states.

Clearly, Mr Botha's massive majority in the November 1983 referendum gave him the flexibility required to launch new diplomatic initiatives with respect to relations with Mozambique and the future of Namibia.

A favourable reception from his Western hosts, together with their public endorsement of these initiatives, will further boost Mr Botha's domestic standing and, so Western governments might argue, increase his room to manoeuvre on reform — an outcome, incidently, entirely consistent with Mrs Thatcher's belief that South Africa can be persuaded "through dialogue, encouragement and example" to move further down the path of reform whereas "isolation would be counter productive". (Letter from Mrs Thatcher to Mr Ian Lloyd MP, July 28 1983).

nomic and military strength of the Republic and its use, in a deliberate and calculated way, forced South Africa's neighbours into accommodation with the interests of their powerful rival.

Thirdly, Mr Botha will focus on Namibia's future. He is well aware of the interest that Western powers have in a negotiated settlement and the need to impress his hosts with his Government's commitments to the same goal after all the false starts of the past five years.

He will be pressed on the vexed question of "Cuban linkage" — the extent to which a Cuban withdrawal is essential as the price of South Africa's "decolonisation" of the territory. He might well argue that "linkage" is negotiable in the sense that a regional solution, involving only the local actors — Angola, South Africa, Swapo, the indigenous parties and possibly Zambia (acting as a third party intermediary) would be acceptable as the price of flexibility on the Cuban presence, provided that the UN and the complexities of Resolution 435 were left in limbo.

Mr Botha, after all, could argue that the recent initiative on Namibia was initially the product of a multilateral effort mounted by the United States, Angola and South Africa, free of hindrance by the UN: that further progress depends on the Western powers acknowledgement of involving the UN in the business of peacekeeping, election organisation and overall supervision of what, in any case, will be a delicate and difficult transfer of power to the black majority in Namibia.

going with cap in hand for favours

Die Vaderland
Laatuitgawe

By HARALD PAKENDORF,
Editor, Die Vaderland

Was it a conversion? Not really. Wha had happened was that Botha's militar mentors has persuaded him to adopt a new "total strategy" to make the last bastion of white rule more secure.

Afrikaner politics are predicated on survival at all costs. With no roots left in Europe after three centuries, and with black nationalism reclaiming all of Africa, the 2 800 000 Afrikaners feel themselves to be an endangered species. To ensure their survival they feel they must remain in control. If they let that control slip out of their hands, they will become a minority group in a country run by others and then they will lose what they regard as their God-given right to exist as a nation.

It follows that a man like PW Botha, whose whole life has been devoted to serving Afrikaner politics, has that purpose in mind. In this sense there has been no fundamental shift or change of direction.

The changes Botha is making are designed to reformulate, rather than reform, the apartheid system; to help ensure the continuation of Afrikaner control in the face of mounting internal and external pressures that are beginning to threaten it. He is not preparing to hand over to the blacks.

university education. Some people think this has given Botha a sense of inferiority which accounts in part for his aggressive manner.

Botha entered Parliament when the Afrikaner Nationalists came to power in 1948 and he is today the longest-serving parliamentarian by five years. His rise was steady and his experience varied. He held half a dozen Cabinet posts before becoming Minister of Defence in 1966.

That was a watershed. During his years as a party organiser and Cabinet Minister, Botha acquired considerable experience as an administrator. That became his primary skill. Now his association with the military brought him into contact with an organisational system whose authoritarian structure appealed to him immediately.

During his 12 years as Defence Minister he soaked it all up, learning, too, about theories of military strategy. The army became his university. In 1976 the University of Stellenbosch gave him an honorary degree in Military Science.

Racial discrimination is still entrenched in law, albeit that the walls of apartheid are crumbling. And that also because of his doing

He can expect to be asked questions about detention without trial, about forced removals, about the pace at which black political aspirations will be accommodated.

He can point out that the pace of internal change has quickened markedly since he has taken power, that Rome was not built in a day, that his government is committed to achieving justice for all.

His listeners may be cynical about these utterances but he will know that they are essentially fighting an image of the country which has grown over years and which is assiduously fed by strong anti-South African lobbies.

This is particularly true of Britain.

The Prime Minister will surely make the point that an abdication of the white man is not in the offing and that he sees a controlled evolutionary process as being in the best interests of the majority of the people of South Africa, in the region and therefore also of the West.

He can point to Nkomati, Lusaka and the new constitution.

He can add that he does not understand the fuss over his visit. Does the Nkomati-agreement mean Marxist Machel condones apartheid? Does Kaunda's help in getting the Namibian issue settled imply agreement with PW Botha's internal policy changes?

That is so patently ridiculous that it is never mentioned. Except in Britain. Fortunately, though, the present British Prime Minister is a practical person.

She will understand that the South Africa of today is not the South Africa of Verwoerd.

That was a South Africa still involved in an internal fight between white and white, looking for its place in the world, battered by world opinion, bitter at what it perceived to be the West's abdication of its responibilities in Africa.

Verwoerd took South Africa out of the Commonwealth, a wrenching experience for English-speakers in this country.

Ties of trade, sentiment and history still exist, though, and London is as yet the world capital best known to South Africans of all colours and opinions.

But no longer does it have a pivotal place in our national psyche and the visit to Britain is not the high point of Mr Botha's visit. It is merely one stop on the way, on a par with a visit to Bonn or Bern.

It is no longer the high point in a South African politician's life to talk to a British Prime Minister. Realities have changed. It will be equal meeting equal, with an ability to understand each other because of historical ties.

If that is it.

If Botha will be his own man in London as he will be in Bonn, Rome and Lisbon, looking the world straight in the eye.

Secondly, Mr Botha will no doubt emphasise the pivotal role he sees for his country in maintaining order and stability in Southern Africa and promoting the region's economic development. These objectives, he will claim, are in line with Western interests and deserve, therefore, greater recognition and support from European leaders.

This is a traditional theme in South Africa's foreign policy reminiscent of the Republic's efforts in the late 1960s to demonstrate its value as a "bastion of the free world", a candidate for inclusion in the Nixon doctrine which stressed the contribution that certain strategically placed states could make to regional security and economic growth.

These claims fell on deaf ears 20 years ago. Today conservative administrations in Washington, London and Bonn are much more receptive as drought, starvation, the fragility of statehood and the sheer eco-

ceptable on the grounds that it will have no alternmative but to co-exist with Pretoria — much as Harare and Maputo have been compelled to do by the brutal facts of economic dependence and South Africa's capacity to destabilise by military means.

Such an outcome could be sold to the South African electorate but the task would be more difficult if the UN, the Republic's bete noire were to become increasingly involved.

Fourthly, Mr Botha will stress the significance of the new constitution as a mechanism for improving the status and welfare of the Asian and coloured minorities. He will, no doubt, want an improvement on the refusal of the British Government to give the constitution less than "an unqualified welcome" (Cranley Onslow, Minister of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, March 31 1983) on the grounds that it "must be judged by the extent to which it meets the wishes of the black majority".

He must expect to be pressed hard in this context as the British Prime Minister is firmly on record as being hostile to "the institutionalised separation of the races and the repressive measures used to enforce this policy . . . a unique case". And for a variety of domestic and external reasons, Mrs Thatcher can hardly be expected to substantially modify her position.

Finally, we may expect Mr Botha to press for some relaxation of the arms embargo and the sports boycott. The former is especially important given the Republic's need to replace its ageing Shackleton aircraft and the frigates which date back to the Simonstown Agreement of the 1950s.

It is improbable that he will have any joy in either case: Mrs Thatcher no doubt remembers the domestic and Commonwealth fury which Mr Heath provoked in 1970/71 in attempting to reverse the arms embargo. She is equally aware of the risks that attend any effort to revise the Gleneagles Agreement on sporting links with South Africa. She has to recognise the interests of British sportsmen hoping to compete in the Olympic and Commonwealth Games and the fact that the new Commonwealth does at least have clout in international sporting circles, even if its demands can be ignored with respect to trade and investment links with the Republic.

The British and West German governments will face a barrage of criticism from their opposition parties on the morality and utility of receiving Mr Botha officially. Yet Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl know that the South African issue has never been significant in the electoral politics of either country.

By contrast, relations with the West have been a central preoccupation of every South African Government since 1948.

Whether Mr Botha's visit becomes a turning point in these relations will depend on how successful he is in ending the long drawn out conflict over Namibia, the extent to which his government can promote order and economic welfare throughout the region and, finally, the degree to which he can persuade his hosts — both now and in the future — that the new constitution represents a major advance towards ending apartheid.

NATIONAL PARTY

ARGUS 29/5/86 (306A)

Jockeying for power

By LEON MARSHALL, Political Editor

ON the surface the National Party is a tranquil, contented party now that Dr Andries Treurnicht is no longer there to stir things up.

But underneath there is a lot of pushing and shoving and as much guessing and gossip going on about who is getting where and how.

It has been going on for months as front-ranking members of the party position themselves for the advent of the new constitution with its many imponderables.

Countdown

Now that the countdown has started for the introduction of the system in September, behind-the-scenes activity can be expected to intensify and probably even burst into the open.

It might not be nearly as dramatic as the Nationalist power struggles of recent years which have seen the ascendancy of Mr P W Botha, the demise of the once-powerful Dr Connie Mulder and the ejection of Dr Treurnicht and his fellow-conservatives.

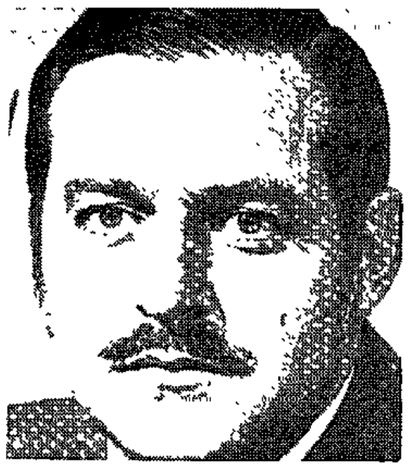
But it is every bit as intriguing and much more subtle.

One reason, particularly for the subtlety, is the firm control Mr Botha has over the party.

Another is the fact that the jockeying for position does not have the divisive ideological overtones that the old fights with Dr Treurnicht's verkrampites had.

Ideologies

That doesn't mean there are ideological motivations whatsoever. The difference is only that the ideological divisions now are less clear-cut than in the days when the party had to choose between power-sharing, of a sort, and hardline apartheid.



Mr Pik Botha

Another reason for the relative restraint is the uncertainty, also among Nationalists, over how the new system will work and where the power positions will be.

It is a foregone conclusion that Mr P W Botha will become the first executive President. This being the real power position, it will place him somewhat above party-politics — but not so far above that he wouldn't be able to make his influence felt within the ruling party. Far from it.

But his departure from the Parliamentary front-bench and his reduced party-political involvement will create a certain leadership vacuum within the ruling party that will have to be filled.

And whoever fills that vacuum, as the leading Nationalist Cabinet member, will be well-placed to one day assume the Presidential hat.

Because some Cabinet members will also have to make way for coloured and Indian ministers, the jockeying for position is more than a power-struggle. For some it is simply a struggle for survival.

An example of the latter is the speculation sparked by the Prime Minister's announcement that Mr Barend du Plessis, a junior minister in his Cabinet, would act as Minister of Finance during Mr Owen Horwood's absence.

Mr Horwood is expected to retire and everybody is looking around at who his successor might be. The Minister of Finance will have an even more influential position under the new system, and whoever holds the position will be able to make his presence forcefully felt at all levels.

But essentially the focus, as far as the real power-tussle is concerned, is on three men — Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk, and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis.

Rough course

From the Parliamentary back and middle benches, from the lower ranks in the National Party and even from the State bureaucracy — which is known not to be immune to political interest — their every move has been closely watched over months.

And, more likely than not, they have been casting side-glances at each other — or suppressing the desire to do so — like marathon runners not wanting to be too blatant about their secret intentions.

Each of them has his strong points and weaknesses, and has had his ups and downs over the rough course they are negotiating.

At first, Mr De Klerk seemed perfectly placed to take a decisive lead. That was soon after he took over as Transvaal Nationalist leader from Dr Treurnicht, having been instrumental in giving his predecessor and his cohorts a thorough trouncing in every backroom where they fought.

Technically, he should still be in the strongest position. Transvaal leaders of the National Party have long proved to have an edge over their provincial counterparts in leadership struggles.

But whether provincialism will play as strong a role under the new scheme of things is open to question. The demise of two Transvaal Nationalist leaders, and the ideological shift under Mr Botha have caused a major realignment that seems to transcend provincial borders.

Moreover, under Mr De Klerk's leadership, the Soutpansberg seat fell to the Conservatives, and before the new constitution comes into operation there will be more election fights in that troubled province.

If the National Party does badly in any of these, it will further affect his chances.

Most importantly, however, from his executive actions as Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr De Klerk gives the impression of not being entirely at ease with the new style of politics.

In a way, he seems to find himself in much the same position as Dr Treurnicht when he was Transvaal leader. It is said

Mr F W de Klerk

Mr C Heunis

that he represents the interests of that section of Nationalists which has not come fully to terms with the new system — the conservatives, in other words.

Much the same used to be said of Dr Treurnicht — that he represented too powerful a force within the National Party to be alienated.

There doesn't appear much chance of Mr De Klerk being alienated, as happened in the end to Dr Treurnicht. But whether the conservatives left behind in the Nationalist caucus after their former Transvaal leader's departure are strong enough to secure him a good position under the new constitution is an open question.

As the architect of the new constitutional scheme, Mr Heunis has proved his ability to negotiate effectively with prospective power-sharers of colour. On these grounds alone he has some claim to promotion. But he is a Cape man, and whether Mr P W Botha — or the National Party itself, for that matter — would want two Cape Nationalists in the top positions is open to question.

At the time of the election the last nominal Head of State Mr Botha for this very reason opted for the Transvaal candidate. It did not matter that the Cape candidate, Mr S L Muller, was his close and trusted friend of many years. Mr Muller, not surprisingly, has since turned into one of his bitterest foes.

Furthermore, while influential in shaping policy, Mr Heunis does not seem to command the support in the party's various caucuses — most definitely not in those of the northern provinces.

Which leaves Mr Pik Botha.

That he has aspirations is beyond doubt. It showed when as a junior minister he made his bid for power, along with Dr Mulder and Mr P W Botha, when Mr John Vorster retired.

In that election he turned out to be the kingmaker, by helping Mr P W Botha to beat Dr Mulder on the second round of voting.

For him the current race could not have come at a better time. Having always enjoyed grassroots support, it seems increasingly that he is now also making his presence powerfully felt within the tighter Nationalist circle when the party's leaders are picked.

It seems very much through his doing that the Government is finding it possible to establish a better relationship with neighbouring states, which in turn led to a better relationship with the West, as highlighted by the Prime Minister's departure for Europe this week.

Moreover, instead of being a maverick junior minister challenging the establishment for the Prime Ministership, he now is a senior minister and part of the establishment.

GULF WAR

West considers blockade of the Gulf to force peace talks

VIVIEN HORLER, Argus Foreign Service, reports from London

A blockade of the Persian Gulf by the United States with British backing, is being considered in an effort to stop the Iraq-Iran war, according to Western diplomatic sources in Baghdad.

"This would put the economic squeeze on both sides — and hopefully force Iran and Iraq to the negotiating table," said a Western diplomat.

A way for the West to blockade the Gulf would be to proclaim it a no-go area and enforce that with warships.

The Americans already have a flotilla led by the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk in the area, and Britain has several warships on station.

Such a move would certainly suit Iraq. Its oil shipments through the Gulf have been halted since the war broke out four years ago.

Iran has continued to export almost a million barrels a day and so earn the vital foreign currrency it needs to pursue this bloody conflict.

Iraq is already trying to impose its own blockade of Iranian ports and almost 30 ships have been attacked within the last two weeks.

"This Western plan would not worry us — we are not able to move any oil out of the Gulf as it is," a senior Iraqi official said Sunday.

But although Saudi Arabia would be able to supply some oil, it is unlikely to be much more than 1,5-million barrels a day. Total Gulf output has been running at around eight million barrels daily.

Saudi oil minister Sheikh Yamani said recently that a prolonged closure would result in a global deficit of two to four million barrels a day, despite best Saudi efforts and raised output by producers away from the area.

A long closure would also cause serious damage to the Gulf states' economies, and would mean sharply higher prices for the consumer.

Meanwhile, trade in the Gulf is already being seriously affected by the danger and soaring insurance premiums.

On Sunday the number of tankers lying idle off the port of Fujairah and Khor Fakkan just outside Gulf waters, had risen from the normal 10 to [illegible]

Japanese shipowners announced at the weekend that they would temporarily stop sending Japanese-crewed tankers to ports on the northern Gulf coast.

PM 'seeks licence' from West

1984

304A

Staff Reporter

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, was "trying to market a camouflaged apartheid package deal to the world" while the local education crisis reminiscent of the the 1976 school riots deepened, a United Democratic Front speaker said last night.

Addressing a capacity crowd of more than 700 at a UDF mass meeting on the theme "Building Peace at Home" in the Claremont Civic Centre, Mr Popo Molefe, UDF national secretary, said: "Although Mr Botha is going to masquerade as a peace-maker abroad, one thing is clear to us — peace cannot be imported. It has to be sought and found inside the country, where grievances are rooted and conflicts are raging."

Student boycott

He referred to the present boycott of 27 000 students at the universities of Turfloop, Transkei and Western Cape in support of their grievances, and the closure of schools in Atteridgeville.

"Mr Botha does not want lasting peace ... what he wants is a licence from his Western friends — Thatcher, Kohl, Reagan and others — to silence the voice of opposition in the country."

Mr Botha had deliberately ignored the root causes of the problem in South Africa and was now looking for scapegoats, he said.

"The white people of this country must begin to think now before it's too late. Can't we learn from the experience in Rhodesia? The 'Freedom over my dead body' slogan does not work. I am sure Ian Smith will tell you better."

Mrs Mary Burton, of the Black Sash, spoke against the continued "State oppression" and the government's media laws preventing the reporting of detentions.

Miss Cheryl Carolus, Western Cape UDF secretary, criticized the Indian and "coloured" parties participating in the new dispensation. The Labour Party's claim to fight apartheid from within was questionable, she said.

On the exclusion of blacks in the new dispensation, Miss Carolus said: "Since when has a minority been able to secure rights for the majority?"

Banned speaker

Mr Zoli Malindi, of the Detainees' Parent Support Committee, also spoke, but cannot be quoted as he is banned. Messages of support from the Anti-Apartheid Movements and Africa groups in Sweden, UK and Ireland were read at the meeting.

The UDF had also been awarded a peace prize by a Swedish daily newspaper, it was announced at the meeting.

Unnamed actors satirize the "elitist celebration" of Republic Day in a play at the UDF mass meeting at the Claremont Civic Centre last night.

CAPE TIMES 29/5/84

New-deal voters rush to register

304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — There has been a last-minute rush of applications to register for the coloured and Indian parliamentary elections, with more than 25 000 applications being received yesterday alone.

A spokesman for the Department of Internal Affairs said yesterday that 101 233 applications had been received from coloured voters since the beginning of May.

More than 21 000 were received yesterday alone, taking the total number of registered coloured voters to more than 781 000.

More than 42 000 applications from Indian voters have been received this month, with almost 4 500 arriving yesterday.

This means that there are now more Indians on the voting register than on the population register, making a mockery of the department's figures on the percentage of registered voters.

More than 338 000 Indians have now registered to vote, while there are 330 000 Indians on the population register.

The department had previously compared the number on the voters' register to the number on the population register, concluding that more than 90 percent had registered to vote.

But the population register excluded more than 200 000 Indians who do not yet have a Book of Life, but who may have registered to vote.

The percentage of adult Indians who have registered is thus about 55 percent.

The percentage of coloured adults who have registered is also significantly lower than the 67 percent shown by the department's figures.

The deadline for registration has been extended to Saturday because of the public holidays this week. Registration is a legal obligation.

The last-minute rush comes in the wake of a major SABC radio and television campaign calling on people to register.

Spokesmen for most of the parties participating in the elections said they were happy with the registration rate. Affiliates of the United Democratic Front, who are campaigning for a boycott of the polls, have not taken a stand on registration.

PM begins a 'crusade'

CAPE TIMES 29/5/84 30YA

From ORMANDE POLLOK

JOHANNESBURG. — After a hero's send-off from Jan Smuts Airport last night, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, will disembark from a specially-converted jumbo jet in Lisbon this morning to start his European shuttle.

His two-week, eight-nation tour is rapidly taking on the guise of a crusade to rescue South Africa from international isolation.

He is scheduled to see six heads of state and it is expected that he will also visit Italy.

In some quarters, the fact that so many countries are prepared to receive him, in spite of threats of large scale anti-apartheid demonstrations, is being interpreted as the first signs of a thaw.

South Africa's new constitutional dispensation and the peace initiatives in the sub-continent have paved the way for the tour which, some say, indicates public recognition by Western nations of South Africa's leadership role in this region.

Mr Botha's visit to Portugal will be followed by talks with the Swiss President. He is then to meet Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, near London on Saturday.

Fierce anti-apartheid demonstrations are expected in London, but Mr Botha will not see them as he is expected to fly by helicopter to the British leader's country residence, Chequers, from wherever he lands.

Next week Mr Botha will visit Bonn for talks with the German Chancellor, Mr Helmut Kohl, and Brussels for talks with the Belgian Prime Minister, Mr Wilfried Martens.

This will be followed by a private visit to France to lay the cornerstone of a memorial to the South Africans who died in the battle of Delville Wood.

From there he is expected to fly to Austria for talks with the Austrian Chancellor, Dr Fred Sinowatz, in Vienna.

CAPE TIMES 27/5/84

Big City send-off

30YA

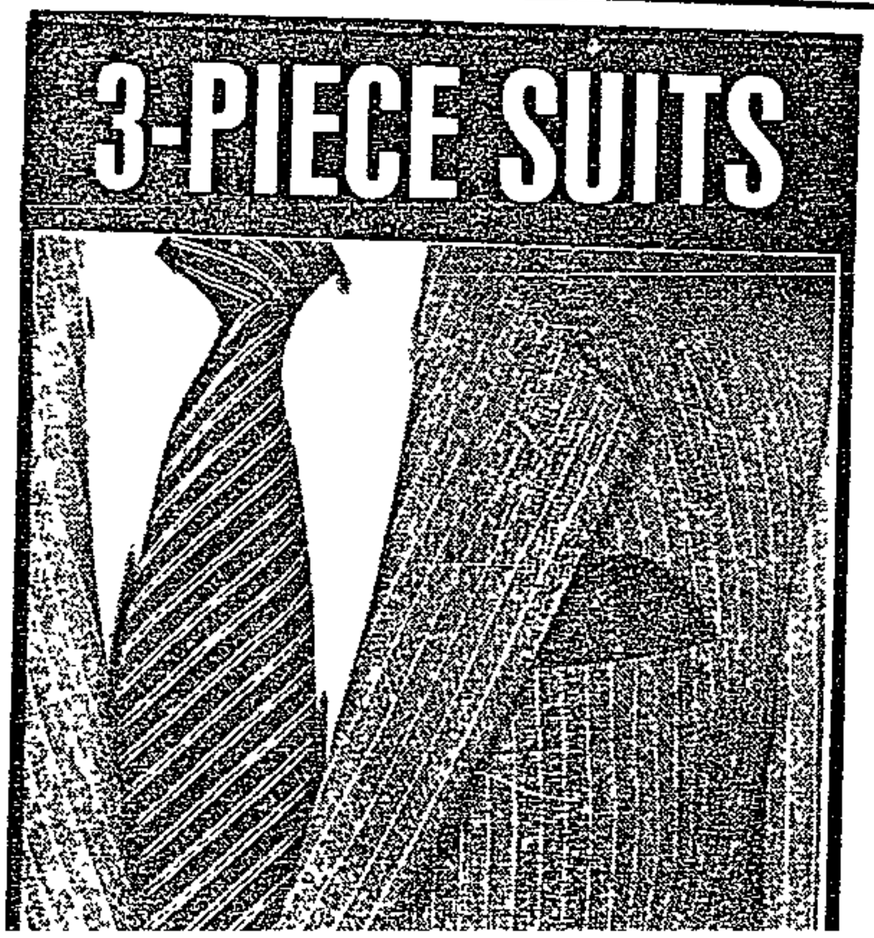
Chief Reporter

MEMBERS of the cabinet and other MPs, and members of the Cape Provincial Council were at Air Force Base Ysterplaat yesterday morning to see the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and Mrs Elize Botha off on the first leg of their visit to Europe.

Brief farewell addresses were delivered by the leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of the Interior, and by the party's deputy leader in the Cape, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development.

The well-wishers formed themselves into an "honour-guard" on either side of the steps leading to the entrance of the small French-built Falcon VIP jet that took Mr and Mrs Botha to the Transvaal.

At AFB Ysterplaat yesterday morning the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, gives a thumbs-up as he boards the VIP jet that took him and his wife to the Transvaal on the first leg of their trip to Europe.



CAPE TIMES 29/5/84

Men for Mowbray

53

Staff Reporter

THE Cape Town Teachers' Training College in Mowbray will admit male students for the first time at the beginning of next year.

This was confirmed yesterday in the Provincial Council by the MEC for education, Mr Willem Bouwer.

Speaking on the education budget vote, Mr Bouwer said men would be admitted as day students to the first year of the course for the Diploma in Education for a probationary period of

Zola Budd crosses the
at the United Kingdo
time — 4:4,39

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From there he is expected to fly to Austria for talks with the Austrian Chancellor, Dr Fred Sinowatz, in Vienna.

High on the agenda of all official talks will be the SWA/Namibian independence issue, the latest developments in Southern Africa and the possibility of Western aid to some of South Africa's less-developed neighbours.

SUITS

CAPE TIMES 29/5/84

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Staff Reporter

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This was confirmed yesterday in the Provincial Council by the MEC for education, Mr Willem Bouwer.

Speaking on the education budget vote, Mr Bouwer said men would be admitted as day students to the first year of the course for the Diploma in Education for a probationary period of three years.

No capital expenditure or additional posts would be provided for the project in the foreseeable future.

Its success would depend largely on the number of men who applied for admission.

Zola Budd crosses the finishing line to win the wom at the United Kingdom championships in Wales yo time — 4:4,39 — is an official world junior r

Kaunda backed for OAU chief

page 19

The Cape Times will appear Thursday, May 31, but not June 1. The advertisement Burg Street will be closed fr morrow to 8.30am on Mon Birth, death and lost & fo can be telephoned to 24-27 and June 2 between 10am

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and his Portuguese counterpart, Dr Mario Soares, inspect a guard of honour on Mr Botha's arrival in Lisbon yesterday. Behind them is Mr Botha's private secretary, Commandant T Ehlers.

CAPE TIMES 30/5/84 (3041)

Soares wants 'more intense' ties with SA

By ORMANDE POLLOK

LISBON. — The Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr Mario Soares, last night expressed the desire for a more "intense" relationship with South Africa.

His statement at a banquet in honour of the South Afican Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, on the first day of his official visit to Portugal, was accompanied by a call for South Africa to carry through "to the end" the process of change it had started.

Dr Soares' conciliatory speech appears to indicate a shift in the Portugese Government's attitude towards South Africa in recent times.

"We are hopeful that South Africa will continue till the end on the way to change which it has undertaken, removing once and for all the obstacles which still impede a broader and more sound relationship between our two states and our two peoples," said Dr Soares.

Though Portugal had often condemned apartheid in the past there remained great scope for co-operation on the basis on non-interference and mutual respect.

"We know each other sufficiently well in our qualities and in our defects so that we can now build a relationship in the interests of both countries with pragmatism and without subjection to ideological preconceptions," said Dr Soares.

The presence of a South African Prime Minister in Portugal should be considered as "natural" in view of the good neighbourliness that had existed in the past.

Problems had to be resolved not in an atmosphere of violent confrontation but through understanding and respect for internal regimes and socio-economic options particular to every state.

Congratulations

Portugal had done everything it could to help its former colonies overcome their problems and frank dialogue based on mutual respect had been the best way of achieving this.

South Africa had now also decided to adopt this kind of relationship with its African neighbours for which it was to be congratulated.

"We congratulate you in the hope that this new pragmatic spirit of great realism may contribute towards finally finding the indispensable solutions for Southern Africa's problems," said Dr Soares.

He believed that Namibian independence and peace in Angola needed to be achieved as soon as possible to create a climate which could lead to future progress and well being.

He, like Mr Botha, praised President Samora Machel of Mozambique for concluding the Nkomati Accord.

Again, like Mr Botha in his speech, Dr Soares criticised outside influences in the territory.

"The Nkomati Accord has created a new dynamism in Southern Africa which must be stimulated in order that the adepts to violence and those who behave as new colonizers may not be successful in a confrontation and totalitarian policy," said Dr Soares.

He spoke in glowing terms of the large Portugese population in South Africa which he said was the strongest tie with South Africa.

"If there is an appeal I should make to you in favour of our community it is that you may allow it to continue living under the principal of fraternal values and love for one another without any kind of distinction which are so much the mark of the Portugese soul and value which cannot be disconnected from every human being's dignity," he said.

Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr Mario Soares, take the national salute at Lisbon Airport.

ANC using tour as rallying point

30/5/84 (3044) Star

NEW YORK — The African National Congress, heading opposition to Prime Minister Mr P W Botha's European tour, is attempting to make the tour counter-productive by using it as a rallying point against South Africa.

Having been unable to stop the tour, the ANC now plans to send a representative to two of the countries which Mr Botha is to visit and has made representations in New York to the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Jaime Gama.

A spokesman for the ANC's observer mission to the United Nations said that it was planned that an official would visit the countries before Mr Botha arrived and would seek to lodge protests against the tour.

He would not name the two countries.

MEETING

At a meeting this week with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, who was on a visit to New York, the ANC voiced its opposition to the tour and its disappointment with Portugal's invitation to Mr Botha.

From London, John D'Oliveira of The Star's Bureau reports that Mr Botha will be the unseen man on Saturday, even though his working lunch with Mrs Margaret Thatcher will dominate British politics.

British officials refused to discuss the visit yesterday, except to say that Mr Botha would be having lunch with Mrs Thatcher.

They would not say whether the lunch would be at No 10 Downing Street or at the Prime Minister's country retreat, Chequers. Nor would they say how Mr Botha would arrive in London or how he would travel to his meeting with Mrs Thatcher.

HELICOPTER

However, it is understood that the South African party will arrive at Heathrow Airport and will be flown to and from the meeting at Chequers by helicopter.

The public cannot approach close to Chequers and so it is unlikely that Mr Botha will see anything of the angry demonstrations planned by his British enemies.

There are likely to be demonstrations at Heathrow and at other points, but the main focus of attention will be a mass rally at Trafalgar Square, opposite the South African Embassy.

Yesterday 41 former South African political prisoners held an hour-long protest at the entrance to Downing Street. They delivered a letter to No 10 asking Mrs Thatcher to call off her meeting with Mr Botha.

SINCERITY

The president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, said yesterday that he does not accept the sincerity of the British Government over Mr Botha's visit.

"British governments as a whole have never done anything effective against apartheid. They've talked about it, they've said they dislike it intensely, but what actions have they taken?

"The one thing Mr Botha is really after is to get back into the community of so-called civilised nations, and it is tragic in my view that the British Government should invite him here to encourage him when the only effective weapon we've got, apart from the ultimate weapon of bloodshed and revolution inside South Africa, is to isolate South Africa until it makes the necessary changes."

In contrast, a Daily Express writer said today that those who are in favour of "saving Southern Africa from starvation and economic ruin" should welcome the arrival of Mr Botha.

According to James McMillan, "this opinion is shared by most people who actually know what is going on in Southern Africa, including Samora Machel, the Marxist leader of broken-down Mozambique".

After reviewing the changes he has seen, McMillan said: "The truth is that whites, blacks, Indians and coloureds are rubbing along together far better than I expected".

The fact that Mr Botha is being given the red-carpet treatment in Europe, said McMillan, "is eloquent testimony to the scale of South Africa's progress and the dawn of the new realism in Southern Africa". — The Star's Foreign News Service.

Lisbon cheers greet 'Bohta'

From JOHN SCOTT

LISBON. — The only sign of opposition to Mr P W Botha's visit to Portugal yesterday was a large spray-painted sign on a Lisbon city wall that said: "Bohta apartheide" (sic).

The South African Prime Minister, on his way by motorcade from his hotel to Sao Bento, official residence of Portugal's Prime Minister, Dr Mario Soares, probably never saw it.

There were no demonstrators at Portela Airport, Lisbon, at 11am yesterday when the SA Boeing 747 Matroosberg carrying the official party landed.

On the contrary. After Mr Botha had inspected a guard of honour on the tarmac, a group of airport workers broke into applause as he worked past them on his way to a saluting rostrum. The Prime Minister waved back with a grin and took his hat off.

Afterwards, with Dr Soares by his side, he told a large gathering of newsmen in the airport building: "It is indeed a pleasure to be in Lisbon again. I bring you good tidings from the few

To page 2

From page 1

hundred thousand Portuguese residents in the Republic of South Africa.

"We have very high respect for them. I hope my visit will contribute to the strengthening of bonds between our two two countries."

In the afternoon the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, drove a few kilometres through the city's hilly, winding streets to Sao Bento, the high-walled and heavily-gated residence that was once the home of the dictator, General Salazar.

At the entrance to Sao Bento, the Portuguese and South African flags flew side by side.

The talks lasted for two hours 10 minutes — 40 minutes longer than originally planned.

● **ORMANDE POLLOK** reports that Mr Botha last night took a strong line against foreign influences in Southern Africa and said they should not be allowed to turn the sub-continent into a "battlefield".

Speaking at a banquet in the former Royal Palace of Sintra near Lisbon, Mr Botha said the people of Southern Africa were tired of conflict and interferance by outsiders in the affairs of the region.

He praised the Portuguese Government for the role it had played in making the Inkomati Accord with Mozambique possible.

"There now emerges a new pattern of realism amongst leaders of Southern Africa, a growing recognition that our first priority is peace."

Mr Botha repeated South African's long and strongly held view that the Namibian issue would be resolved only once the Cubans had been removed from the region.

● Soares wants 'more intense' ties with SA, picture, page 8

Party colour bar retained

Argus Times 31/5/84 (304A)

Political Staff

THE basic principles of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act are to be retained.

This was announced in the City yesterday by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk.

The announcement by the minister sets the scene for a major showdown between the government and the Labour Party, which is insistent that it will admit both coloured and Indian members.

Mr De Klerk said the new constitution was "indivisibly linked to the principle that each population group must exercise its participation in the democratic election process within the group context".

Any other approach, he said, would be "incompatible within the framework of the principles of the constitution".

Discussions

Mr De Klerk said the essence of the new dispensation was that "group security will be assured and that group domination will be eliminated, whilst co-operation between groups, and therefore also between the parties of the groups, be made possible and enhanced".

The minister said he had not wished to make a statement on the matter but rather wished to hold discussions with the Labour Party.

However, major figures in the Labour Party, despite being involved in correspondence with the minister, continued to make public statements about amendments to the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

As a result, he said, he had no alternative but to "emphasize certain basic facts".

Deadlock

The minister's statement is the latest salvo in what is rapidly becoming a full-scale war between the government and the Labour Party over the provisions of the Act.

Labour Party leaders have repeatedly called for it to be scrapped while reiterating that they will admit both Indian and coloured people as members of the party, while the government has stated repeatedly that the major provisions of the Act will be retained.

These in essence mean:

- No member of one racial group may be a member of a political party to which members of another racial group belong.
- A prohibition on overseas funding of political parties.

If the Labour Party cannot achieve this kind of concession from the government at this stage, its pre-election boasts that it intends participating in the new constitution in order "to dismantle apartheid" are going to sound awfully hollow.

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

P W Botha hints at African tour this year

From PETER SULLIVAN
Political Staff

LISBON. — South African Prime Minister Mr P W Botha hinted at an African tour this year and showed how he intended to deal with questions about the country's internal politics when he addressed a Press conference here.

While the main news to emerge was his invitation to Portuguese Prime Minister Dr Mario Soares to tour South Africa, Mr Botha also said he had invitations from government leaders in Africa, some of whom he had already seen and others he would be seeing.

At one stage it was thought Mr Botha would stop over in Africa on his way to Europe, but a separate tour later this year is apparently being planned.

Peace moves

At the joint Press conference with his Portuguese counterpart, Mr Botha echoed Dr Soares in saying trade, peace moves, Southern African development and the pursuit of freedom had been discussed.

More interesting were some of the things not discussed: neither South Africa's internal policies nor the arms embargo came up for discussion. Dr Soares told the conference the talks were held with mutual respect and he did not believe in interfering in another country's internal affairs.

This was the "golden rule" of international relations, he said in a quotation likely to be reused by Mr Botha in other countries on his itinerary.

Mr Botha dealt with questions about segregation by saying South Africa comprised many minorities, and not a white minority and black majority — a theme he has often used from public platforms at home.

Was invited

He refused to accept a questioner's view that the tour was an attempt to break out of the country's isolation or that reform at home was an attempt to do this. He had come because he was invited, he said.

Namibian issues were discussed at length, with Dr Soares refusing to comment on the question of Cuban linkage and Mr Botha making the point that South Africa was not "Father Christmas" and could not continue to pour money into the territory.

Argus 29/5/85

'New constitution is not changing basic apartheid'

304A

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Anyone in Britain who believes that apartheid is changing, and that with more encouragement and less criticism it will change faster, is "mistaken".

That is the contention of Mr M Lekota and Mr P Molefe, of the United Democrtaic Front, in a letter from Johannesburg published in The Guardian today.

Written to coincide with the visit to Britain of the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, the letter points out that the UDF is made up of representatives of 600 groups who oppose the new constitution and the Koornhof laws.

Mr Botha's Government, it says, has not begun to reconstruct the traditional system of apartheid "because of a sudden change of heart or burst of enlightenment, but because of the determined struggles of the majority of democratic South Africans".

It adds that "quite simply, the new constitution is based on the very pillars of apartheid", and continues:

"So we in South Africa ask that when you see a few black faces in the Springbok rugby team, or sitting in the tricameral Parliament next September, take a second look at the realities behind the image.

"Look at the security legislation, with its detentions and bannings; look at the closure of black schools in Pretoria after the protests of black schoolchildren against the hated Bantu education system; look at the mass removals of black people from urban areas and at the starvation and destruction that accompany such actions.

"Or, better still, ask the English rugby team what they feel about the low wages paid to the black workers who attended to them in their hotels, the segregated beaches they visited, the Liquor Act that stopped them from entertaining black athletes in all but the special international hotels."

The letter argues that behind the Nkomati "peace" lies the full might of the South African Defence Force, while behind the "process of reform" lies the full might of the Internal Security Act.

In the circumstances, the UDF writers urge "the people of Britain to tell Mr Botha in no uncertain terms what you think of his policies".

The letter asks Britain to join the UDF in its campaigns, and "we ask you to stand with us in calling for the release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and all other South African leaders who are spending their twentieth year in jail".

"It is only when these patriots are released, and are joined by those South Africans to whom you in Britain have given refuge, that we here in South Africa can begin to look forward to the day when a Prime Minister representing all South Africans will be able to visit your country."

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. & POLITICS
1984

1st JUNE — 31 JULY

(SOUTH)

TOUCHDOWN IN PORTUGAL

Portugal's Socialist-led government held nothing back when the Boeing 747 carrying Prime Minister P W Botha made the first landing of his European trek at Lisbon Airport. This was no "working lunch" as conceded by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Premier Mario Soares and senior ministers were on the tarmac to welcome Botha and his party — complete with red carpet and military guard of honour.

Formal sessions

"This will be the only proper official visit of his tour," a Portuguese foreign office official told the *FM*. As the *FM* went to press, Soares and Botha were starting the first of two formal discussion sessions — punctuated by a banquet. The agenda was expected to cover much of the same ground as the talks between Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama (away this week at a Nato meeting in Washington) and Foreign Minister Pik Botha when the new Cahora Bassa agreement was signed in SA three weeks ago.

The South Africans can expect small comfort on two main questions. Soares, fresh from his April visit to the US will express opposition to apartheid, a big question over the new tricameral constitution, and state that UN Security Council Resolution 435 should be swiftly implemented to bring independence to Namibia.

Soares has more positive interests in Mozambique where Portugal played a leading (if undercover) role in the Nkomati Accord. "Peace in the area" is a theme stressed over and over again by officials at the Palacio das Necessidades which houses the foreign ministry.

Portugal already regards itself as part of a three-way partnership, with the US and Mozambique, following Nkomati and the Cahora Bassa deal. A joint US-Portuguese technical development mission will soon visit Mozambique and there have been meetings with the Italians on economic development.

So while the Portuguese foreign ministry is calling Botha's visit "a new page in SA diplomacy," meaning it is more important to SA than to Portugal, *FM* discussions in Lisbon this week suggested the issue was of mutual interest. SA's role is vital to — familiar phrase — "peace in the area." Portugal has some 100 000 disaffected ex-Angolan and Mozambican colonists, mostly without jobs — not to mention 600 000-700 000 Portuguese nationals in SA. The combination of peace, injections of US and European development capital, and implementation by Portuguese know-how and labour would solve problems for both Lisbon and Maputo.

On the periphery of the agenda was the possibility of a "cultural agreement" between SA and Portugal. What this would mean was not possible to determine before the two heads of government met. But it is being seen as a politically-harmless way of cementing the more important precedents of Nkomati and Cahora Bassa.

Good offices

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Premier Soares ... waiting on the tarmac

President Eanes ... more warmth this time?

THE CABINET

(304A) FM 1/6/84

Reshuffle on the way

The introduction of the constitutional reforms in September is expected to be accompanied by the biggest Cabinet reshuffle since P W Botha became Prime Minister in 1978.

Not only will space have to be found for two coloured ministers and one Indian minister in "general affairs" portfolios, but it seems likely that a number of senior Cabinet members will opt out of active politics. There are also a number of junior members of the Cabinet looking for promotion.

Among those who could be on the way out are:

☐ Finance Minister Owen Horwood, 67, about whose impending retirement there seems to be little doubt;

☐ Co-operation and Development Minister Piet Koornhof, 58, who, it is believed, is in line for a senior post in the revamped President's Council. He could take over the role of chief promoter of the government line from Vice-President Alwyn Schlebusch, who is retiring;

☐ Posts and Telegraphs Minister Lapa Munnik, whose political blunders, such as the "R20 diet for pensioners" debacle, have made him a continuing liability;

☐ Health Minister Nak van der Merwe, 62; and

☐ According to some sources, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange, who, although he will only be 56 in August, apparently wants out.

Supporters

What is clear is that Prime Minister Botha will need some important supporters in the new President's Council — which could be destined to play a leading role if there are disputes between the three Houses of Parliament. The Council will also have a policy-initiating role.

In the circumstances, Koornhof, a past master at negotiating and politicking, could be the ideal figure in the President's Council, particularly if he is supported by the likes of Munnik, Van der Merwe and Le Grange — and since some of the former Cabinet members in the present President's Council may quit politics altogether.

In the existing Cabinet, people like National Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Education and Training Minister Barend du Plessis and, possibly, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Danie Steyn are on the way up.

Then there are deputy ministers like Pierre Cronjé (Community Development), Piet Badenhorst (Internal Affairs) and Louis Nel (Foreign Affairs) who are knocking at the Cabinet door. So are two administrators — Gene Louw (Cape) and Stoffel Botha (Natal) — despite their recent reappointments. Indeed, political pundits point out that their reappointments were, in any event, necessary to avoid a break in service for salary and pension purposes.

A number of MPs will also be hopeful, such as Adriaan Vlok (Verwoerdburg), Val Volker (Klip River) and André Fourie (Turffontein). One of the few Nationalist MPs with financial experience, Kobus Meiring, of Paarl, who is a director of the Boland Bank, could be in line for Cabinet rank.

Le Grange . . . opting for peaceful retirement?

One of the key questions in the Cabinet guessing game is who will get the finance portfolio. Certainly, if the new minister does come from the existing Cabinet, the speculation in the *FM* last week that it would be Hendrik Schoeman seems right.

Opposition finance spokesman Harry Schwarz agrees. He told the *FM*: "There are not many runners — and Hendrik Schoeman is a frontrunner." There are few ministers with Schoeman's experience in presenting budgets to Parliament (the Transport budget). Someone like Du Plessis, whose appointment as acting Finance Minister led to speculation that he would be Horwood's successor, lacks experience and is a very junior member of the Cabinet.

Schwarz also says he expects that Chris Heunis "would like to remain with his constitution-making." Heunis was once regarded as the logical successor to Horwood. It is now accepted that he will remain in the constitutional field, possibly incorporating policy-making in regard to blacks under his wing. Certainly, his chairmanship of the Select Committee which considered the now-withdrawn Orderly Movement and Settlement Bill, and his long interview about black affairs in last week's *Rapport*, implies this will be the case.

It is, of course, possible that Botha could opt for more technocrats, of the Magnus Malan mould, in which case a more acceptable financial expert could be brought from outside political circles to succeed Horwood. Parliamentary circles, however, think this is unlikely.

One thing seems certain: the new Constitution is going to see a very different Cabinet. Speculation will continue until Botha makes up his mind. At this stage, though, it is difficult to see who else could be in line for promotion, unless the Prime Minister decides he wants more technocrats.

If he does opt for technocrats, there is a strong possibility that the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, will succeed Le Grange as Minister of Law and Order.

Rabie ... challenging government to act

self-proclaimed law-breakers. Internal Affairs Minister F W de Klerk tells the *FM* he does not wish to react to the LP decision before he has talked to the party.

The Act itself reads: "No person who belongs to one population group may (a) be a member of any political party of which any person who belongs to any other population group, is a member; (b) render assistance as agent, or be a member of an election committee, of a political party of which any person who belongs to any other population group, is a member, or of any person who belongs to any other population group and who has been nominated or may be nominated as a candidate for an election ..."

The Act makes provision for penalties of not less than R300 or six months' imprisonment for a first conviction, and not less than R1 000 or one year for subsequent convictions. It stipulates, however, that no prosecution shall be instituted "except on the express direction of the Attorney-General concerned."

Transvaal Attorney-General, Don Brunette, tells the *FM* that if a charge is made and the police hand him a dossier with their investigation, "I will have to seriously consider the matter. One will have to look at the whole thing with the background of the politics of the time when the Act was made and at the present political climate."

This could be interpreted as implying that Acts passed by Parliament will not be enforced if political circumstances have changed since the legislation was drafted.

PFP spokesman Tiaan van der Merwe says the LP has created a "severe dilemma" for government in which Pretoria will certainly lose face. The LP action does not seem to be a contravention of the Constitution or the Electoral Act. In addition, the Political Interference Act does not make provision for declaring an election void. "The only way to avert unpleasantness and conflict at the start of the new dispensation will be to scrap the Act at the earliest possible moment," Van der Merwe says.

He adds: "This is the first indication that some coloured and Indian politicians are not going to accept their minority status lying down and are giving notice at an early stage that (government's) right to dictate unilaterally will not go unchallenged."

The LP seems confident that the Act will be scrapped. "How will it look if this government takes members of the future government to court," Transvaal LP leader Jac Rabie asked at the party's congress last weekend.

Ironically, the showdown between the LP and government can only help the LP to do well in the coming election — and that is certainly in government's interest.

If the Act is scrapped, however, there will also be nothing to stop the PFP putting up candidates in the brown elections. This is not likely to appeal to government.

POLITICS

Trapped by the past

The government has been neatly trapped by the coloured Labour Party (LP) announcement that it will defy the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act. It seems to have a choice between prosecuting the LP or scrapping the Act before the end of this parliamentary session. The law prevents ethnically-defined groups from participating in the same political parties.

The Transvaal LP decision to elect an Indian, Salam Abram-Mayet, to their executive is clearly illegal — and the Act lays down specific penalties for such action, including minimum fines and even terms of imprisonment. But the LP also warned government not to try and stop it putting up candidates in both the coloured and Indian elections in August — another clear illegality.

Far from rushing to prosecute, however, government intends holding talks with the

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Venture to the exterior

Internally, P W Botha's European tour is being perceived as a personal triumph. And so it is — except that the PM is likely to be told that the tour is only the beginning of a long and arduous process whereby SA can regain respectability in the West to which it is strategically, but not ideologically linked.

That was quite a telling headline in *Beeld* on Monday: "P W Leads SA Out Of Isolation." Not so much because that is what could conceivably come out of the Prime Minister's historic European safari, as because many South Africans are sick to death of being in the cold. The headline reflected their deepest yearnings. Enough has been done — they feel certain — to ensure the beginnings of a re-entry into the Western community.

Without in any way underestimating the significance of the tour, such optimism must be tempered by a realistic assessment of the West's minimum requirements of SA — and what can actually be conceded in the current overheated political climate, with neo-Nazism on the rise.

Botha leads from the front: he may well be the most able Prime Minister since Union. On the eve of his trip, addressing a National Party rally in Graaff-Reinet, he spelt out very clearly what continued isolation would mean — "so many boycotts, lack of goodwill, and so much resentment that it will choke in its loneliness." South Africans had to "come out of the laager" and face the world.

In this awareness, he said, government had signed the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, and dealt with a number of other African states in the quest for peace in southern Africa. The Western leaders whom he will meet are aware of this. And there are other issues for which Botha will be given credit: the progress (however slow) of Namibia towards independence; the reform (however limited) of the constitution; and the promise that the future of the "millions of black people living within the borders of the Republic" (Botha's words) is high on Pretoria's list of priorities.

Yet these matters — which loom so large in local consciousness — will not do much to resolve the West's fundamental problems with apartheid. The British Minister of State at the Foreign Office, Malcolm Rifkind, stated at the weekend that "it is not for any country outside SA to produce a blueprint or masterplan for the exact constitution SA should adopt." However, the future of SA's blacks was "the crux of any long-term settlement of the issue of apartheid," and Pretoria, in his view, had not seriously applied itself to this problem.

This is where SA and the West part company. If the guarded reforms implicit in the new constitution had come 30 years ago, the picture could have been very different. But to include Indians and coloureds — in racially segregated parliaments — in the Second Republic will be seen by many as an expansion of the frontiers of apartheid, not its abolition. The *FM* continues to hold the view that the changes are better than nothing — and could lead to an erosion of even further barriers. However, critics of the new dispensation can with justice point to the fact that — at this stage — policy relating to blacks has not changed.

At Graaff-Reinet, for example, Botha spoke of the "new formula" evolved by the NP, whereby "black nations can get freedom without firing shots or revolution." In other words, the pivot of government thinking on the majority of SA's blacks remains the homelands. While this is so, and the balkanisation of the country along ethnic lines continues, Botha and his men will be welcomed in the West not as friends and allies, but as representatives of an ideology that is universally condemned. However, the West *is* prepared — as never before — to listen to arguments against precipitate change.

For example: a line that the Western leaders are likely to find persuasive is that reform in SA is proceeding as fast as it can. That too swift a dismantling of the segregationist apparatus built up over the past 36 years could well lead to a severe rightwing reaction. That, indeed, the evidence is already in that the forces massing on the Right are both powerful and violent.

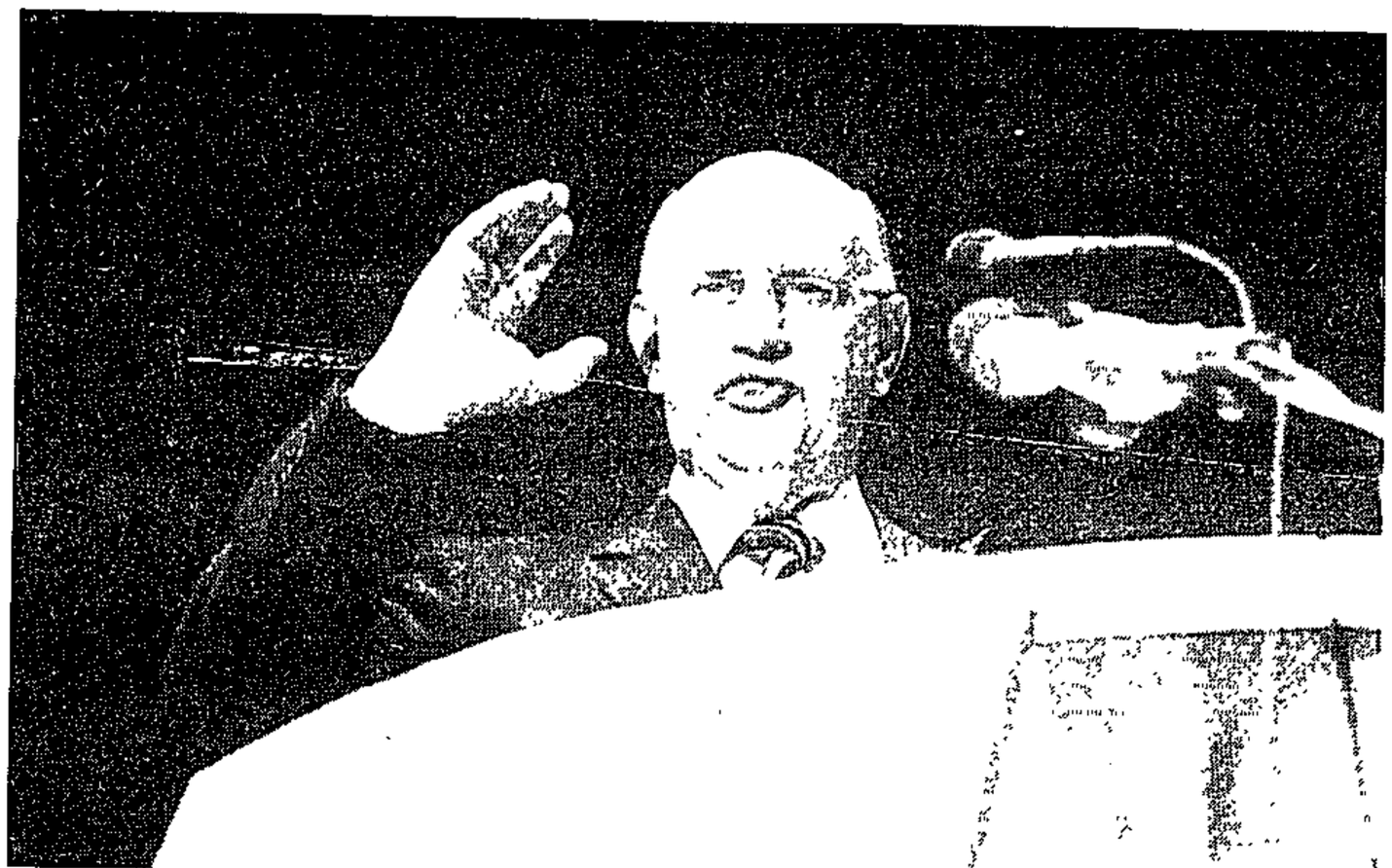
It will still be difficult to defend a system of mass removals, pass raids and prosecutions, the Immorality Act, denationalisation of homelanders, restrictions on land ownership and labour mobility, inequitable expenditures on education, and the continuing burgeoning of the bureaucracy to implement all the Jim Crow laws.

There are two components to any nation's foreign relations. One involves the practicalities of co-existence; the other relates to ideology. As the Nkomati Accord dramatically demonstrated, economic development in southern Africa is contingent on SA playing a core role. That has been accepted by the Organisation of African Unity.

Again, the independence of Namibia cannot come about without SA. Since that independence is desperately desired by Africa and the West alike, resolution of the issue clearly lies not in boycotts and isolation, but in encouragement and co-existence.

But ideology is a force, too. Botha's party will be left in no doubt about that. Opposition to apartheid will be expressed not only in the streets, but in the more sedate forums in which the leaders will meet. The West wants SA back in the fold — but not at any cost. Not at the cost of even seeming to imply acceptance of apartheid.

That being so, it must be asked: why



PM Botha . . . some sombre notes to his welcome

(BOTA) (239)

TOUCHDOWN IN PORTUGAL

Portugal's Socialist-led government held nothing back when the Boeing 747 carrying Prime Minister P W Botha made the first landing of his European trek at Lisbon Airport. This was no "working lunch" as conceded by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Premier Mario Soares and senior ministers were on the tarmac to welcome Botha and his party — complete with red carpet and military guard of honour.

Formal sessions

"This will be the only proper official visit of his tour," a Portuguese foreign office official told the *FM*. As the *FM* went to press, Soares and Botha were starting the first of two formal discussion sessions — punctuated by a banquet. The agenda was expected to cover much of the same ground as the talks between Portuguese Foreign Minister Jaime Gama (away this week at a Nato meeting in Washington) and Foreign Minister Pik Botha when the new Cahora Bassa agreement was signed in SA three weeks ago.

The South Africans can expect small comfort on two main questions. Soares, fresh from his April visit to the US will express opposition to apartheid, a big question over the new tricameral constitution, and state that UN Security Council Resolution 435 should be swiftly implemented to bring independence to Namibia.

Soares has more positive interests in Mozambique where Portugal played a leading (if undercover) role in the Nkomati Accord. "Peace in the area" is a theme stressed over and over again by officials at the Palacio das Necessidades which houses the foreign ministry.

Portugal already regards itself as part of a three-way partnership, with the US and Mozambique, following Nkomati and the Cahora Bassa deal. A joint US-Portuguese technical development mission will soon visit Mozambique and there have been meetings with the Italians on economic development.

So while the Portuguese foreign ministry is calling Botha's visit "a new page in SA diplomacy," meaning it is more important to SA than to Portugal, *FM* discussions in Lisbon this week suggested the issue was of mutual interest. SA's role is vital to — familiar phrase — "peace in the area." Portugal has some 100 000 disaffected ex-Angolan and Mozambican colonists, mostly without jobs — not to mention 600 000-700 000 Portuguese nationals in SA. The combination of peace, injections of US and European development capital, and implementation by Portuguese know-how and labour would solve problems for both Lisbon and Maputo.

On the periphery of the agenda was the possibility of a "cultural agreement" between SA and Portugal. What this would mean was not possible to determine before the two heads of government met. But it is being seen as a politically-harmless way of cementing the more important precedents of Nkomati and Cahora Bassa.

Good offices

The Portuguese do not, however, see themselves as being able to offer the same "good offices" in Angola as they could in Mozambique. Relations with Angola's present government (which took power when the Communist Party was in control in Portugal in 1975) are not good and recently they have been even more scratchy because of a Portuguese TV film of Unita as well as a long-standing complaint that the government is allowing a Unita agent to use Lisbon as a propaganda distribution base. "It is a very complicated situation," the *FM* was told. But in terms of the "peace in the area" imperative the Portuguese take comfort from the direct dialogue between SA and Angola.

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Forerunners

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President Eanes ... more warmth this time?

(304A) FM 1/6/84

was Botha asked to "leave the laager" and enter the wider world in which apartheid seems, at best, a nasty aberration from the past and at worst a threat to regional stability? The answer is that the journey is part-reward (for Nkomati, Namibia and the constitutional reforms) and part-warning (that in the end apartheid must go as the price of genuine international respectability).

P W Botha and Pik Botha are strong men: they will not take kindly to the least hint of patronisation. After all, they are more fully aware of the realities of southern Africa than any European leader can be. And they must always be aware that they have to report back to an increasingly suspicious, and rightward-leaning, electorate. But they will be meeting equally strong leaders, who are likely to be as forthright in spelling out the terms for SA's readmission to the world community.

Can there truly be a meeting of minds? What seems likely is that while the leaders will agree to disagree on blueprints for the future of the black majority — so extending the time period in which SA must resolve its essential problem — progress can be made in the following areas.

- A drawing of SA into the Western defence network, with a concomitant reconsideration of the arms embargo; and
- An outline of the kind of aid and development packages that the West will arrange for Mozambique, Angola and an independent Namibia — bearing in mind that strengthened economic links in the sub-continent require the goodwill and active participation of SA.

But the overwhelming achievement of the European tour is likely to be symbolic: a recognition that, within the constraints of ideology, SA *has* moved towards change and that, as the Americans have been arguing for four years, dialogue and persuasion carry more force in Pretoria than condemnation and isolation. Indeed, the negative approach to SA — in a spectrum that ranges from severing cultural and sports links, to disinvestment — is now perceived to affect the hardline ideologists not one inch. Instead, carried to extremes, it would impoverish all of southern Africa and entrench (currently weak) Soviet leverage over states like Mozambique, Angola and ultimately Zimbabwe.

But unless there is another world crisis and the combatants scramble for allies at almost any price, SA's acceptability in Lisbon, Bonn, London and Washington will always be tentative and conditional while it maintains grand apartheid. Botha is almost certainly a leader of sufficient stature to recognise and be troubled by that fact. It is devoutly to be hoped that he *will* be given the time to make the necessary reforms at home — not to placate the world, but for the sake of regional peace itself. On the Left and Right many are waiting for him to fail or "go too far."

The sobering aspect of the European tour, therefore, is that it represents not so much a triumph or vindication of overall policy, as the beginning of a massive task of internal reconstruction and reform. One of the posters at the Graaff-Reinet rally read: "We trust you, P W, keep up the good work." But do the NP stalwarts realise just how open-ended that "good work" really is — and has to be, if it is to have any chance of succeeding?

driver ring gain

SAREL VAN DER MERWE

races in which he will still have to compete in different American states, including the Lumberman's 500.

The eight-times South African rally champion feels confident about winning the Lumberman's 500. "At the moment, I'm riding the crest of the wave and I feel that to win, one must have a strong will and determination. It's always nice to aim for first place — it sure beats coming second," he said.

Last day today for registration

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Today is the last opportunity for coloured and Indian South Africans to register for the August elections for the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

Completed registration cards can be handed in at any police station up to midnight tonight.

Registration cards will also be accepted by the Department of Internal Affairs if they bear today's postal date stamp.

Voters are compelled by law to register, but no penalty is laid down for coloureds and Indians who fail to do so.

Leaders of registered "participating" coloured and Indian political parties have called on as many of their supporters as possible to register, and thus have a say in South Africa's tricameral parliament.

Thousands have registered at Department of Internal Affairs offices over the past few days.

Fosatu election boycott plan intensifies

304A

E. Post 2/6/84

By CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

EASTERN CAPE affiliates of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) are intensifying their boycott campaign against the coloured and Indian parliamentary elections on August 22 this year.

Union spokesmen said yesterday that thousands of pamphlets criticising the new deal would be put into factories and distributed among Fosatu's 25 000 members in East London, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Uitenhage.

The campaign, which is intended to mount during July and August, was initiated last year when their factory committees discussed the issue with memberships.

Local affiliates maintain in the pamphlets that refusing to vote is a "positive" action because it unites coloureds and Indians with the majority who do not have the vote.

These pamphlets also claim that elections are designed to "divide and rule the oppressed", to maintain white dominance, to disinherit the majority, to restrict people to group areas and homelands and to draft coloureds and Indians into the army.

A large team of Fosatu members, along with people from other groupings, will embark on house calls to discuss the boycott with the aim of conscientising the community, say union spokesmen.

They said yesterday that they would issue stickers urging workers not to vote as the time of the elections drew near. These stickers would then be worn by workers in the factories.

Cyclist is robbed of cash, bike

A 19-YEAR-OLD youth was robbed of R40 and his bicycle while cycling on the Uitenhage Road yesterday.

The acting police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel A C Vermaak, said Leonard Johann Pieterse, of Albatross Flats, Algoa Park, was cycling on the Uitenhage road near the Dulux crossing, when two men apprehended him and took his cash and his bicycle.

Mr Pieterse was not hurt in the incident. No arrests have been made and police are investigating the incident.

A reprimand

TEL AVIV — An Israeli army general has been reprimanded in connection with the beating to death of two captured Palestinian terrorists after a bus hijacking on April, 12.

He is Major-General Moshe Bar-Kochba. The 10-hour hijack drama began near Asdhdod and ended in the Gaza strip. — Sapa-AP

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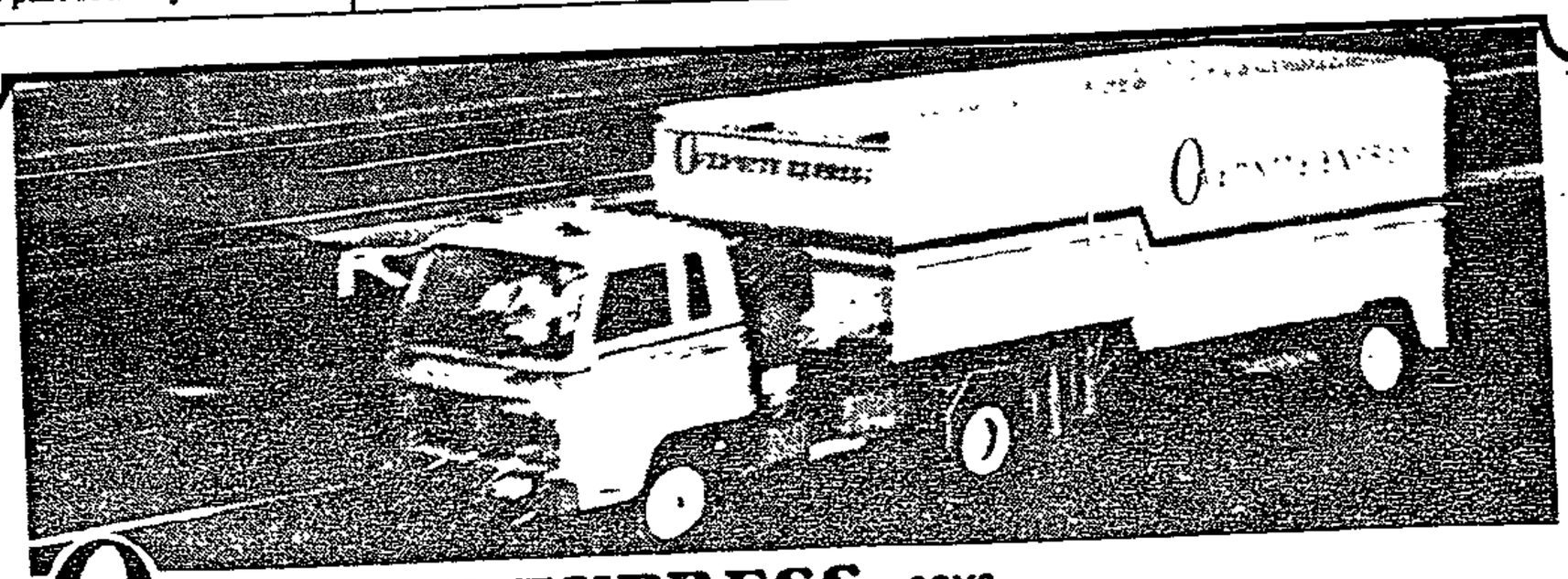

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Wpakan

ODAY

d by English flank John Hall (6)
ca won 33-15. Picture: Anne Laing

missing as ship sinks

A British square-rigger taking part in 'l Ships Race sank yesterday off Bermu- eople on board. Eight people were res- ody has been recovered so far and 20 still missing.

to LBC Radio news, the vessel was one part in the race. The competitors were by the organizers as "youngsters". An aft containing four lifejackets has been in the area where the ship sank.

British sailing vessel sank 70 miles muda during a race of tall ships from Nova Scotia, the US Coast Guard said.

Pemberton, organizer of the 1984 Tall said that among the missing were skip- inlay, his wife and 15-month-old baby.

, the Marques, was one of 42 tall ships in the Bermuda-to-Halifax race, which m on Saturday. Mr Pemberton said the eet was continuing to Halifax escorted

PM 'gave as good as he got' in UK

CAPE TIMES 4/6/84 30K

From JOHN SCOTT

ZURICH. — The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has ended the first week of his European tour with an enhanced reputation for his diplomatic skills.

His five-hour encounter with the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, on Saturday — two hours longer than expected — seemed to prove to foreign observers that what he had to say was worth listening to.

The day-trip to England from Zurich was clearly more than a mere promotional exercise.

When talks are afterwards described as "comprehensive and candid", then it is obvious that both parties are giving as good as they get.

The two sides of the exchange were reflected yesterday in British Sunday newspaper front-page headlines.

"Botha warns his critics," announced The Observer above its main report.

'Cold shoulder'

"Thatcher takes a tough line on apartheid," said the front-page lead in the Sunday Telegraph.

The Sunday Express claimed in a headline: "Botha gets the cold shoulder."

INSIDE TODAY

- John Scott on tour, page 11
- Thatcher 'tough' in talk with Botha, page 11
- Historic occasion, page 10
- SA denial on reports, page 11

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The Sunday Express claimed in a headline: "Botha gets the cold shoulder."

But in the body of the report it conceded: "For all the tough talking, there is little doubt the British Government believes Mr Botha is the only man who can offer South Africa a stable future."

In the South African camp there is optimism that real progress has been made, in spite of Mrs Thatcher's refusal to budge on the arms

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From page 1

embargo to the extent of supplying South Africa with Coastguarder maritime aircraft, or to close down the ANC offices in London.

There is a belief that Mrs Thatcher is now more sympathetic to American and South African insistence on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

But she spoke out strongly on enforced removals and told Mr Botha they created a "deplorable impression".

Earlier in the week, at a press conference in Berne, Mr Botha had declared to an astonished audience: "It's not true that we forcibly move people to more desolate lands. It is always better."

But he refused to take umbrage in public at Mrs Thatcher's criticism.

"She has strong convictions," he explained, "and if you deal with such a person, it is always pleasant to do so."

He had not been offended by the way Mrs Thatcher had referred to South Africa's internal policies, he added.

Restful day

Mr Botha went to church yesterday morning and had a restful day after a week in which he had also persuaded the Prime Minister of Portugal and leading European socialist, Dr Mario Soares, to visit Southern Africa soon, probably this year.

In spite of the vast difference in their political philosophies, Dr Soares and Mr Botha struck an immediate personal accord and mutual understanding.

He travels to Bonn today for talks with the West German Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl.

INSIDE TODA

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- Thatcher 'tough' in talk with Botha, page 11
- Historic occasion, page 10
- SA denial on reports, page 11

YOUR MONEY

ARLY 3 000 en- have streamed for the Cape es "Your Mon- " supplement's st birthday com- tition which offers state-of-the-art HP personal com- ter as a prize. Six the entries cor- tly predicted the ondon afternoon g of the price of d on May 21 as eing $380,75. The dges are now busy electing the best companying sug- estion for articles future issues of Your Money". The winner will be announced tomorrow.

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LONDON. — A British the 1984 Tall Ships Ra da with 29 people on b cued, one body has be people are still missi

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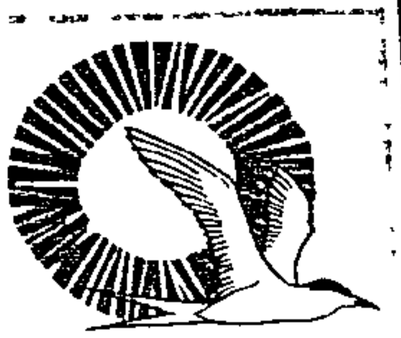
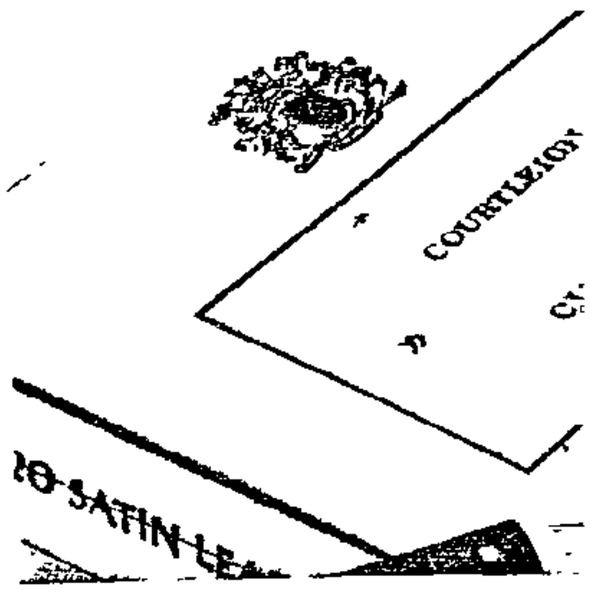




GROUP NO 49

Germany visit more financial than political

ARGUS 4/6/84 (30KA)

Political Staff

BONN. — The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has arrived here for the most important financial talks of his European visit.

Talks in Portugal were an unqualified success and discussions with the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, were a mixed bag. But in Germany, Mr Botha is hoping to negotiate more business than politics.

Significantly, his first meeting today is with top industrialists rather than the politicians. Tomorrow he will see Chancellor Helmut Kohl, head of the West German Government.

Direct talking

Mr Kohl is likely to get on well with Mr Botha as both are experienced politicians who favour direct talking without confrontation or meaningless courtesy.

There are great expectations among the officials on the trip that negotiations in Germany will lead to more money for Mozambique, Swaziland, Botswana and South Africa itself.

Top of the political agenda is the question of independence for South West Africa. Germany has a vested interest in the territory and an attempt will be made to strengthen ties.

The possibility of getting Germany to underwrite independence in SWA has been raised, but basically the object of the visit will be to get German industrialists interested in investments.

Big three

From Bonn, Mr Botha will fly to Belgium, to Delville Wood in France, Austria and to Italy. But the three big meetings of his trip will be behind him and the rest are essentially courtesy calls with more propaganda value than political significance.

So far the trip to Europe has been successful in breaking down the diplomatic isolation South Africa has been in for some time.

The Prime Minister and the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, carry first-hand knowledge of what is happening in Southern Africa. And foreign governments are keen to hear the latest reports on happenings in Lusaka, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa.

P W Botha nearly bumped into the Queen

Political Staff

ZURICH. — The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, nearly bumped into the Queen of England at the weekend.

Mr Botha spent more time than originally scheduled at Mrs Margaret Thatcher's place in the country, Chequers.

As a result, he was late getting back to the VIP terminal at Heathrow Airport to fly out of England.

A British security man — one of those guarding Mr Botha's SAA jumbo — said: "He'd better hurry up.

"The Queen is due here from Balmoral in her Andover in half an hour, and we don't like to handle two VIP planes at once."

In the event, the Prime Minister and the Queen must have missed each other by minutes.

Gem back on VIP hand . . .

Political Staff

ZURICH. — Mrs Elize Botha, wife of the Prime Minister, lost a diamond ring when the South African party was in Lisbon — but it was recovered and returned to her here.

Mrs Botha was upset at the apparent loss.

Messages flashed from Switzerland to Portugal: Try to find Mrs Botha's ring.

Embassy officials found it and aides decided to give her a special surprise. At a private dinner at the weekend they handed her a parcel which they said was a gift bought on the London leg of the tour.

Mrs Botha unwrapped layer after layer of tissue paper to discover, eventually, the missing ring.

A delighted Mrs Botha will shake hands with foreign dignitaries more gingerly during the rest of the trip through Europe.

Picture: JIM MCLAGAN, The Argus.

Mr P W Botha and Mrs Margaret Thatcher at the door of her country home, Chequers.

'Britain backs new plan on SWA'

Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The British Government has given its firm support to a new American and South African plan for disengagement in South West Africa, a report in the Guardian claims today.

Diplomatic correspondent Patrick Keatley says in a front-page report that this is the significance of the weekend talks at Chequers between Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Mr P W Botha.

The timing of the plan is also seen as giving a foreign policy success to President Reagan during the US election campaign — an aim which Mrs Thatcher strongly endorses.

Mr Keatley says the outline of the plan is so confidential that the principal figures concerned — Mr Botha, Mr Reagan, Mrs Thatcher and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl — have limited themselves to proximity talks rather than the quadripartite summit they might well prefer.

It was the discussion of these plans, the report says, which extended Mr Botha's stay at Chequers by two hours.

The setting up of a multi-million rand economic development fund for SWA is an integral part of the plan now taking shape.

The question of when and how to persuade Angola to send home 25 000 Cuban troops is an integral part of the diplomatic jigsaw, says Mr Keatley.

● Portuguese President Ramalho Eanes has said that Portugal is ready to act as a mediator between Pretoria and Swapo over independence in SWA.

He told the Paris-based news magazine Afrique-Asie that "Portugal has clearly expressed its availability to undertake, within the measure of its possibilities and framework of its national interests, in all steps aimed at settling the namibian issue by a dialogue between Swapo and Pretoria which would lead to the establishment of lasting agreements."

The Argus, Spectrum

WEST GERMANY

Botha's reception was warmer than John Vorster's

Argus Foreign Service

AKGUS 5/6/82

BONN — To anyone who saw John Vorster's shamefaced reception in Bonn eight years ago, the programme for the three-day visit that Prime Minister P W Botha has started here is a startling measure of Pretoria's emergence from the laager.

Mr Vorster was shunted off into the faraway Bavarian woods for his 1976 Bodenmais talks with then US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. His Bonn talks with Social Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt were stage-managed like a brief protocollary afterthought.

By contrast, Chancellor Schmidt's conservative CDU successor Helmut Kohl — who got the European tour rolling by inviting Mr Botha to Bonn at his request — was scheduled to see him for two hours or more including lunch when the official programme started today. Mr Botha will pay a ceremonial visit to outgoing Head of State Karl Carstens, meet all main party leaders, lecture the prestigious German Foreign Policy Society in the luxury Hotel Bristol and host the cream of business and politics over cocktails at his Rhineside embassy.

Berlin Wall

The final accolade of diplomatic normality will be his flight over communist East Germany to divided Berlin tomorrow — a ritual Wall-viewing that Bonn insists all v.i.p. guests should undertake to underline West German links with the isolated enclave.

There's a mood of interested anticipation here and — after Mr Botha's noisy London reception — much less anti-apartheid tub-thumping. (True, an early leak of Mr Botha's schedule to the Press by a hostile Foreign Ministry employee annoyed Ambassador Neil van Heerden, but an efficient German security operation involving standby members of the crack GSG-9 anti-terror squads and thousands of regular police has allayed fears).

Officials here seek first-hand information on Southern African peace processes where more direct US involvement has jostled the Germans out of the limelight they shared when they helped work out UN Resolution 435 on SWA/Namibia. They remain somewhat peeved about US-South African linkage of 435 to Cuban troop withdrawal, but are keen to see how flexible Mr Botha may be on this.

Biggest partner

As South Africa's biggest West European trade partner, the Germans — who need more exports to curb high unemployment — want to know whether the roads from Nkomati and Lusaka lead to new markets in a stabilised Southern Africa. The handful of key commerce and industry leaders who privately saw Mr Botha for two hours at the embassy yesterday need little convincing that the potential for resource exploitation, infrastructure projects and exports to countries like Mozambique and later, perhaps, Angola, is vast. And the 32 percent jump in South African investments last year by some 400 German firms waiting there for better days shows their eagerness to start running when the political starter's pistol sounds.

But sources make clear that, for all Bonn's willingness to trade and expand its "critical and friendly dialogue" with Pretoria, Mr Botha must still convince them that he is really serious about peaceful co-existence with marxist regimes and about removing inhumanities like forced squatter relocation and the exclusion of blacks from the political mainstream at home.

Homelands

Bonn is therefore hoping to hear more about hints that, once presidential powers allow Mr Botha to sit on ultra-right enemies, he may announce the bankruptcy of homeland development and prove this by bringing urban blacks into the laager. Even that would only be a step in the right direction for Bonn.

Whether or not he satisfies the Germans, the mere fact of his visit here is consciously viewed as a powerful encouragement for his reform course. Refusal to talk to him "would only add new fuel to South Africa's sense of beleagerment and strengthen its internal isolation," one official told critical Pressmen.

Botha clash with 'robot' Opposition

CAPE TIMES 6/6/84

304A

From ORMANDE POLLOK

BONN. — The South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, were involved in an hour-long confrontation yesterday with the German Leader of the Opposition, Dr Hans-Jochen Vogel.

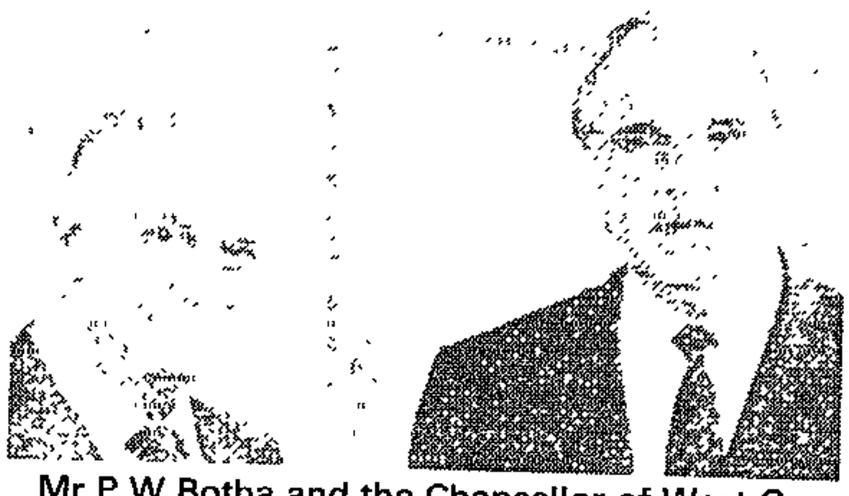
Earlier the South Africans had had a lengthy "summit" meeting and lunch with the Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, and his coalition partner, Foreign Minister Dr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, which Mr Pik Botha later characterized as "more than useful for both sides".

Their talks had been "very open and understanding", he said, and then disclosed some details of the clash with Dr Vogel and another senior member of the SPD.

Mr Botha described them as "two robots" repeating their criticisms.

Dr Vogel could become German chancellor in the next elections as young, up-and-coming members of Dr Genscher's Free Democrats are no longer interested in the party's coalition with Dr Kohl's Christian Democrats.

Dr Vogel was highly critical of the Nkomati Accord, describing it as an entrenchment of apartheid, and attacked South Africa for linking the Cuban withdrawal from Angola to SWA/Namibian independence.



Mr P W Botha and the Chancellor of West Germany, Dr Helmut Kohl, in Bonn yesterday.

He had also not been impressed, said Mr Botha, with calls for the Western nations to help Africa.

"It is clear that they do not have the real interests of the black people at heart," Mr Botha said.

"They showed no compassion for the people who are dying in Africa or for Africa's declining food production."

In contrast to the talks with Dr Vogel, the meeting with Chancellor Kohl and Dr Genscher had been "very understanding".

SWA/Namibia, the peace initiative with Angola, the Lusaka agreement and South Africa's new constitution were the main topics of discussion.

The Prime Minister had repeated the appeal he made in Zurich last week for Western industrialized countries to channel development aid to underdeveloped countries in Southern Africa.

He had called for development, which would provide job opportunities and profits which would improve the standard of living in the region.

● Super-power rivalries had to be kept out of Southern Africa, the Prime Minister told the German Association for Foreign Policy in Bonn yesterday.

While he was speaking in the Bristol Hotel, about 1 000 shouting demonstrators outside hurled abuse at the police and bottles and stones at cars in protest at his German visit.

Mr Botha made a strong plea for Western co-operative development projects in Africa.

Mr Botha goes to Paris tomorrow.

● **Thatcher weathers MPs' ire, page 2**

CAPE TIMES 6/6/84 (30KA)

Facing up to the next century

The looming crises of the 21st century have been a theme on which the Progressive Federal Party's finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, has concentrated in speeches over the past few months. In an interview in Cape Town with CHRIS FREIMOND, Mr Schwarz explained his concern for the future.

THE Progressive Federal Party's chief finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, says that the decision-makers need a greater sense of perspective of the year 2000.

Mr Schwarz believes not enough attention is being paid to the pending problems, but he is hopeful that with sufficient effort, looming crises of the near future can be averted.

The major crises Mr Schwarz forsees are in the provision of education, jobs and housing for the country's exploding population.

South Africa's projected population by 2000 will be 45 million of which 34 million will be black. With the rate of population growth greater among the poorer segment, the black population is becoming younger and the white population older.

It is also estimated that by 2000, two thirds of the black population will be urbanized.

Political stability — essential for economic growth and national prosperity — cannot be attained unless the majority of people are content.

Human rights are important

Mr Schwarz believes contentment generally results from the adequate provision of food, shelter, work and the hope among people that their children will be better off. In that regard education is a major factor.

Political and human rights are important and cannot be under-estimated. But political and human rights alone have not solved Africa's problems.

Economic reforms are the changes that people feel most, and that is the critical challenge South Africa faces.

In one of the main crisis areas — job creation — South Africa has fallen far behind the necessary tempo to satisfy demand for employment.

The index of job creation from 1975 to 1983 was 111,9 — only half the comparable index for population growth which stood at about 120, Mr Schwarz said. Figures also showed that the number of jobs created in absolute terms had increased by only about 400 000 between 1975 and 1983.

"Somewhere in South Africa there are great number of unemployed poor people, and if the trend continues, the pool will grow to enormous proportions in the coming 16 years," he said.

The slant towards academic rather than technical education was still far too pronounced. The key to Africa was through the development of skilled, semi-skilled and technically qualified workers, he said.

Another significant statistic was that the per capita real gross domestic product in South Africa had decreased from R1 042 in 1974 to R1 012 last year. The highest the figure had climbed during the intervening period had been R1 105 in 1981.

"This shows that we are not getting to grips with our problems at all," he said.

While there had been progress towards improved black education, that movement could aggravate problems if sufficient and satisfying employment was not created for the manpower being produced by schools and other training institutions.

"Education must go hand in hand with job creation. It is bad enough if under-educated people cannot find jobs, but the emotional and intellectual turmoil is far greater for educated people in the same position," Mr Schwarz said.

Mr Harry Schwarz

Another potential crisis area was housing, he said. South Africa needed 130 000 housing units a year, but that requirement was not being met.

Research had shown that an average annual economic growth rate of 4,5 percent could finance the housing, education and food demands of the population as projected to 2000.

"But we are not achieving that growth rate and that is where the real crunch is coming," Mr Schwarz said.

The demands for economic reform would become even greater under the new constitutional dispensation.

People would expect an end to discriminatory social services for their own groups as well as others, he said. A considerable amount of money would be needed to achieve that.

Only a strong, free-enterprise economy could provide the extensive social benefits promised by socialist and communist doctrines, and by so doing combat the threat of the other two ideologies.

If the government said it was not prepared to, or could not provide the social services demanded by the people, it would be playing into the hands of people who wanted to destroy the free-enterprise system, Mr Schwarz said. That meant the struggle ahead was not only for political reform, but also for economic reform.

Job creation was a major priority Jobs had to be created where it was cheapest to do so and where it could be done with the least social disruption. In that respect, aspects of the government's industrial decentralization policy were wrong, he said.

Far greater government incentives were needed for the creation of jobs, he said. The high cost of "ideological" job creation was preventing the solving of a problem, and could be retarding the much-needed generation of economic growth.

South Africa was facing a wave of unemployment. In some foreign countries social stability was ensured during times of mass unemployment by the "safety valve" of unemployment benefits.

But in South Africa, such benefits did not extend to a large section of the working population, Mr Schwarz said. Many white South Africans were unaware or relatively unaware of the severity of, particularly, unemployment among blacks.

Mr Schwarz said he believed the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, was aware of the problems facing the country, and had indicated as much.

Bound by ideology

But if one studied replies to questions by people such as the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, it became evident that the government did not really have a plan to meet the looming crises — particularly unemployment, he said.

The government was bound by ideology and was unable to make concessions to blacks which could create political problems, Mr Schwarz said.

It was also over-concerned by the white right-wing reaction to its reform moves and appeared worried that the rightists would be able to show that white living standards were not as good as they had been, he said.

A few "timeous sacrifices" and a degree of determination could save the country from the prospect of wealthy cities surrounded by poverty-stricken slums.

There need be no major social disruption and living standards would not plummet, according to Mr Schwarz.

But if South Africa continued along its present social, economic and political course, the short 16 years until the dawn of the 21st century would be stalked by the spectres of growing insecurity and instablity, Mr Schwarz said.

CAPE TIMES 7/6/84 (304A)

De Klerk allows a glimpse of a future SA under the Nationalists

The Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

THERE can be little doubt about the one question Mr P W Botha's hosts will be asking him again and again on his grand tour: "How does he, as the Afrikaner leader, see the future of South Africa and how do he and his people intend to help shape it?"

By coincidence a book* has just appeared whose author has seen South Africa's future — and declares that it works.

The author is Willem de Klerk, editor of Rapport and Afrikaner nationalism's chief ideologue and most influential opinion-former.

De Klerk's style is different from other outstanding Afrikaner editors. It is not characterized by the wry wisdom of Schalk Pienaar, the formidable dialectical skills of Piet Cillié, the jauntiness of Harald Pakendorf or the level-headedness of Ton Vosloo.

De Klerk is, in that untranslatable Afrikaans word, *innig* — a mixture of compassion, sincerity and fervour.

Key role

He has a pastoral care for his secular flock, which he above all wants to keep together. Invariably he tries to do two things at the same time: Verbalize their conflicting responses and carry them to a new, and more *verlig* consensus.

De Klerk has played a key role in the ideological debates of Afrikaner nationalism. In the mid-1960s he created the terms *verlig* and *verkramp*. In the 1970s he played a vital part in formulating the ideological construct of own and general affairs which made the new constitution acceptable to rank-and-file Nationalists.

De Klerk's views about the future, although sprinkled with a deal of wishful thinking, are perhaps the best indicators of what a strong faction in government will be thinking and wanting to do in five to seven years' time.

De Klerk casts Afrikaner politics in dramatic terms. Between 1948 and 1960 the Afrikaners executed their first revolution by restructuring South African society in rigid, statutory compartments according to race and ethnic group.

In De Klerk's view the Afrikaners are now engaged in their second revolution. Starting in the late 1970s, the Afrikaners, he believes, are withdrawing from apartheid and are accepting *gemeenskaplikheid* — the community of values and interests — as the guiding principle in politics, the church and communal life. The Afrikaners' erstwhile arrogance is being replaced by a recognition of their dependence; the old peremptory style is giving way to dialogue, negotiation, co-decision making and compromise.

Grey areas

All this had been hinted at before by verligte Nationalists. Where De Klerk advances verligte thinking is in arguing that all statutory discrimination must go and that "ethnicity as a compulsory social structure must be removed except where group interests are decisive".

Translated this means the abolition of the Immorality and the Mixed Marriages Act, but not of the Group Areas Act. Instead of the removal of the latter he proposes the introduction of grey areas where white, brown and black people can live together and their children can go to school together.

De Klerk argues: "The right to participate in the grey area must be acknowledged."

Does this amount to a political and social revolution? De Klerk partly thinks so and expresses this in the ambiguous title of this book — "The Second (R)evolution".

There are others who think differently. According to them the Afrikaners in the 1950s and 1960s were above all characterized by arrogance avarice and self-righteousness. Then in the mid-seventies — after the Soweto uprising, the collapse of the white regimes to the north, Biko's death and the school boycotts — they developed a pervasive sense of guilt and yearning to be loved without, however, wanting to change the structures upon which their power and privilege rest.

One of the those who sees the Afrikaners in these terms is the writer Dan Jacobsen. He wrote: "The Afrikaners realize that 30 years of applying their apartheid policies have succeeded in making them, their language and all the institutions of their state deeply hated by the people among whom they have to live. Now that even the white Rhodesians have thrown in the towel, leaving them the only whites who are still ruling over blacks, they have something of the air of people waking up after a prolonged debauch. What they would like to do is to start all over again, and end up pretty much where they are now, with all their political and material possessions intact — only, somehow, purged of all their grossest prejudices, and not envied and hated at all."

These are elements in De Klerk's book which confirm this judgment. He minces no words about the Afrikaners' right to retain the *leierskapsrol* — meaning both the ruling and leadership role.

Although he admits that the black groups are repelled by political apartheid, with the state determining to which ethnic group each person belongs, he insists that this should remain the foundation of the political system.

Any sign of remorse? De Klerk admits to Afrikaner arrogance and avarice but in his view "the Afrikaner is not guilty of any deliberate meanness towards people of other colour".

I would nevertheless dispute the charge that De Klerk's book is simply the mirror image of Jacobsen's charge. There is something to admire in De Klerk's unflagging efforts to get the Afrikaners to change their definition of the political situation in ways which violate what a mere 10 years ago was considered to be the essence of their political salvation.

De-racializing

It is easy to criticize the National Party, but spurred by the moral concerns of people like De Klerk and confronted by hard economic and demographic facts, the party has moved further in de-racializing South Africa than anyone would have predicted 10 years ago.

Between 1979 and 1983 it phased out statutory discrimination in the labour field. The new constitution means, in Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's words, that "for the first time the NP has recognized that a common governmental system, based on common citizenship of white, coloured and Asian must be worked out".

One can have serious doubts about the adequacy of the NP's formula and the exclusion of blacks but the constitution of 1983 certainly represents a symbolic advance in the de-racialization of South Africa. De Klerk's book shows that the party's ideological vanguard is now fully engaged in the difficult task of dismantling aspects of statutory social apartheid by propagating grey areas.

Brazil

What we are witnessing is something between De Klerk's "revolution" and Jacobsen's sham reform or no-reform.

South Africa is slowly moving from a racial oligarchy to a multiracial oligarchy with the Afrikaners still predominant politically. Class, as distinct from racial, inequalities are becoming ever more salient. Already the income gap between an urban and a rural black is larger than that between an urban white and an urban black. The statutory race lines in the social field are slowly dissolving but whites are remaining pretty much in the same position where they have been.

The world cannot easily maintain its abhorrence of South Africa if it begins to look more and more like Brazil — where whites are disproportionally rich and powerful but where there is no statutory racial discrimination and where white rule is presented as class rule. Perhaps Mr Botha will not project such a future to his European hosts. But if he does he will have them in an awful tangle.

Dr Willem de Klerk

**Willem de Klerk, "Die Tweede (R)evolusie" (Jonathan Ball, 1984)*

[Hermann Giliomee is a historian who teaches Politics at the University of Cape Town.]

THE CONSTITUTION

What when Hendrickse squeezes?

304A

The fact that government has so far turned a blind eye to the open defiance by the coloured Labour Party (LP) of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act is a positive sign. It could also be a severe test of the new constitution.

Instead of the heavy-handed action that would have greeted such a stance in years gone by, Internal Affairs Minister F W de Klerk met coloured leaders in Cape Town this week for talks.

No official statement has come from De Klerk, but it is understood that the talks were inconclusive and that further meetings are on the cards. That, too, is positive and could be the first signs of the long-awaited consensus politics on which the new constitution so heavily leans.

But the thorniness of the issue must not be underestimated. The stands taken by both government and the LP are on principle.

From government's viewpoint, political separation is a pivot of the new constitution, so the LP's defiance is striking at the heart of the system. The LP, on the other hand, has maintained from the start that the Act is a cornerstone of apartheid, as much as the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts, and that it must go.

De Klerk has clearly stated in Parliament that the basic principles of the Act would not be affected by proposed amendments. The principle at issue is the prohibition of members of one race from interfering in the politics of another race — simply, the barring of multiracial political parties.

The impasse is complicated by the fact that government cannot afford to alienate the LP, on which it pins its hopes of making the new deal work.

Various avenues of compromise are being explored. One is that the LP register twice; once as a party contesting the coloured House of Representatives, and again as a party contesting the Indian House of Delegates. Another is that the Act be amended to allow parties to adopt a federal structure with multiracial membership, but that only coloureds be allowed to act as agents and organisers for coloured elections, and so forth.

The fact is that LP leader Allan Hendrickse has government in a rather painful grip — and is giving every indication that he is about to squeeze.

Cape Times 11/6/86

Creed against apartheid call

Staff Reporter

THE Methodist Church needed a new creed, to be recited by all members or office-bearers, in the struggle against the "heresy" of apartheid, a representative suggested yesterday at the synod of the Cape of Good Hope District, held in Elsies River.

The suggestion by Mrs Marian Robertson, who represented Plumstead circuit, was approved by the synod, but was not incorporated into the motion then under discussion.

She made the suggestion while the 150 synod representatives, whose circuits extend from Knysna to SWA/Namibia, were considering whether to adopt a "legislative" or a "persuasive" model in putting into practice an earlier resolution declaring apartheid a heresy.

"Legislative" action would exclude from office or membership all those who would not denounce apartheid, while the "educative" or persuasive model would aim to help people reject racist practices.

Image

"We all agree that apartheid is a heresy," said Mrs Robertson. "But prejudice would exist even if legislative apartheid were swept away. We need what the early Christians used in their battle against heresy — a creed. The printed version of it should give scriptural references."

Her version of a proposed creed stated the belief that all people were created in the image of God, irrespective of race, creed or nationality.

Synod unanimously adopted the educative model of implementing the "apartheid is a heresy" motion.

Why did P W Botha go on his expedition to Europe?

Cape Times 11/6/84 304A

Africa Column

Anthony Delius

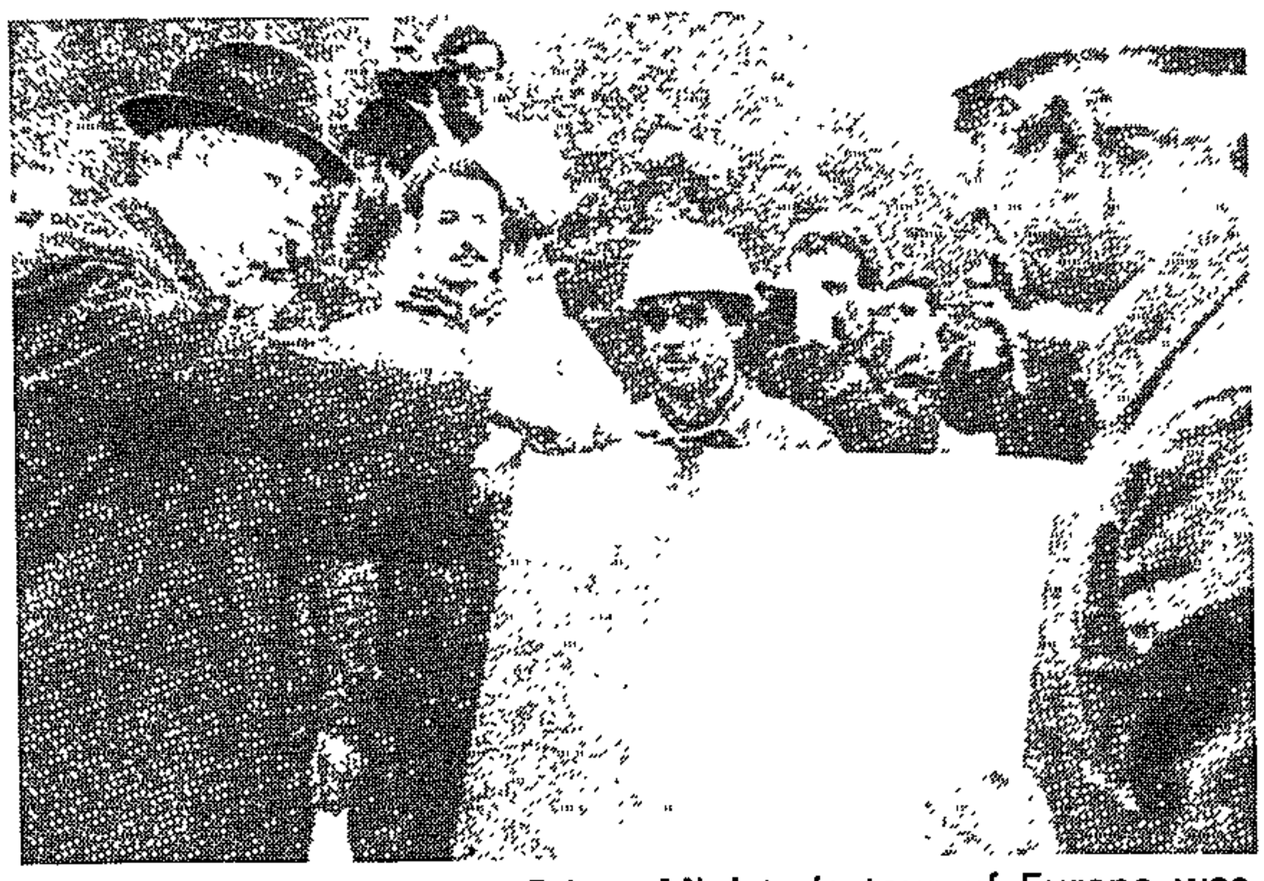
LONDON. — There are cynics who say of Mr P W Botha's expedition to Europe that it was undertaken to confirm voters at home, just as Mr Reagan's is said to be.

All they needed was some Dutch version of Ballyporeen for them to claim that the South African prime minister had also come in search of his roots and the sight of the bog from which the Ur-Bothas had drawn the family's poteen-water.

However, there was no invitation from Holland to encourage any such sentimental goal.

There are even those who suggest Mr Botha went along to shake off the appearance of parochialism his lack of overseas travel gives him and to acquire the jet-set glitter that has been gained by most statesmen of the West or even members of the South African opposition, black or white.

Indeed, it is even more seriously said that he went off to get an appearance of political respectability by showing South Africa was no longer regarded as a pariah among the nations of the so-called "free world".



One of the stops on the Prime Minister's tour of Europe was Delville Wood. Here Mr P W Botha, trowel in hand, helps lay the cornerstone of a memorial which will commemorate more than 1 000 South African soldiers who died in two world wars.

Picture by UPI

Convinced

Nevertheless, I doubt very much whether Mr Botha felt greatly impelled by any of these reasons to go abroad. He is a serious man, and must have been moved by serious reasons of state. So why did he go at this particular time and what did he say?

Actually, I'm convinced that the present and its particular political and financial seriousness provided much of the atmosphere for his decision.

As an African statesman at a time when Africa had got into a terrible state he must certainly have felt he would be able to contribute something to the continent's revival. And whatever other African statesmen may feel about having the head of the apartheid state speaking up for the continent, he would have no feelings of shyness about such a role.

The fact that Mr Botha had recently concluded a deal with one of the most left-wing of Africa's independent leaders, no matter what pressures there had been on the man, showed that he had the knack of getting talks going and reaching a satisfactory conclusion.

That he had parleys with as mistrustful an old enemy as President Kaunda and fixed up some sort of arrangement with another bunch of left-wingers in Angola made his qualifications in the African field even greater.

He had a number of requests to make to European statesmen, particularly in the direction of greater understanding of the white position in Africa, but he came as the head of a country which was trading with a large part of Africa and had some expertise on improving relations with African countries.

He felt confident enough in this matter in initially facing as tough a critic as Mrs Thatcher and must have been pleased to see that one observer marked his luncheon negotiations with her as Thatcher 0, Botha 1.

He thoroughly understood why she said the things she did, with the anti-apartheid crowds yelling their heads off in Trafalgar Square.

There is still, nonetheless, complete bafflement in Africa and those quarters in Europe and, to a lesser extent the rest of the world, interested in Africa, about Mr P W Botha's trip.

Precious few

After all, Mr Pik Botha seems just as capable of clearing up the mysteries of South African policies. Yet perhaps South Africa believes that nobody in Europe would be able to accept any wider explanation of what its government is up to unless conveyed to them face to face by the country's highest political authority?

Nobody in Africa and precious few in Europe or America believes that whatever Mr P W Botha may say he will offer any central reduction of apartheid.

Even if he has undertaken his journey to clarify his present constitutional novelty of a three-tier parliament, all he can do with whatever verbal magic he has is to emphasize that he has produced a new form of apartheid with blacks left to continue in the old form of apartheid.

Surely if there was some hope of altering apartheid in favour of the 77 percent black majority he would have sent a black committee made up of Bishop Tutu and Chief Buthulezi round the world to announce the change.

The fact remains that, in African eyes and black supporter's eyes, Mr P W Botha has simply gone to get major white backing in a bit of global diplomatic trickery to preserve white domination at the bottom end of the black continent.

If he has any justification of his new constitutional schemes, it's the sort of justification that will make sense to white ways of thinking only.

It is considered a way that will help the Nationalists defeat the new movement for a "thousand-year Reich" for apartheid and yet make it possible for the West to continue trading with South Africa without any real adjustment of apartheid.

Mr Botha's announcement warning the West to abate its criticism of apartheid or discover the toughness of South Africans (white) in defending their old-fashioned practices must inevitably cause the black Africans that pay any attention to what he says to be confirmed in all their distrust of South African statements.

But he must have realized that his journey would have guaranteed that the world would have repeated all its old arguments against apartheid with all the vehemence built up by the futility suffered by criticism between 1948 and 1984.

In fact, the common acceptance seems to be that all the words about apartheid spewed out around the world have achieved precisely nothing. The world is against it, the white South Africans are still for it.

For those whose minds are not fixed in compelling propaganda, it's a question of waiting to see what comes of all the latest travelling.

Proposals tighten vote laws

Cape Times 11/6/84

304A

Political Staff

PROPOSED changes to electoral laws published in Cape Town on Saturday will make it more difficult for smaller political parties to be officially registered, and for independent candidates to be elected to Parliament.

However, it appears that if the changes are approved by Parliament in the current session, they will not become effective until after the coloured and Indian general elections in August.

In terms of the Population Registration and Elections Amendment Bill, an application by a political party for registration after the commencement of the Electoral Act Amendment Act, 1984 — which was passed by Parliament earlier this year — will have to be supported by the party's deed of foundation adopted at a meeting of, and signed by, at least 500 people qualified to be voters for the House in which the party wishes to contest seats.

Birth dates

At present, if a new party has no representative in Parliament, its application for registration must be supported by only 50 voters.

The full names, birth dates and identity numbers of the 500 people will have to included with their signatures. At present only their names are necessary.

A fairly significant proposal in the Bill is that the so-called "HNP clause" be changed.

At present, candidates of political parties not represented in Parliament or a Provincial Council must include with their nomination forms lists of signatures and full names and addressess of at least 300 voters registered in the particular division. The signatures must also be witnessed by the candidates or their appointed agents.

'Curbing HNP'

When this amendment to the electoral laws was introduced in 1978, it was widely regarded as being aimed directly at curbing the growing strength of the Herstigte Nasionale Party by placing an additional burden on HNP candidates in contests with Nationalists.

But in terms of the new bill, only candidates not representing political parties will have to provide affidavits by at least 300 registered voters in the electoral division in question stating that they support the nomination and have not signed a similar statement in respect of any other candidate in that election.

In a further move apparently to discourage independent candidates and smaller parties, it is proposed that the deposit required from candidates in contested seats be increased from R400 to R500.

Loss of deposit

A candidate loses his deposit unless he receives 20 percent of the number of winning votes in the election.

If the bill is passed by Parliament, it is expected to become effective only on September 3, when the new constitution comes into operation.

The Opposition's spokesman on Internal Affairs, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said yesterday that the PFP opposed the 300-signature provision for any candidates because it infringed a voter's right to a secret ballot.

304A

Delville memorial: French govt absent

Defence Reporter

THOUSANDS of South Africans died fighting directly for Europe during the two world wars — but when Mr P W Botha laid the first stone of the new Delville Wood war memorial last week, the French Government did not even send a military attaché to attend the ceremony.

This was one of the impressions the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, brought back from the Prime Minister's barnstorming visit to Europe.

General Malan said in an interview yesterday that during the two world wars something like 15 000 South Africans became casualties "who weren't directly involved with us, but fighting for the Europeans".

The people living in the vicinity of Delville Wood, he said, had not forgotten the sacrifice made by the South African First Infantry Brigade in 1916 when it captured Delville Wood and then held it against six days of repeated German attack.

"But with the French Government it is not so. There wasn't even an official reception for Mr Botha. One can't help asking oneself: Is this the way to be treated by a country for which your soldiers' blood flowed?"

However, he said, the official coldness "seems to have been more political than anything else", because the French supplied a military band and two guards-of-honour in full ceremonial dress for the ceremony — the South Africans brought their own bugler to sound the Last Post because the SADF and French bugle calls differ.

In addition, he said, French military veterans had flocked to the occasion in far greater numbers than had been expected.

There were also "a very great number" of South Africans in attendance, so that instead of the 600 or so people expected, there was a crowd he had estimated at more than 1 000.

General Malan spoke with admiration of the three World War I veterans who took part in the ceremony — Major-General Kenneth van der Spuy, 93, Mr Sidney Carey, 90, and Mr Eddie Fitz, 87.

"It was a demanding occasion for them," he said, "but they set themselves very high standards. For instance, it rained heavily during the ceremony, but they didn't even want raincoats."

General Malan added that when the new memorial was opened officially in 1986 — the 70th anniversary of the battle — he would very much like to see contingents present from the South African regiments whose soldiers manned the First Brigade.

In his opinion it was of "cardinal importance" that they parade in uniform, "but it will be up to the French to decide if this will be permitted, and to go by their present attitude I don't think it will be".

SWA detainees: W German call

CAPE TIMES 12/6/84

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The West German Government has demanded the immediate release of 37 Swapo members detained by security police near Windhoek at the weekend and has warned that the action has raised new doubts about the South African readiness to agree to Namibian independence.

In an unusually strongly-worded reaction, a Foreign Ministry spokesman in Bonn said that Chancellor Helmut Kohl had emphasized in his talks with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that the federal government regarded police arrests for political reasons as being "unacceptable".

The spokesman said they would make the "confidence-building process" in Namibia "even more difficult".

"This raises new doubts as to the readiness of the South African Government to do everything necessary for the speedy implementation of independence for Namibia under UN Resolution 435.

Demands

"The federal government demands the immediate release of the detainees."

In Paris, an official government source said the French Government "condemns the arrest of leaders of a political movement struggling for its freedom".

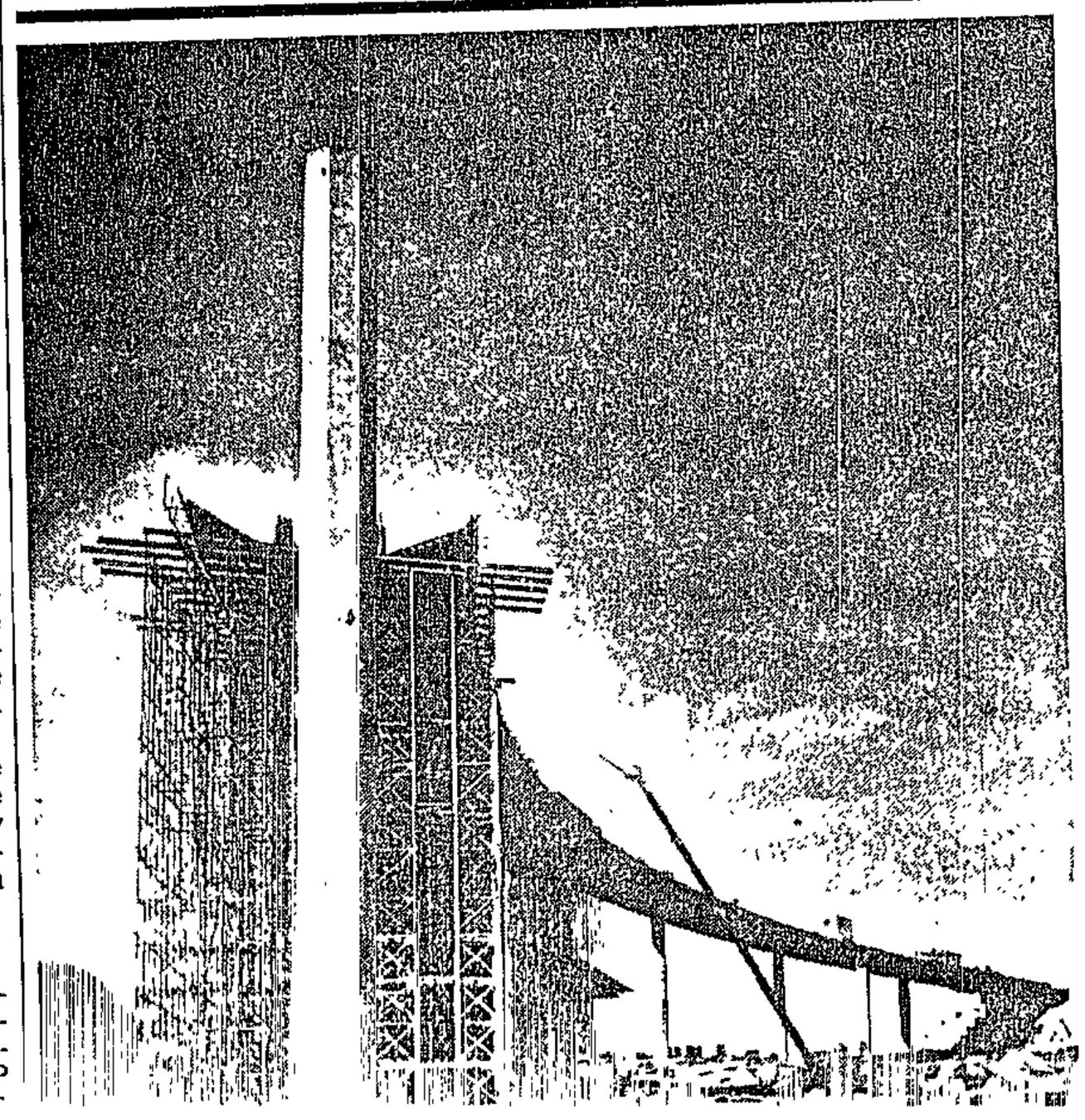
The British Government said it would "make representations" ... seven women arrested at a private function on premises owned by the Roman Catholic Church and has appealed to the international community to condemn "this wanton act of harassment".

The detention of the Swapo leaders came when delicate negotiations for independence have reached a crucial stage.

The detentions were widely reported in the British media yesterday and drew an early reaction from the British Government.

Regret

In a report from its Johannesburg correspondent, the Daily Telegraph claimed that Mr P



Unique bridge alarms

Staff Reporter

A UNIQUE construction near Brackenfell linking the N1 to the Kuils River Freeway which has fascinated and alarmed motorists for months is due for completion in September next year.

The resident engineer at the new Stellenberg Interchange, Mr Richard Gara, said the bridge gave workers and planners some alarm during initial stages as drivers of heavy vehicles sped below.

"If one of them had hit the temporary structure at speed the whole thing could have collapsed like a pack of cards. But now we have stabilized it and the danger has now turned to the possibility of a car hitting one of our workers."

Pope meets Botha

CAPE TIMES 12/6/86 30KR

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, holds gifts he received from Pope John Paul II while his wife, Mrs Elize Botha, receives a medal from the Pope during an audience at the Vatican yesterday. Between the Prime Minister and the Pope stands Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

From JOHN SCOTT

ROME. — Pope John Paul II "displayed a constructive reaction to steps which the Prime Minister has initiated internally," according to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

He was commenting on the 28-minute private audience which he and Mr P W Botha had with the Pope just after midday yesterday.

The Vatican, however, issued a statement afterwards restating its rejection of racial discrimination and reiterating that "the Pope receives heads of state of governments and political personalities of different regimes that request to be received".

'Point of view'

"Such meetings, while they do not mean approval of the politics that the government follows, offer an opportunity to make a point of view to the Holy See."

During the audience the Prime Minister handed Pope John Paul the latest revised Afrikaans Bible, as a gift from the Bible Society of South Africa. The Pope in turn presented Mr Botha with a volume on the paintings of Raphael, and a silver medallion. Vatican pressmen afterwards described both gifts as "standard".

Only the Pope and the two Bothas were present at the meeting in the Pope's private study.

They greeted one another with handshakes. There was no kissing of the Papal ring.

Medallions, rosaries

When the private audience ended, at 12.33pm, 15 other members of the official party were presented to the Pope, including the ministerial wives, Mr Hans van Dalsen, Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and Dr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service.

The men received bronze medallions and rosaries.

was expressed at certain elements of South African Government policies, which gave us an opportunity to explain the government's objectives.

"The Vatican reacted positively to the SA Government's peace initiative in Southern Africa and also displayed constructive reaction to steps which the Prime Minister had initiated internally.

"The meeting was friendly and dignified. The Prime Minister emphasized the freedom of religion in South Africa and that we are a Christian people. We believe in the equality of all men before God and the dignity of the human being."

Among other things, the Vatican statement referred to African opposition to "colonialism and racial discrimination".

It added: "Regarding some of these problems, the Holy See has also noted positive aspects such as the recent accords between South Africa and Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland and contacts between South Africa and Angola."

● John Scott on tour, page 2

slipped back three places into 13th position in the 1984 Single-handed Transatlantic Yacht Race.

'Thousands missed vote registration deadline'

304A

Star

12/6/89

By Yussuf Nazeer

It is an offence not to register as a voter for the tricameral parliamentry elections — but thousands of coloured and Indian people have not done so, says Mr Ralph Peffer of the Johannesburg coloured management committee.

"It is not because they refuse to register," he said, "but because they simply couldn't make the midnight deadline on Saturday June 2."

Mr Peffer, who does not support the tricameral elections, said he was nevertheless "compelled" to assist pensioners who came to him to complete their registration cards.

'CONFUSION'

He blamed coloured political parties for "letting down" people who wanted to register and vote for their parties.

"These party leaders get up on soap boxes and crow to the people to support them, but they were not around to help their frustrated electorate through all this registration confusion," he said.

Coloured political party members have denied this.

"One police station refused to take the cards on the deadline day and I had to telephone a police chief, who promptly cleared the obstacle for me," added Mr Peffer.

"But many other people I know were not so lucky and failed to get their cards in."

Solidarity Party head in Lenasia and chairman of the Lenasia South Consultative Committee, Mr Dinky Pillay, also disclosed that many people had missed the deadline and were still sending in their registration cards.

A spokesman for the Department of Internal Affairs confirmed that registrations were still coming in "but unfortunately we cannot consider these late entries at this stage, so these people will not be able to vote in the August elections".

Asked if the reported thousands who failed to make the registration deadline would be prosecuted, the spokesman said: "Oh dear no. We couldn't be that drastic.

"They just would not be able to vote, that's all. But we would still register them for the next election."

IDENTITY

The spokesman also said people who were already registered on the old SAIC voters roll would be eligible to vote, even if they did not as yet have a Book of Life. A passport, driver's licence or other identity document would serve the purpose.

A person without any identity papers would also be able to vote if he brought along two credible witnesses to vouch for him.

Trailing a double line of officials, Mr and Mrs P W Botha stand on South African soil for the first time in more than two weeks just after emerging from Matroosberg yesterday. Immediately behind them are Mr and Mrs Pik Botha and Dr Dawie de Villiers. Picture: Peter Stanford

CAPE TIMES 15/6/84 (304A)

Even the weather smiled on PM

Staff Reporter

MR P W BOTHA and his crew of fellow-travellers arrived back yesterday from their tour of Europe to an elaborate South African welcome.

Soldiers stamped their feet, a preacher offered up prayers of thanksgiving, the South African Navy Band played the appropriate oompah music, a children's choir sang "O, Boereplaas", a small forest of flags waved and the national anthem got no less than three airings.

Even the notoriously capricious Cape winter weather smiled on Mr Botha and dished up a bright, clear and almost windless morning.

Elaborate preparations had been made, as was discovered by those attending the arrival — an estimated 600 or 700 people, ranging from crocodiles of spick-and-span schoolchildren and the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Sol Kreiner, to Dr Piet Koornhof and assorted cabinet ministers and ambassadors.

Teams of Railways policemen searched cars of both high and low degree at the entrance to the parking area, while security men in plain clothes mingled with the crowd and sharpshooters in battle gear perched on the roof of the domestic-arrivals building.

On the apron was a saluting base — prudently roofed-over — from which a tongue of the traditional red carpet led out to where Mr Botha's special Boeing 747 jetliner, Matroosberg, was to pull in

PM: We put govt goals in perspective, page 4

In front of the saluting base the guard-of-honour was drawn up, together with the Navy Band; in the background lurked a troop of guns pregnant with a surprise for those unaccustomed to State occasions.

At 8.53pm, Matroosberg came into sight with its escort of four Mirage fighters tucked neatly under its wing-tips, and made a slow north-south pass to loud applause and frantic flag-wagging from the assembled multitude

At the end of the pass, the Mirages peeled off and Matroosberg came in to land, dead on time; on the stroke of 9am little plumes of smoke spurted from its tyres as

To page 2

...rday in which the Commissioner of Police for ...ple were injured, one seriously. ● Another ...e, page 2

Picture: Dan Bosman

Botha's trip ends on high Italian note

Cape Times 13/6/84 304A

From ORMANDE POLLOK

ROME. — The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, completed his European shuttle on a high note yesterday with what is regarded as a highly successful round of talks with his Italian counterpart Mr Benedetto Craxi.

It appears that yesterday's talks and those between the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and his Italian counterpart, Mr Giulio Andreotti, had been the most rewarding since the Prime Minister's visit to Portugal at the start of the 17-day tour.

Mr Pik Botha said in a statement that both he and the Prime Minster had been well received and that Mr Craxi had been interested in the new constitutional developments in South Africa and in the special cabinet committee examining the future of urban blacks.

The talks had centred largely on recent developments in Southern Africa and Namibia

The Italian Government had expressed a strong wish for an early settlement there.

However, it is understood that it also adopted a more sympathetic attitude to South Africa's demands for a Cuban withdrawal.

● Meanwhile Mr Pik Botha met the United States Under-Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, for several hours in Rome yesterday.

Mr Botha said South Africa was becoming impatient about a solution to the SWA/Namibian and Angolan issues.

It is believed he told him South Africa felt there had to be a turning point in the negotiations soon.

He is also understood to have raised South Africa's offer to move out of the territory if Western countries would take over the administration but got only a non-commital reply.

● Botha, Pope get British coverage, page 2

● John Scott on tour, page 11

Hex River snowfalls

Staff Reporter

THE Peninsula shivered last night as temperatures dropped "well below 8 C" and light snowfalls were reported in the Koo district near the Hex River Valley.

The weatherman at D F Malan has predicted more snow over the Boland and southern and south-western Cape mountains today.

Light showers which fell over the Cape Peninsula last night are expected to continue early today but it is expected to clear gradually to become cloudy and cool, with an estimated temperature of 16 deg C.

Hex River Valley residents reported light snowfalls last night and said there was a possibility of more snow.

The weather bureau spokesman said gale-force winds were expected later this week in areas near False Bay.

For the rest of the Peninsula a fresh south-easterly wind of 20 knots was expected today.

● Forecast, page 6

...s 13/6/84.

...nutritious ...d taxed

...T Reporter

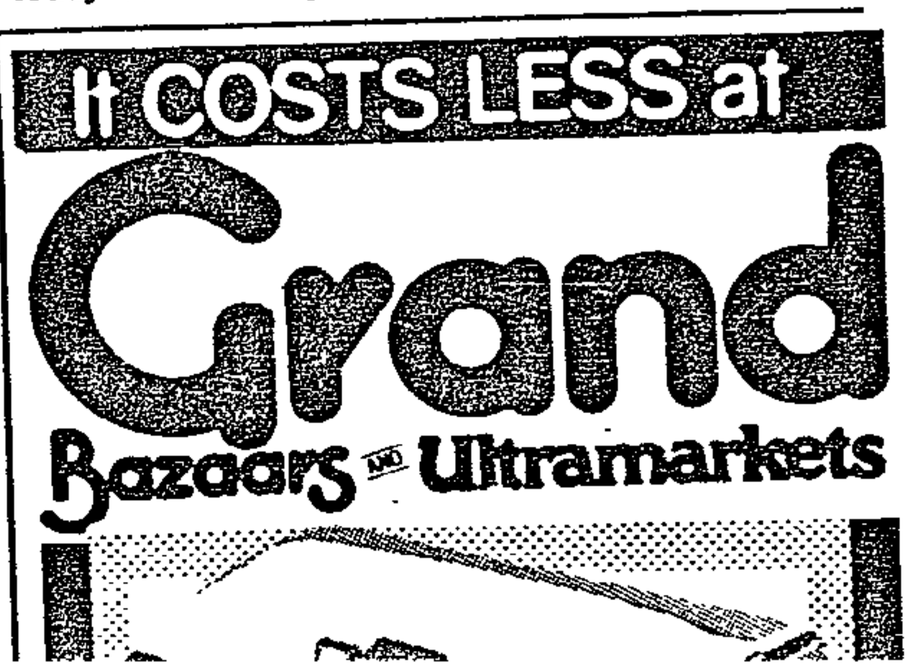
...rofit national distributor of ...ods, said yesterday that only ...f foodstuffs they stocked were ...xempt from sales tax.

...or distributor of baby foods, ...drated vegetables, soup and ...ds The three lines exempted ...k powder and mealie (maize)

Price of tyres up

JOHANNESBURG. — Prices of tyres and tubes are to increase from June 26, the director of the South African Tyre Manufacturers Conference, Mr Michael Waterson, announced yesterday.

Passenger car, light truck, earthmover and



INDIAN ELECTIONS

Focus on Laudium

304A

On the surface, Laudium reflects very little of the political fever you would expect to find in a town which, in 10 weeks' time, is due to elect its first-ever Member of Parliament.

But then, this "model" Indian group area in Pretoria is generally described as very conservative. Its 28 000 people are not used to the kind of political activity found in, say, Lenasia, where the anti-government Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), which is affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF), has a strong base.

Only one candidate has declared himself to date. (Nominations for the House of Delegates close on July 20.) He is Laudium's management committee chairman and SA Indian Council (SAIC) delegate, Boetie Abramjee, who was returned unopposed to the SAIC in 1981. About seven other candidates may declare themselves.

Slowly, and a little self-consciously, however, the idea of entering a new era in the tricameral Parliament is being brought into focus. Not long ago, UDF patron, Allan Boesak, addressed a public meeting in Laudium. This appeared to boost the forces calling for a boycott and certainly contributed to the pre-election atmosphere.

The sole meeting which has been held so far by supporters of the new deal was addressed by Solidarity leaders J N Reddy and President's Councillor Mahmou Rajab. Although intended for invited guests only, a number of uninvited people, including TIC supporters, turned up — making it a very lively, if undecided, meeting.

The political undercurrents in Laudium are characterised by bitter accusations typical of "village politics." Abramjee has filed defamation charges against two people: a local TIC activist and the embattled editor of the *Laudium Mirror*. In addition, many people claim that political debate is being marred by appeals to religious-clan loyalties. The potential candidates nearly all agree that "sectionalism" is once more raising its head. Publicly, of course, they condemn it.

However, the only debate centres on the principle of participating in the new system. If issues are not yet at the forefront, this is because there is "much-of-a-muchness" between the potential candidates, observes a respected businessman in the area, Ahmedjee Dockrat.

Indeed, pro-participants generally agree with the criticisms advanced by the TIC. But, according to Dockrat, they feel "that we should give this imperfect thing a chance since no credible alternative exists at the moment.

"The first task is to persuade the people to vote," he explains. "And the size of the turnout will depend on the calibre of the candidates." Dockrat says he would not have expected a high poll to be recorded at one stage. "But, as time goes by, one gets the feeling that more people are becoming interested." The TIC will have an impact "up to a point," he avers, "but whether the majority will boycott is an open question."

Dockrat is backing Abramjee, who tells the *FM* he is "confident" of winning. Abramjee reckons the poll will be around 70%. But a potential candidate thinks 30% will be a good turnout. Much will depend on whether the TIC-led boycott campaign proves effective, he declares.

The local TIC leader, businessman Omar Motani, feels the low poll of the last SAIC election will be repeated. The TIC has launched a door-to-door campaign advocating a boycott of the August 27 election. Although there is a reservoir of support for the Gandhi tradition of the TIC, a feeling of *deja vu* seems to accompany it.

Attitudes to voting in Laudium are mixed. There is, of course, a core of TIC supporters who reject the new deal on principle. But like voters anywhere, a great many are apathetic. A large number of people say they have not made up their minds. The undecided agree that much will depend on the calibre of the candidates — or that they are not convinced of the benefits of participation. They could well vote if the principle of participation wins the day.

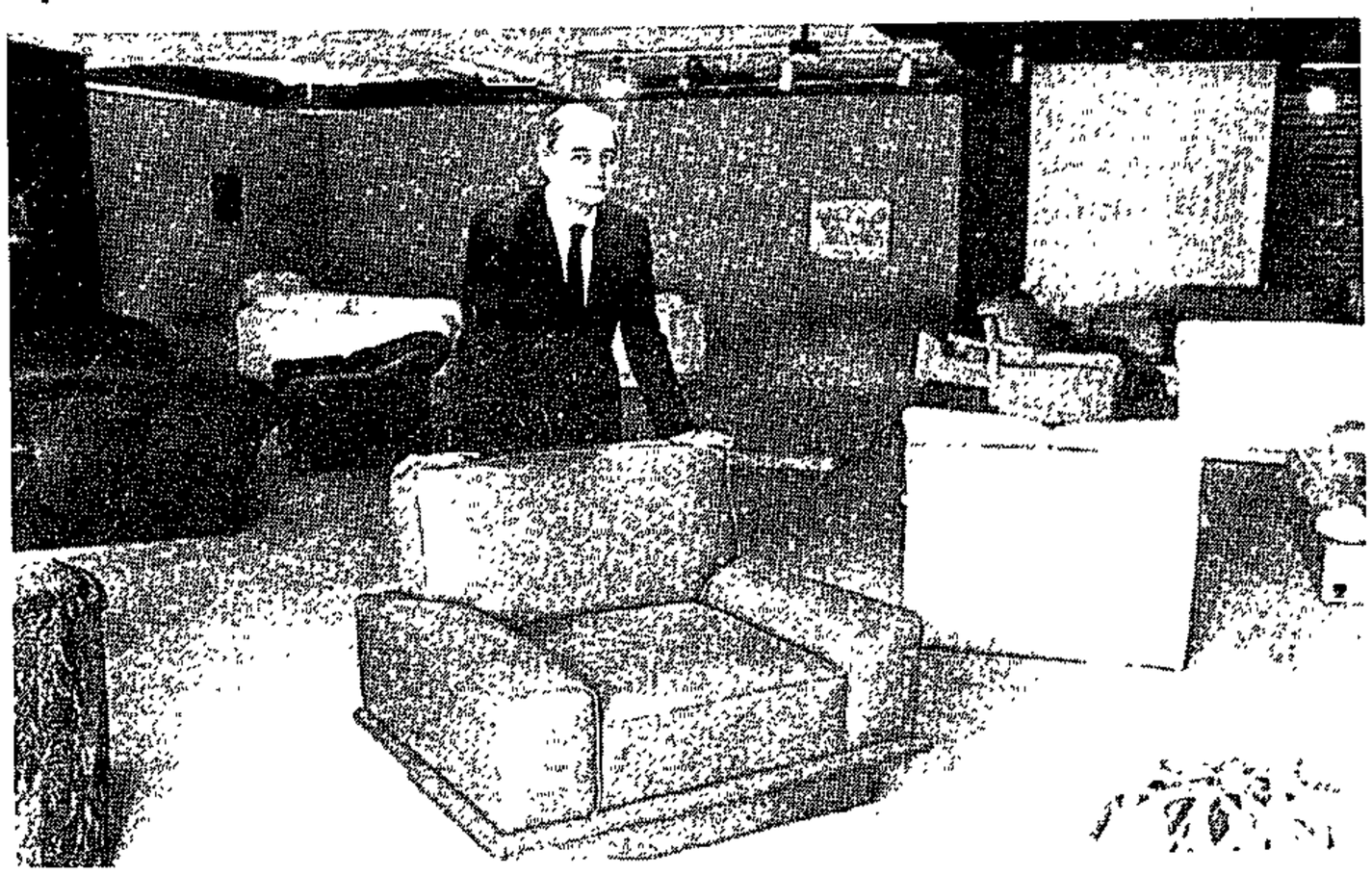
A surprising number say they don't intend to vote — but will not give reasons. Some seem afraid: "We are registered but we don't get involved in politics," the *FM* was told. Very few were positive about voting.

Abramjee has been keeping three parties guessing about where he will nail his flag. His toss is between running as an independent, or joining either Solidarity, the National People's Party (NPP) under SAIC Chairman Amichand Rajbansi, or Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party.

Labour, however, now appears to have settled on an employee of the Pretoria City Council's Laudium office, Hassan Moosa. His official candidature depends on the outcome of talks between Hendrickse and government over the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act.

Despite his own previous association with Labour, Abramjee does not think the party stands much of a chance in Laudium. He has been offered the Transvaal leadership of the NPP, which could swing his decision that way. The main parties, though, have not begun to contest the hustings.

□ The *Laudium Sun*, a "knock-and-drop" newspaper run by Abramjee's sons appeared recently. Its bias is evident in the advice to those thinking of standing to "stay down."



Motani ... predicting a low poll

Pres Council call for 'positive co-operation'

304A

18/6/84

CAPE TOWN — Drastic changes in South Africa's Parliamentary procedure have been recommended by the Constitution Committee of the President's Council.

In its third report, on the Adaptation of Constitutional Structures in South Africa, the committee recommended that any "general" measure, except the Budget, be introduced only formally in one of the proposed three chambers of Parliament, without an introductory speech or debate.

The committee also recommended that the measure in question be tabled in the other chambers, after which it would go to the appropriate Standing Committee of Parliament for consideration and eventual report to all chambers. Then, on the motion of the Minister concerned, public debate in the chambers would ensue.

The committee's report was tabled when the President's Council met in plenary session this afternoon. The committee chairman is Dr Schalk van der Merwe.

To promote the "consensus style of debate and decision-taking," the committee recommended replacing with more appropriate terms Parliamentary terms such as "official opposition" and the annual "motion of no confidence", which it says emphasises conflict.

The committee also suggested the launch of an information programme to create a positive climate for co-operation.

"Aware as it is of the many aspects of such an information programme and the multiplicity of groups involved in it, the committee recommends that a comprehensive investigation, based on sound scientific principles, be conducted without delay into this matter, under the guidance of the Human Science Resource Council."

As far as judicial authority was concerned, the committee recommended that an expert investigation be made into:

- The scope of the right of review of the courts in constitutional procedures.
- The manner in which subordinate legislation is reviewed.
- The composition (and credibility) of tribunals in relationship to the ordinary courts. — Sapa.

Plan for providing rural services

CAPE TOWN — A new system for the provision of services at regional level by indirectly elected authorities has been proposed by the President's Council's Constitution Committee.

In its third report on the Adaptation of Constitutional Structures in South Africa, the committee suggests that existing rural regional institutions can provide services to small and isolated rural authorities that are unable to create the necessary infrastructure themselves.

It is also the committee's view that the separation of functions on the grounds of scale should serve as a basic premise in distinguishing between large-scale and small-scale services.

"Thus, for instance, major routes that serve a number of municipal areas affect the region as a whole, while a local street in a specific residential area affects only the local authority concerned."

The committee says it is convinced an authority or arbitrative body with certain powers will be necessary if implementation of certain regional services, such as regional planning, is to be successful. — Sapa.

Local authorities may get power to levy extra GST

CAPE TOWN — The creation of an enlarged tax base at the third level of government — including the possibility of local surcharges on general sales tax — has been proposed by the Constitution Committee of the President's Council.

"The committee understands that the existing sources of revenue of local authorities must be retained, but has to emphasise that metropolitan or regional bodies, which derive their authority from the primary local authorities, should certainly have their own sources of revenue," it says in a report tabled in the Council today.

The report, on the Adaptation of Constitutional Structures in South Africa, says these sources of revenue for third-tier authorities could consist of:

- Newly identified sources of revenue such as establishment, investment and employment levies.
- Sources of revenue that are transferred from other levels of authority, such as vehicle tax.
- Even a limited local regionally determined surcharge on general sales tax.

"The committee believes that the idea of a limited, local and regionally determined surcharge on GST has enough merit to be worth thorough investigation.

"Such a surcharge could be used to control differentiated metropolitan growth as part of a comprehensive urbanisation strategy." — Sapa.

PFP to examine neglected areas

Cape Times 18/6/84 (3044)

Political Correspondent

THE Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, has appointed a committee to examine areas he believes are being neglected as the government implements its new constitution.

Dr Slabbert said yesterday that whatever the new constitution might do for white, coloured and Asian people, it was simply not geared to cope with the socio-economic problems of black people.

These centred on rural poverty, urban migration, housing and employment of an exploding black population whose constitutional demands were not being met.

Dr Slabbert believed the government was neglecting particularly the areas of urbanization and black constitutional development.

The six-man committee of PFP MPs under the chairmanship of Mr Graham McIntosh (Maritzburg North) is to report by August 1985.

The other members are Mr Errol Moorcraft (Albany), Mr Andrew Savage (Walmer), Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown), Mr Peter Soal (Johannesburg North) and Mr Ken Andrew (Gardens).

In a statement to Sapa announcing the move, Dr Slabbert said he welcomed the NP's small, slow steps towards a more rational approach.

He was deeply concerned, however, that no adequate attention was being paid to the growing political, social and economic problems of blacks.

Conference

These problems would be studied, particularly:

- Problems and development needs of areas designated for resettlement.
- Urbanization, including patterns of migration from farms, tribal areas and designated resettlement areas to urban centres, and ways for ensuring adequate expanding health services, transport, housing and the means of earning a living.

The committee would do so by:

- Consultation at regional and national conferences with all groups concerned with these problems.
- Setting up liaison committees between PFP local organizations and black communities.

Local GST levies suggested

304A

Star 18/6/84

Drastic changes in South Africa's parliamentary procedure and the creation of an enlarged tax base at the third level of government are among recommendations of the Constitution Committee of the President's Council made public in Cape Town this afternoon.

In its third report, on the Adaptation of Constitutional Structures in South Africa, the committee proposes the possibility of local surcharges on GST.

It says these have worked in other parts of the world and that a surcharge could be used to control differentiated metropolitan growth "as part of a comprehensive urbanisation strategy".

Attention has also been paid to a new system for the provision of services at regional level. The Constitution Committee distinguishes between large-scale and small-scale services and says that an authority with certain powers will be necessary to plan regional services.

Among the Constitution Committee's recommendations on parliamentary procedure are:

- Any "general" measure, except the Budget, to be introduced formally in only one of the three chambers. It would be tabled in the other two chambers and then be referred to the appropriate Standing Committee. Public debate in the chambers would follow only after a report from the committee.
- The terms "Official Opposition" and "Motion of no confidence" to be replaced to promote the "consensus style of decision-making".
- An information programme to create a "positive climate for co-operation".

Elaborating on the promotion of co-operation, the Constitution Committee says that since there are laws that can be viewed by certain groups as "unfair discrimination", and since these are ceasing to be relevant as time passes, a Standing Committee of Parliament should be directed to consider such statutes constantly. It would advise the Cabinet on the desirability of adjustments.

● See Page 3, World section.

ARGUS 18/6/84 304A

POLITICS

New constitution declared 'haraam'

Staff Reporter

A PACKED meeting in a Cape Town mosque has declared South Africa's new constitution and any participation in it "haraam" (forbidden) in terms of Muslim law.

It was one of several weekend meetings held in the Western Cape to condemn the constitution or to mark the anniversary of the June 16 unrest in 1976.

Yesterday's meeting in the Primrose Park mosque, addressed by Muslim religious leaders, was arranged by Muslims Against Oppression.

Scuffle

It was attended by about 1 000 people, who passed resolutions against Government policy.

A scuffle occurred in the mosque early in the meeting as a dissident group objected to the close links between various speakers and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The hecklers belonged to a rival Muslim group known as Qibla. The organisers ejected the dissidents, who then stood in a group outside the mosque chanting slogans.

"Injustice"

Resolutions passed by the meeting condemned participation in the constitution and the tricameral parliament, declaring it forbidden in terms of Muslim law.

Imam Hassan Solomons, a Western Cape executive member of the UDF, said: "Islam rejects oppression in toto and rejects those who support the system in whatever way."

Sheikh Abdul Hamid Gabier, chairman of the Muslim Judicial Council, which is a UDF affiliate, said: "A Muslim cannot call himself a Muslim if he takes part in anything which has the nature of injustice."

"Kill innocents"

He said the "new deal" would deny millions of South Africans the right to be South Africans in terms of the "unjust homelands policy".

Resolutions passed included those opposing military conscription, supporting workers' demands, condemning rising food prices, and condemning the overseas tour by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

● The UDF held a meeting in Mitchell's Plain condemning military conscription.

A member of the congr

Labour Party gears itself for elections in W Cape

Staff Reporter

WITH little more than two months to the election for members of the house of representatives the Labour Party has begun intense organisation in the Western Cape.

A meeting of Labour Party candidates in the Peninsula and adjacent constituencies was held at Athlone at the weekend to brief candidates on the "dos and don'ts" of electioneering, a party spokesman said.

The meeting, for party officials and candidates only, was purely an information briefing, the spokesman said.

While rival parties, including the People's Congress Party and the Reformed Freedom Party, have yet to announce their candidates, the Labour Party is the first in the field after announcing its candidates last week.

Some of its candidates are relatively new to politics while others are veterans.

Well-known faces include Mr David Curry, former deputy party leader, standing in Pniel, which includes the Stellenbosch area.

Among the new faces are Mr Peter Harris, a restaurateur from Strandfontein, standing in the area for the first time.

The party has already begun holding house meetings, even though nomination day for the August 22 election is only July 23.

The system of postal voting has been abolished, although special voting for those who cannot attend the polls on election day will be retained and will absorb much of the organisational energy of the parties.

PC: Constitutional court may be needed

Cape Times 19/6/86 (30cm)

Political Correspondent

THE President's Council believes a special constitutional court might be needed if the new constitution leads to a flood of actions to challenge legislation or delay its passage through the new Parliament.

In its final report, the council's Constitutional Committee recommended only that the matter be investigated by experts. Its reasoning, however, suggested the belief that a constitutional court would become necessary.

The report said the new constitution, due to be implemented in September, opened the way for a much greater number of legal challenges than the existing one.

Unlike other countries where laws could be tested against human rights or other standards embodied in the law, South African courts did not pass judgment on the merit of a law but only on whether the procedure for its adoption had been properly followed.

The new constitution considerably expanded the number of matters where the assistance or protection of the courts could be called upon. The Constitutional Committee believed this went beyond the entrenched and "less entrenched" provisions.

It noted that the new constitution had much more complex legislative procedures than the existing one and would involve a greater variety of interest groups.

"The possibility must be reckoned with that an increasing number of appeals, or attempts at appeals, will be made to the courts to try to resolve disputes or even to delay the application of laws."

This raised the question of whether constitutional disputes should be settled by ordinary courts, which were already overloaded, or a special constitutional court.

The committee said the case for a new constitutional court would be strengthened if its activities were extended. They could include a right of review of municipal, provincial and non-independent homeland regulations, settlement of disputes between administrative government organs and appeals against the decisions of administrative organs with judicial powers.

In addition to settling disputes, a constitutional court could advise government bodies and would include experienced politicians and legal theorists as well as jurists.

It would also avoid the pitfall of the judiciary becoming politicized, and enable constitutional disputes to be settled speedily, avoiding a period of political uncertainty, the report said.

Poll: 'No one may interfere'

ARGUS 19/6/84

30KA

Parliamentary Staff

THE Government would not allow interference in the democratic right of people to vote in elections, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, has told the Assembly.

He said pressure was building up towards a boycott of the coloured and Indian elections for the new parliament.

In terms of the law nobody was allowed to prevent another person from exercising his democratic right in an election and the Government would not allow such interference.

Mr de Klerk was replying to the second-reading debate on the Population Registration and Elections Amendment Bill, which was opposed by the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party.

The Bill provides for a uniform electoral system for all three houses of the new parliament, but will not affect the coloured and Indian elections in August.

"Misleading voters"

The proposed legislation provides for election procedures for the time beginning immediately after the new three-chamber parliament has been instituted.

Rejecting Conservative Party criticism of the Bill, Mr de Klerk said the CP was misleading voters by claiming the new parliament would be only a racially mixed parliament.

The constitution under which the new parliament would be established had been approved by two-thirds of the voters in last year's referendum.

The CP was attacking leaders such as the Rev Allan Hendrickse, but did the CP think its own policy could succeed without the support of coloured leaders, Mr de Klerk asked.

He accused the CP of "playing in a reckless manner" with race relations in South Africa.

"General law"

If the CP was prepared to serve in racially mixed parliamentary standing committees under the new dispensation, it should also be prepared to co-operate in preparing the electoral laws for the new system.

Mr de Klerk said the Bill was initially a "general law" affecting all three population groups to be represented in the new parliament. However, the new constitution made provision for "own affairs" under the electoral laws.

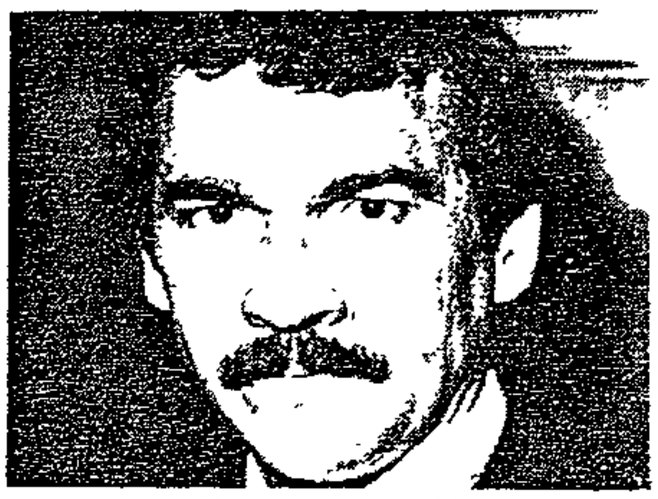
Reacting to Opposition arguments, Mr de Klerk said legislation would be introduced during the present session of Parliament to change the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act.

During yesterday's debate the PFP opposed the second reading of the Bill on the grounds that approval would amount to "legislating unilaterally" for a future situation.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) said the Assembly would, in effect, be imposing its will over the other two houses in the future parliament.

Mr Brian Page (NRP Umhlanga) said a select committee of the new three- chamber parliament should review the country's electoral laws as a matter of urgency.

Mr F W de Klerk



Mr Tian van der Merwe

Opposition move on security laws rejected

Parliamentary Staff

THE Government has rejected an Opposition call to scrap a provision which disfranchises people imprisoned in terms of security legislation.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) told the Assembly it was "dangerous" to retain such a provision because security laws were perceived differently by various people

Some people saw these laws as combating terrorism and communism while others believed the laws infringed on their political rights and freedom of movement.

"In a country as divided as this one it is dangerous to include such a disqualification in a law as important as this one," he said.

In addition it was possible that some candidates for the Indian and coloured houses could have been charged under security legislation in the past.

In terms of the Bill people imprisoned in terms of security legislation of the independent states can also be disqualified from voting in South Africa.

DISCRETION

This created a dangerous situation, Mr van der Merwe said.

It could lead to cases such as recently occurred in Ciskei where the head of security, General Charles Sebe, who was previously held in "high esteem", was now imprisoned.

Independent states had the right to make any laws they saw fit and it could be asked whose discretion had been used in drafting the legislation.

Replying, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, said Mr van der Merwe's contribution was "unfortunate".

Rejecting the amendment put by Mr van der Merwe, Mr de Klerk said the provision was concerned only with "serious" offences.

Only if a person had actually served a prison sentence in terms of security legislation would they be disqualified.

The principle was embodied in the Act and the Bill merely updated security legislation terminology.

CP prepared to serve on racially mixed committees

ARGUS 20/6/84

30KA

Parliamentary Staff

THE Conservative Party has made it clear it is prepared to serve on racially mixed parliamentary standing committees in spite of its objections to the new constitutional dispensation.

Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan) outlined the party's stand in the Assembly yesterday when he rejected Government accusations that members of his party were "boycotters" and "racists".

Speaking during the committee-stage debate on the Population Registration and Elections Amendment Bill, Mr le Roux reacted sharply to earlier remarks by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, about CP attitudes.

Mr le Roux said the minister had claimed the CP intended to boycott the new dispensation. This was not true.

"Boycott?"

"What does the minister mean? Does he want us to boycott?" he asked.

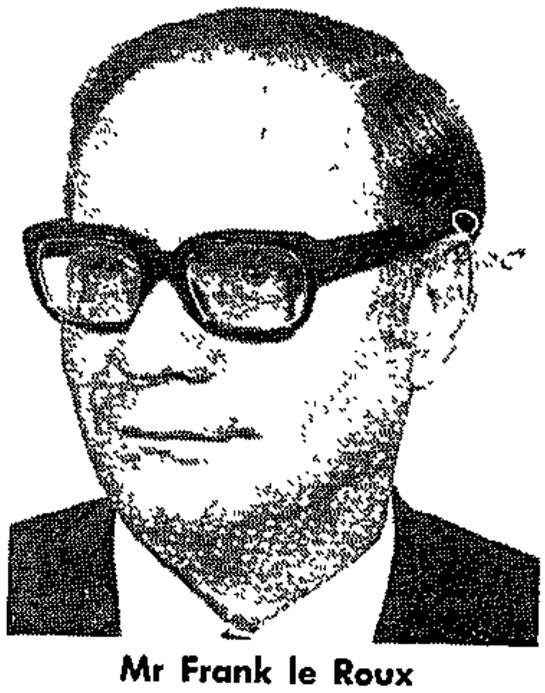
The CP would sit in the new parliament and would also take part in the proceedings of its standing committees.

Mr le Roux argued that the standing committees of the new three-chamber parliament would be "away from the influence of the Cabinet".

The participation of CP members would enable members of the coloured and Indian houses to find out for themselves that CP members were not the "Frankenstein monsters" which Government members made them out to be.

In earlier debates the CP's main objections to the new constitution had been that whites would be deprived of their right to self-determination in a racially mixed parliament and government.

The CP's argument was that whites should have their own parliament and their own electoral system, separate from any parliaments created for coloured and Indians in their own homelands.



Mr Frank le Roux

Mr F W de Klerk

Continuing his argument in yesterday's debate, Mr le Roux also rejected an accusation by the minister that the CP was motivated by hatred of the National Party.

"He knows whose pens are dripping with hatred of the CP," Mr le Roux said.

He accused the Government of using accusations of hatred and racism against the CP when it was unable to answer the CP's arguments.

Mr le Roux again called on the minister to say what action the Government would take against members of the United Democratic Front (UDF), which was openly advocating a boycott of the new constitutional dispensation.

"Scrap Act"

Replying, Mr de Klerk asked Mr le Roux whether he believed Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse would be able to scrap the Population Registration Act without a majority vote in the white house of assembly in favour of such a move.

If there were any danger of such a move, then Parliament could scrap the Act without Mr Hendrickse's participation.

The CP's offer of a homeland to the coloured people was an offer that could not be implemented. It was a homeland the coloured people did not want.

Mr le Roux asked: "Is that not precisely the same approach as the Government has in respect of the black people?"

Mr de Klerk replied that it was not so. There were differences in the Government's approach. One difference was that the blacks were peoples (volke) and that historically the black peoples had territories of their own.

Within law

Reacting to Mr le Roux's remarks about the UDF, Mr de Klerk said that if the UDF acted within the law no action would be taken against the movement.

The minister repeated the viewpoint that the Government did not regard a boycott of the new dispensation as an answer to any problems.

"The National Party accepts the judgment of the voters," he said.

Earlier yesterday Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) said it was a pity the minister had not submitted the Bill to a parliamentary select committee investigation after second reading, as requested by the official Opposition.

it has been decided to first evaluate the completed section and alternative barrier fences in order to determine the most suitable and cost-effective type of barrier.

(b) There is no fixed date for the completion of the project.

(2) R2 930 000.

(3) Yes.

(a) R830 000.

(b) Alert Weldmesh Security Fencing which is a joint venture of Alert Fencing Contractors (Pty) Ltd and BRC Weldmesh (Pty) Ltd.

(c) By State Tender Board procedures.

(4) (a) This will only be determined when the barrier fence has reached its optimum potential with regard to detection and delay.

(b) That stage is dependent on the progress the plants make in prevailing weather and irrigation conditions and the success achieved with the control of animals which damage or destroy the plants.

Limpopo River: sisal hedge

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

(1) Whether any irrigation contracts have been concluded in respect of the sisal hedge along the Limpopo River on the border between the Republic and Zimbabwe; if so, (a) who are the contractors and (b) subject to what (i) conditions of payment and (ii) other conditions;

(2) Whether the conditions of the contract are being complied with; if not, why not; if so, who (a) exercises supervision and (b) reports in this regard?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE (for the Minister of Defence):

(1) Yes. The irrigation of the sisal barrier is included in the contract for the planting of the sisal.

(a) Alert Weldmesh Secucity Fencing which is a joint venture of Alert Fencing Contractors (Pty) Ltd and BRC Weldmesh (Pty) Ltd.

(b) (i) Payment according to tariffs as approved by the State Tender Board. Contract tariffs are confidential information as this could influence new contracts.

(ii) The application of the prescribed amount of water per month as determined by the SA Defence Force according to circumstances.

(2) Yes.

(a) and (b) Officers of the SA Army and professional advisers.

Daveyton: detainees 20/6/84 Hansard Q. col. 1700

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

(1) Whether any persons were detained under security legislation in Daveyton on or about 9 June 1984; if so, how many;

(2) whether any of these persons are still in detention; if so,

(3) whether they are to be charged; if so, with what offence;

(4) whether any of the detainees are members of Fosatu; if so, what are their names;

(5) whether the provisions of section 4 of the Protection of Information Act, No 84 of 1982, were invoked in connection with the publication of the detention of these persons; if so, (a) to what effect and (b) why?

†The MINISTER OF HEALTH AND WELFARE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

(1) Yes. Five persons, three of which were released on 12 June 1984.

(2) Yes.

(3) On completion of the investigation the Attorney-General will decide over this.

(4) Yes. It is neither in the public interest, nor in the interest of the persons concerned to disclose their names. The reason why they have been detained has, however, no connection with their membership of Fosatu.

(5) No.

Grasmere Township: Erf 106

*4. Mr G B D McINTOSH asked the Minister of Community Development:

(1) Whether Erf 106 in Grasmere Township, Registration Division IQ, in the Transvaal has been acquired by his Department; if so, (a) when, (b) why, (c) from whom, (d) what was the title deed number of the property and (e) what amount did his Department pay for it;

(2) whether the property was expropriated; if not, in what manner was it acquired?

The MINISTER OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:

(1) Yes.

(a) 1 May 1978.

(b) For township development.

(c) Estate late James Herald.

(d) T5457/78.

(e) R5 310.

(2) Yes.

Commission of Inquiry into Problems that Tourist Operators Experience in the Republic of South Africa

*5. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Whether he intends to issue a White Paper on the report of the Commission of Inquiry into Problems that Tourist Operators Experience in the Republic of South Africa; if not, why not; if so, when?

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

Yes, during the 1985 Parliamentary session.

Airways: flight bookings

*6. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Whether incentives are offered to companies which book flights through the South African Airways rather than through travel agents; if so, (a) what is the nature of these incentives and (b) when were they introduced?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Hansard Q. col. 1702 20/6/84

304A **Political parties: registration**

*7. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

(1) What are the names of the political parties registered in respect of the House of (a) Assembly, (b) Rep-

resentatives and (c) Delegates in terms of section 36 of the Electoral Act, No 45 of 1979;

(2) whether there are any outstanding applications from political parties for registration in respect of any of these Houses; if so, (a) from which political parties, (b) in respect of which Houses and (c) when (i) were these applications received and (ii) is it anticipated that they will be finalized;

(3) whether any applications have been refused; if so, (a) in respect of which political parties and (b) why in each case?

†The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) The National Party
New Republic Party
Progressive Federal Party
Herstigte Nasionale Party van Suid-Afrika
Blanke Volkstaat Party
The Conservative Party of South Africa

(b) Nil.

(c) Progessive Independent Party.

(2) Yes.

(a) Labour Party of South Africa

(b) House of Representatives

(c) (i) 19 June 1984, at the Regional Office of the Department of Internal Affairs in Cape Town.

(ii) As soon as possible.

(3) No.

Hansard Q.61. 1703
20/6/84

Detainees: allowances

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

Whether any allowances are being paid to any detainees held under section 28 (11) of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982; if so (a) what total amount is being so paid and (b) to whom?

The MINISTER OF HEALTH AND WELFARE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

No, but representations for the payment of allowances to five such detainees are presently being considered.

Hansard Q.61.1704
20/6/84

Nyanga dune sites

*9. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

(1) Whether he or any member of his Department received any (a) representations, (b) recommendations and (c) requests from the present or previous Chief Commissioner for Co-operation and Development in the western Cape during the past year in respect of persons living in tents and/or temporary plastic shelters at or near the Nyanga dune sites; if so, what was the (i) purport of these representations, recommendations and requests and (ii) response thereto;

(2) whether any (a) decisions and (b) steps have been taken in this regard; if not, why not; if so, what decisions and steps?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION:

(1) (a), (b) and (c) Yes.

(i) That more tents, water supply outlets and toilets be made available.

(ii) Seventy-five tents and twenty-seven toilets were supplied to the Dune squatters.

As regards water supply the squatters were requested to fetch water at Crossroads and Nyanga Extension, as those

supply points are withing walking distance from the Dune camp.

(2) As under (1) above.

Crossroads

*10. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

(1) Whether it is intended to move the residents of Crossroads; if so, (a) why, (b) when, (c) where will they be moved to and (d) to what use is the land on which Crossroads is situated to be put after the move;

(2) whether the residents of Crossroads have been consulted on the move; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) in what manner;

(3) whether they agreed to the move;

(4) whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 15 on 18 May 1984, the appeal committee for Crossroads has met; if not, (a) why not and (b) when will it meet; if so, (i) on what dates, (ii) how many cases has it considered and (iii) how many persons involved in these cases were given permission to remain in the Western Cape;

(5) when is it anticipated that the appeal committee will complete its work?

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) The intention is to provide proper housing into which the people of Crossroads may move.

(a) The people of Crossroads live in absolute squalor. Conditions there are extremely unhygenic and degenerating and because of the possibility of fire, highly dangerous. An intensive investigation proved that it would be impossible to create acceptable conditions by upgrading the area and that the only practical solution would be to establish suitable living conditions elsewhere.

(b) Depending on a number of factors, a start with this will be made within three or four months.

(c) Khayelitsha.

(d) The matter is still under consideration.

(2) (a) and (b) Discussions took place with the Crossroads Committee on 16 April 1984, 16 May 1984 and 14 June 1984.

(3) Discussions in this regard are intended.

(4) Yes.

(i) On 23 May 1984 and 9 June 1984. The Committee will again meet on 26 June 1984 in order to hold discussions with the attorney concerned regarding the procedure that the committee will follow.

(ii) Nil.

(iii) Nil.

(5) Depending on circumstances, in the foreseeable future.

Tsitsikamma Toll Project: opening

*11. Mr B W B PAGE asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(1) Whether the invitations to guests to attend the opening of the Tsitsikamma Toll Project were sent out in envelopes carrying on the reverse side a rubber-stamp impression of a firm of public relations/marketing consultants; if so, what is the name of this firm;

(2) whether official stationery was used for these invitations; if so,

SOUTH AFRICA

ARGUS 21/6/84 (30 KM)

A breeze of change

From RAMSAY MILNE
Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK — Is South Africa changing?

The Wall Street Journal, one of the most influential and widely read newspapers in the United States, thinks well, maybe.

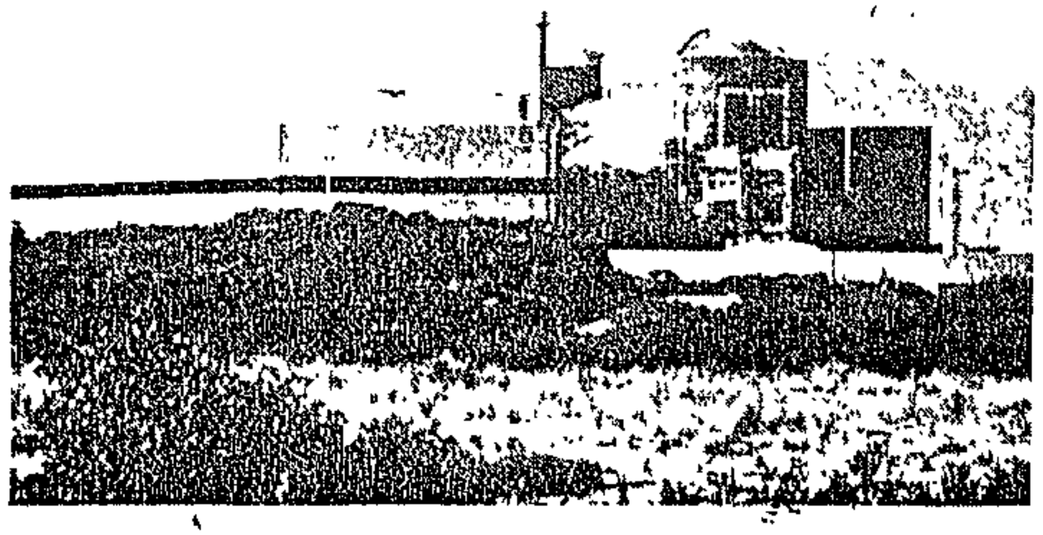
In an extensive front-page report from a correspondent visiting South Africa for the first time in nine years, the paper told its 1,1-million readers that while South Africa's blacks had, indeed, made some advances, they still lacked power, that while the easing of apartheid under Mr P W Botha had brought them better jobs and housing, it had not ended banning orders, that a white hobo could vote but a black medical doctor could not.

But the contrast in South Africa to a visitor over the past nine years was "palpable," it said.

"Blacks are better dressed. They flood the downtown shopping areas on Saturday mornings. In the all-black townships near major cities, some fine new housing rises near the old, shoe-box-like, cinder block houses. Elsewhere, most of the 'whites only' signs have come down,although a few remain."

Vilakazi

The paper quotes Prof



One of the arguments for nuclear power stations. Koeberg (left this week saw Unit One go to 100 percent production. The mode of a uranium fuel pellet (exact size) held in the hand is the equivalent of 880 kilograms of coal. If Koeberg were replaced by a coal-fired station of the same size, about 20 000 tons of coal would be needed every day. The coal delivery would necessitate 16 trains a day, each two kilometres long. The station would produce 6 000 tons of ash every day and the coal would cost R50 a ton landed at Cape Town.

The paper quotes Prof Absalom L Vilakazi of the University of Zululand, who emigrated to the United States but recently returned to South Africa to live, saying : "Nobody who has lived in South Africa, gone away and come back could say there hasn't been change."

The paper adds that apartheid's underpinnings are shifting because of "economic stress," and points out that Mr J C Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, agrees that the Government needs economic growth and black cooperation to buy time for a peaceful solution.

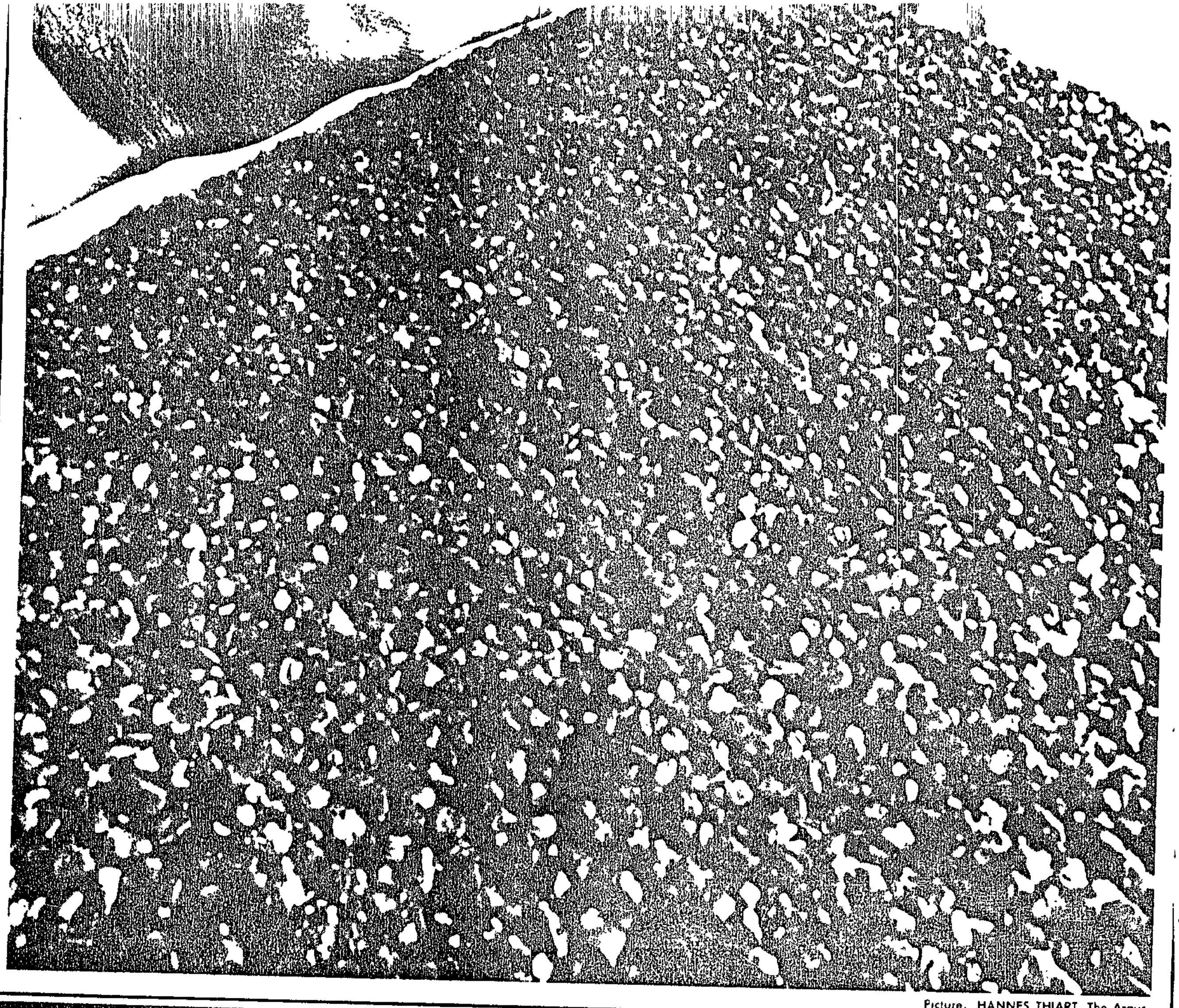
And it quotes Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation, asserting that it is not enough simply to advance black workers.

"As we train people of colour and move them into responsible jobs, how do we open up the social structure so they can enjoy the conventional rewards?" he asks.

"If you want a viable capitalist system, you can't make rules that restrict peoples' full enjoyment of the system."

The paper also interviewed Mr John Kane-Berman, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, who pointed out that while these moves had been good for urban blacks, life had become tougher for unemployed blacks in the homelands.

"A new form of apartheid is developing," he says. "Not between white and black, but beween urban black and deported (rural) black."



Picture. HANNES THIART, The Argus

EDUCATION

Private integration

The decision by the Transvaal provincial authorities to regularise the position of private schools that admit black pupils is an implicit recognition that government can afford to do little about a technically illegal situation.

Ironically, it was at the government's request that private schools took their first tentative step towards desegregated education. In 1973, the Catholic church was asked to accommodate in its own school network the children of black diplomats resident in SA.

Three years later, however, the church, on its own initiative, admitted the first South African blacks into its white-registered schools. This move, opening a floodgate of possibilities, was without government sanction. Indeed, it was met with thinly veiled official anger — often in the form of threats to cut off what government subsidies survived the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

The Catholic church today remains the most significant promoter of multi-racial education, operating some 78 "open" schools with a total enrolment of over 25 000.

Through a legal amendment, matters relating to multi-racial private education have since devolved upon provincial authorities. The Cape and Natal authorities have a long-standing informal quota system whereby many white private schools have admitted black students.

Nixon ... authorities ready to negotiate

Only in private schools can black and white youngsters enrol together. About 160 000 students, about 2,6% of SA's total, currently attend private institutions.

Two weeks ago, the Transvaal legalised multi-racial schools, subject to controls and regulations yet to be promulgated. Besides the Catholic schools, at least two schools near Johannesburg, the Woodmead School and St Barnabas College, have exercised non-racial admission policies since the mid-1970s without official permission.

Most black students in integrated private schools have bursaries, only 15% of black students at St Barnabas, for example, pay full fees.

"While non-racial education obviously doesn't conform to government policy," says Peter Nixon, Woodmead's headmaster, "they have shown a certain respect for the autonomy of private schools and a willingness to negotiate the matter with us." He hopes that government will see desegregation in private institutions as a "necessary and growing grey area" in SA education.

But the expansion of non-racial practices in private schools appears to have its limits. "The pace of integration in SA private schools is likely to be slow," writes St Barnabas headmaster Michael Corke in the March issue of *Optima*.

It remains unlikely in the extreme that SA's public education system will follow the private example.

THE CONSTITUTION

The first stumble

The new constitution is stumbling over its first major hurdle — months before it is due to be implemented.

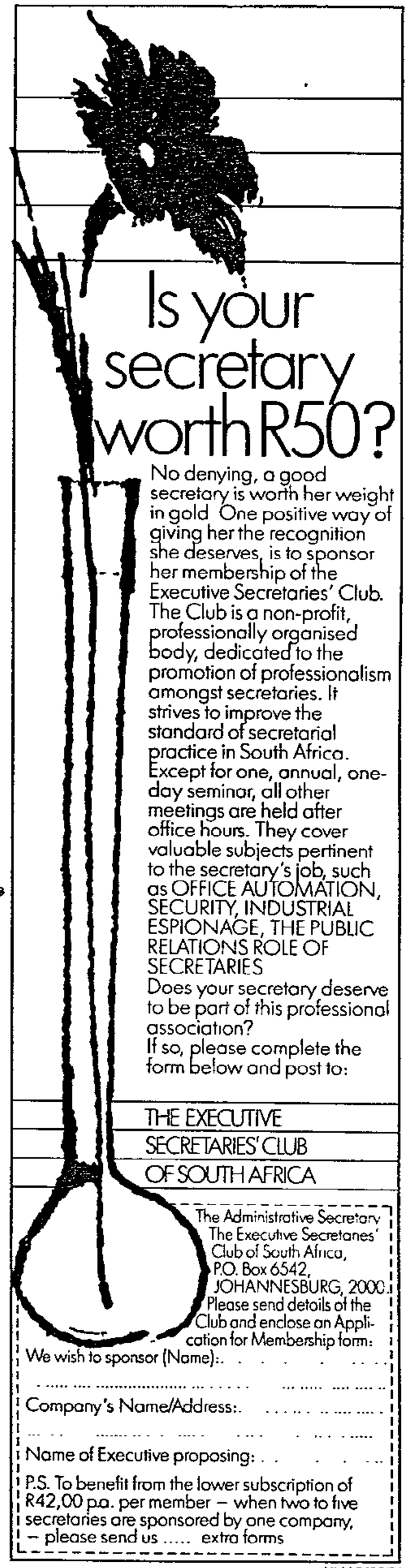
Government and the coloured Labour Party (LP) are deadlocked over the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, after unsuccessful talks between them last Friday.

LP leader Allan Hendrickse tells the *FM* that his party will register to enter candidates for both the Coloured House of Representatives and the Indian House of Delegates as one party — the Labour Party of South Africa, without any racial tags.

"It is a definite deadlock. It would appear that (Internal Affairs) Minister F W de Klerk is standing firm on National Party policy as far as this Act is concerned," says Hendrickse.

A terse, three-paragraph statement issued after Friday's meeting by De Klerk says simply that talks between himself the LP have now been "concluded," that representations across a reasonably wide front have been received, and that the minister does not wish to comment further on the final form of legislation to be introduced until the government has considered the matter.

It is significant that De Klerk's state-



(304 A) (D) FM 22/11/84

ment specifically refers to pending legislation "to be introduced during this session of Parliament."

The Act, which prohibits the involvement of members of one racial group in the politics of another, is seen by its opponents as a cornerstone of apartheid, and by Nationalists as a key policy principle.

The issue was due to be discussed by the Cabinet this week, again presided over by PM P W Botha, fresh from his European odyssey. Hopes have been expressed that the new horizons encompassed by Botha during his visit might lead to reformist amendments to the Act, rather than the minor changes so far proposed.

Ironically, it is a no-win situation for the Nationalists. If Hendrickse goes ahead and contests both elections as a single party, he wins a major credibility victory. If government stops him, the biggest loser will be the National Party, which is depending on the LP to make the new deal work.

All eyes are now on De Klerk. "The next response must come from him when and if he introduces his legislation in Parliament," says Hendrickse.

face to face

JAC RABIE

Working from within

Jac Rabie is Transvaal leader of the Labour Party (LP). He was recently named as Labour's candidate to contest Reiger Park in the August election for the new coloured House of Representatives.

FM: What would you regard as a successful poll in the August election?

Rabie: The LP has said that one more than 50% will be sufficient. I think we are going to get over 60% turning out. The registration of the people (as voters) proves that they are interested and want to vote. In some constituencies you are going to see 80% to 85%. In certain areas it will be lower, not because people are apathetic or are boycotting, but because of an "I'm all right, Jack" attitude — especially in the cities.

How significant will the United Democratic Front's (UDF) boycott campaign prove?

If they are successful then I wonder why they haven't yet got their one million signatures (in opposition to the new constitution.) I think they are becoming irrelevant in the sense that people are tired of living on slogans. They want to see action. The UDF are just noisy. They are rabble rousers. Someone in Kroonstad calls them the Union Defence Force, because that's the only thing they keep on saying: that our children will be conscripted into the army. We say they will only be conscripted when we are full citizens of this country, and the other people are full citizens too.

What would you consider full citizenship? Might not government argue that coloureds and Indians may be drafted because they have the vote?

That is not full citizenship because the vote that is given to us now has been prescribed by the white community. Full citizenship to me means a system which we have all agreed upon. Take the Improper Political Interference Act. Government wants to enforce it so that Indians and coloureds don't join the same party. That is not full citizenship. It is what the government regards as full citizenship. We are sorry, but the government can't have its cake and eat it. Why don't they make the same provision for whites? Greeks, Jews, Italians and.so on, can belong to the same party but we cannot. What's so funny about us belonging to the same party?

Do you think government and the LP are headed for a clash over the Interference Act?

I can't say now because talks between our leadership and the responsible Minister are taking place. But I can say this: if the government wants to treat us like children, then obviously we are going to confront each other on this aspect.

Under the new constitution coloureds and Indians will take joint responsibility for laws like influx control. Is the LP worried about friction between Africans and coloureds?

I don't think it can be expected of the LP to take responsibility for legislation of which they were not part and parcel. Influx control was not decided upon by the LP.

But the Orderly Movement Bill, for instance, has been deferred to the new parliament.

Well, that is where we will make our input. The LP does not believe in influx control because it is not applicable to whites, but only to blacks. The government will have to work out a system where blacks are treated like ordinary human beings, and not like aliens in their own country.

However, I am surprised when black people expect us to ask their permission to strategically work within this kind of system. They don't ask my permission when they opt for autonomous municipalities and for independent states.

Remember, the LP was the first body to reject the new constitution because it excludes the majority of the people in this country. We rejected it because it is based on ethnicity. It doesn't satisfy our aspirations as a community and, moreover, it does not satisfy the constitution of the LP.

That is why we did not ask for a referendum. People want to blame us for not doing that. But how can you ask your people to vote for something that you have not written? We are asking the people for a mandate to go into the system to change it. In other words, let us become part of the writing of a new constitution of SA.

That implies a goal of the LP is to have blacks brought into the system.

We are going to work towards the goal of including blacks in decision-making in SA. That will be the toughest bone of contention with the government. And I think the government knows by now where we stand.

Is that realistic in view of the fact that government has ruled out black participation and, anyway, you face a built-in white majority?

I think we all suffer from political jet-lag, because you are now thinking in terms of a pure white government. The future government of this country will have colour represented in it. Basically, we are not concerned with what government thinks now. We are getting in and from that day onwards, when we speak of government policy, it will be the policy of the three groups represented in parliament.

I don't think it's unrealistic because the new constitution is going to operate on the basis of consensus. The numbers don't bother me at all at this stage because the only time we will be voting in the new Parliament is when we elect the President and the Speaker. After that, decisions are going to be taken on consensus. And can you imagine the President continually announcing decisions that we do not agree to? He won't have stable government then, he will be looking for trouble.

For myself, if I became part of the Cabinet and the government takes a (negative) decision on influx control then, I'm afraid to say, I am not going to accept co-responsibility for something that is against (LP principles). I will get out.

Clash with Labour could slow reform

304A

BY BRIAN POTTINGER and NORMAN WEST

A FIERCE dispute between the Government and the coloured-Indian Labour Party threatens to cloud — and perhaps even abort — implementation of the new constitution.

Last-ditch efforts were being made this week to avoid a confrontation over the law which bans party politics across colour line.

The Labour Party has issued a clear warning to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk — it will pull out of the new set-up rather than back down on its decision to admit Indian members.

Meanwhile, a Bill to amend the Prohibition of Political Interference Act has apparently already been redrafted and approved by the Cabinet. It will be tabled within 10 days.

It is believed to contain important amendments, but to embody the same basic philosophy as the original — no mixed party membership, no addressing party political gatherings of another race group during elections, and no election agents for other races.

Government spokesmen are approaching the issue with great caution.

Mr de Klerk has refused to comment publicly, but a senior government source says neither party wants a breakdown in relations.

Further talks between the Government and the LP are on the cards.

But the LP's application this week for registration to fight the elections for the Indian chamber has brought the matter to a head. In terms of existing laws, no party can register with the name of an already registered party.

Times 24/6/84

Bitter

The LP, meanwhile, has successfully registered for the coloured chamber elections.

Yesterday a bitter LP leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said the Government had left the LP "in the lurch". He warned that he would not break faith with his Indian "brothers and sisters".

He warned that the LP would not participate in the new system simply to apply "evil political ideologies based on apartheid". It wanted to dismantle the very structures of apartheid.

Mr Hendrickse said his party had already compromised by registering twice for separate houses.

"This is humiliating enough, but we decided at Eshowe in 1983 to participate in the new system not because we agreed with it, but because there was no option for us."

Delays in elections had already allowed radical groups such as the UDF to build up strong opposition to the LP.

"The pressure is unbelievable and the Government appears to be leaving us in the lurch," Mr Hendrickse said.

(Report by Brian Pottinger and Norman West, both of 77 Burg Street, Cape Town)

● See Page 28

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

NRP Discontent in Over leadership, 'links' with NP

Political Staff

THE simmering discontent within New Republic Party ranks with the leadership of Mr Vause Raw has again broken into open revolt.

Mr Raw has been publicly challenged for his close association with the National Party by Mr J Lubbe, chairman of the Western Province regional council of the NRP.

The challenge follows numerous resignations and sackings from the party last year over objections to the decision to work with the NP for a Yes vote in the referendum.

Those who went then included Mr Warwick Webber, former Natal leader of the NRP, and a former NRP MP, Mr Nigel Wood.

Mr Lubbe, who could not be contacted for comment today, openly criticised Mr Raw for his association with the National Party, in a letter to a Sunday newspaper.

At the centre of the latest row are statements made by NRP candidate in the Rosettenville by-election, Mr Ian Jayes, and the compliments paid by Mr Raw to Prime Minister Mr P W Botha on his recent overseas trip.

Pamphlet

Mr Raw today declined to comment on the attack while the Cape leader of the NRP, Mr Pat Rogers MP, said he would not comment "until I have spoken to Mr Raw."

Mr Lubbe supported reported remarks attributed to Mr Jayes as saying that he would vote for the CP rather than the NP.

Mr Lubbe said " Mr Jayes obviously knows that the NP has ruined this country on the economic and race fronts.

"There are thousands of NRP supporters who would rather vote for any of the other parties than the NP."

However in another letter in the same newspaper Mr Jayes denied making the remark.

Mr Lubbe also criticised Mr Raw from dissociating himself from a pamphlet which among other things criticised former Manpower Minister Mr Fanie Botha.

Mr Lubbe said: "I am confident that the great majority of NRP followers and anti-Nat voters find nothing wrong with Mr Jayes's notorious pamphlet.

" Since Mr Vause Raw's dissociation from the pamphlet, messages of good luck were telegraphed to Mr Jayes by the following NRP affiliations: The Groote Schuur division, the False Bay division, the WP Women's Council, the WP Regional Council and the Cape Head Committee.

" The NRP has experienced many setbacks since 1977. Many of those could be related to leadership which created an unfortunate image of the NRP supporting the NP".

AAM welcomes David Kitson

From JOUBERT MALHERBE

LONDON. — Former South African political prisoner Mr David Kitson, received a rapturous welcome at the weekend when he appeared on the platform at a national convention of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in London.

In his first major public appearance since arriving in Britain, the more than 300 delegates gave Mr Kitson a standing ovation of about five minutes when he mounted the stage.

The convention was also attended by the Labour Party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, who pledged his party's support for the "liberation struggle" in South Africa.

Mr Kitson joined another recently-released political prisoner, Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo — a founder of Swapo — on the platform.

The convention was also addressed by the AAM president, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, a representative of the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid activists.

Mr Kinnock pledged that a future Labour government would take "effective action to promote liberation in South Africa".

Without mentioning the ANC by name, Mr Kinnock said a Labour government would back up any action taken by people inside South Africa which was aimed at achieving liberation.

He castigated both Mr P W Botha and the Kwazulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, for recently criticizing his stand against apartheid. He said Mr Botha was was out of touch with what was really happening among the people in South Africa.

Describing the Conservative Government as the "most pro-South African government" in Britain for a long time, Mr Kinnock called on the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to say unequivocally that she will bar the sale of British Aerospace Coastguarder aircraft to South Africa.

"If the Coastguarder deal goes ahead it will be the biggest breach in the arms embargo. If it goes this year, more will follow next year," Mr Kinnock said.

'Forefront'

Mr ja Toivo said the 25th anniversary of the AAM was not a time to rejoice, adding that anti-apartheid activists had to rededicate themselves to working for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

He said SWA/Namibia was at the forefront of the liberation struggle in South Africa, and condemned South Africa's attempts at linking SWA/Namibian independence to Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

CP says pamphlet is Nat fraud

CAPE TIMES 26/6/84

304A

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The growing scandal over the National Party's alleged falsification of a State document to attack the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, erupted in Parliament yesterday when the NP was accused of the country's worst political fraud since 1910.

The row, in which the NP has been embarrassed, could have a bearing on tomorrow's two key provincial by-elections in Potgietersrus and Rosettenville.

Further embarrassment is likely to result from advertisements which the NP is today publishing in daily newspapers throughout the country.

Earlier the CP had threatened legal action unless its demands for a correction were met.

The CP's complaint was about the alleged distortion of a State document signed by Dr Treurnicht while he was still Deputy Minister of Plural Relations giving the go-ahead for certain blacks to stay in white university residences under certain conditions.

'NP's Watergate'

The document was selectively summarized by the NP and used in election propaganda apparently to show that Dr Treurnicht was "soft" on blacks.

In a heated debate on the Third Reading of the Budget yesterday, senior CP spokesmen Mr Tom Langley and Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg said the issue had become the NP's Watergate.

Mr Langley demanded the resignation of the key figures involved:

- The NP's Transvaal leader and Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, who wrote a foreword to the pamphlet in which the abridged document appeared.
- The chairman of the party's federal information service, Dr Piet Koornhof, who authorized the pamphlet and, as Minister of Co-operation and Development, approved the removal of the State document from his Department's files.
- The NP's chief information officer and MP for Brits, Dr Jan Grobler, who wrote a postscript to the pamphlet.
- The party's Transvaal information officer and MP for Benoni, Mr Chris Rencken, who drew up the pamphlet.

Mr Langley said he would leave it up to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, as chairman of the NP's federal council, to decide for himself what action he should take in regard to his own position.

Mr Botha had pledged a clean administration when he took office, but in the final months of his career as Prime Minister he was becoming involved in the country's biggest-ever political fraud, he said.

The falsification of the document was "extreme and blatant" and the use of the State document could amount to a crime, he said.

In England, under similar circumstances, the government would have resigned, and in the United States the people involved would have been impeached.

Dr Hartzenberg demanded the appointment of a one-man judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the matter.

If a document signed by a political-party leader was used by the NP in the manner it had been, ordinary members of the public could have no faith that letters they might write to the State would be kept confidential, he said.

In defence of the NP's actions, Dr Koornhof said there was no intention to be malicious or misleading in publishing the abridged document.

Conciseness

It was acceptable press practice to summarize articles for the sake of conciseness and that was what had been done.

He said the same abridged document had been published in other NP propaganda more than a year ago and there had been no complaints from the CP or anyone else.

But the NP had now admitted its mistake and had the courage to correct it.

He denied the State document had been stolen from his files and said there was provision for documents to be released to the public under certain circumstances. Dr Koornhof conceded that he authorized the release of the document.

A Progressive Federal Party speaker in the debate, Mr John Malcommess, MP for Port Elizabeth Central, said Dr Koornhof's reply to CP attacks had been a "poor answer".

He said he had looked at the disputed documented and there was "no doubt" it was a "blatant falsification" and "dishonesty, plain and simple".

- **See advertisement, page 10**
- **NP pamphlet row: Debate in House, page 4**
- **Notes in the House, page 15**

Houses may sit jointly on general affairs

Argus 26/6/84

304A

Political Staff

A substantial change is being made to the new constitution which could open the way for the three houses of parliament to hold joint sessions to debate common legislation.

Joint sessions are now restricted to ceremonial occasions with only the State President having the power to call the three houses together.

In legislation published today the restriction is eased to allow joint sessions to be called within the terms of the "joint rules and orders" of parliament.

Overhaul

The rules and orders of parliament are undergoing a major overhaul to fit in with the demands of the racially based tricameral system.

There could be agreement that the standing rules should include a section allowing for joint meetings for debating the second reading of a Bill on "general affairs".

However, the houses would still vote separately, maintaining the present restriction that "no resolution shall be adopted at any such joint sitting".

"Handshakes"

It is understood that if the standing committee on the standing rules reaches agreement, the power would be given to the Speaker to call the joint sessions but only with the agreement on the three houses.

The legislation amending the constitution also paves the way for "golden handshakes" for the sitting members of Parliament, who can now continue to receive their full salaries for 1½ years, after which they will receive a pension.

However, if they are elected to the new President's Council or receive any other "office of profit under the State" this benefit will fall away.

Extra powers

The Bill provides for extra powers for the State President to enable him to hold another Cabinet portfolio apart from being the executive head of state.

A spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development said today that this was not a departure from the existing position.

At the moment prime ministers could hold Cabinet posts. For example, General Smuts also held the foreign affairs portfolio simultaneously at one stage, while Mr P.W. Botha retained his position as Minister of Defence for a while after becoming Prime Minister.

One man, one vote no longer wanted by Europe — Pik

(304A) Star 26/6/84

By David Braun,
Political Reporter

Not a single European government told the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, on his recent tour that it expected South Africa to implement a policy of one man, one vote, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Johannesburg last night.

Wrapping up the National Party campaign in the Rosettenville provincial by-election, Mr Botha told an audience of more than 300 people at The Hill High School: "That is quite a change from the demands of six or seven years ago when the former US Vice-President, Mr Walter Mondale, told the then Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, at a special meeting in Austria that he wanted one man, one vote."

Mr Botha said that the Prime Minister had taken the opportunity to inform European leaders of the South African Government's goals. "We confirmed we are a regional power and that no problem can be solved in this region, or there can be no development in this region, unless South Africa is involved."

The leaders of Southern Africa would have to sort out their own problems.

"This is a dramatic moment in the history of Southern Africa. The South African Government believes it can help Africa south of a certain line. We can together plan to rid the region of disease, build new manufacturing undertakings and plan the water needs for the future so that water can flow from the Zambezi to South Africa."

(Report by D Braun, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

304A

Urban Foundation aims for structural reform

By ROY DOWLING

EAST LONDON — The Urban Foundation was increasing the impact of its housing, education, and research projects by negotiating for structural reform.

The Foundation's annual review, released this week, said such negotiations were based on practical experience gained from its projects.

A second way of increasing the impact of its projects was for other bodies and agencies to repeat, on a larger scale, the guidelines set by the projects.

The Foundation could not make a large impact on urban problems through the projects started with its own resources. The impact had to be extended and multiplied once the basic guidelines had been tested.

"In this way the physical impact on people's lives can be multiplied at the same time that the structures of the society are modified to permit this to happen."

The review said projects must be seen as part of a process in which new approaches to urban problems are tested and then put into practice on a large scale. The Foundation was trying to ensure that the value of what was done in "innovative local projects" had a greater impact on the country as a whole.

The Foundation's projects had three roles. These were:

- Testing approaches to solving problems and developing an understanding of the roles of various parties (including the private sector) in putting the new approaches into practice. These approaches often had a high degree of risk attached to the first trial and the Foundation usually bore that risk.
- Projects ensured that the Foundation kept close contact with the problems of "disadvantaged people" in urban communities.
- They were one of the avenues for communities to take part in the activities of the Foundation and helped to maintain the balance in the "coalition" between urban communities and the private sector.

"To the extent that the Foundation can maintain a genuine coalition of interests, it also increases its credibility with the authorities in negotiating for change as it can point to substantial and authentic 'hands on' developmental experience, often with a substantial element of community involvement."

The review said that since the Foundation had been started, two views of its projects had emerged. The first was that the Foundation was treating the symptoms but not the cause of the problems. It was from this that the "idea and objective of structural reform arose."

"More recently, critical comment has also been made on Foundation attempts to design projects that do tackle the causes of problems." The Foundation sees such projects, which take place in particular communities, as the means for change on a national scale.

However, projects must also act as a "means-to-an-end," as testing grounds for general approaches which, if successful, may give a basic insight into the easing of problems on a large scale or even remove their causes altogether.

The review said that, apart from its projects, the Foundation was involved with communities in other ways. These were:

- The main and regional boards of directors were strongly representative of urban communities and had been fully involved in the decision to work for structural reform.
- Many negotiating activities undertaken by the Foundation (notably on legislative and educational matters) had included significant community input.
- About half of the Foundation's staff is drawn from urban black communities and their input was helpful in trying to secure relevance for the Foundation's activities.

The review said the Foundation was convinced that a much greater impact on the housing crisis could be achieved through a process in which emphasis was placed on ownership, a self-help option, realistic standards based on what people could afford, greater individual freedom of choice in housing options, and greater community involvement in the development of housing programmes.

Within this broad policy framework the Foundation has over the years launched projects in four main areas:

- An improved supply of houses at economic standards.
- Innovative approaches at current minimum standards.
- Innovative approaches at reduced standards.
- Special situations — problems of a regional nature sometimes required special negotiation and project action.

The Foundation provided housing finance in three ways. Firstly, it used money granted to it and/or specially negotiated loans to finance the costs of innovative and experimental projects in which it has to bear the risk. Secondly, it mobilised major overseas loans (R30 million) to promote the sale of houses under 99-year leasehold. And thirdly, the Foundation co-operates with the Departments of Finance and Community Development in mobilising resources within the country for low-income housing.

In the field of education and training the Foundation has conducted research and negotiations aimed at improving the whole education system. It has also conducted research in selected areas of education, chiefly non-formal education, as a base for negotiations and projects. In addition, the Foundation has continued to finance and, in some cases, to manage educational projects and programmes

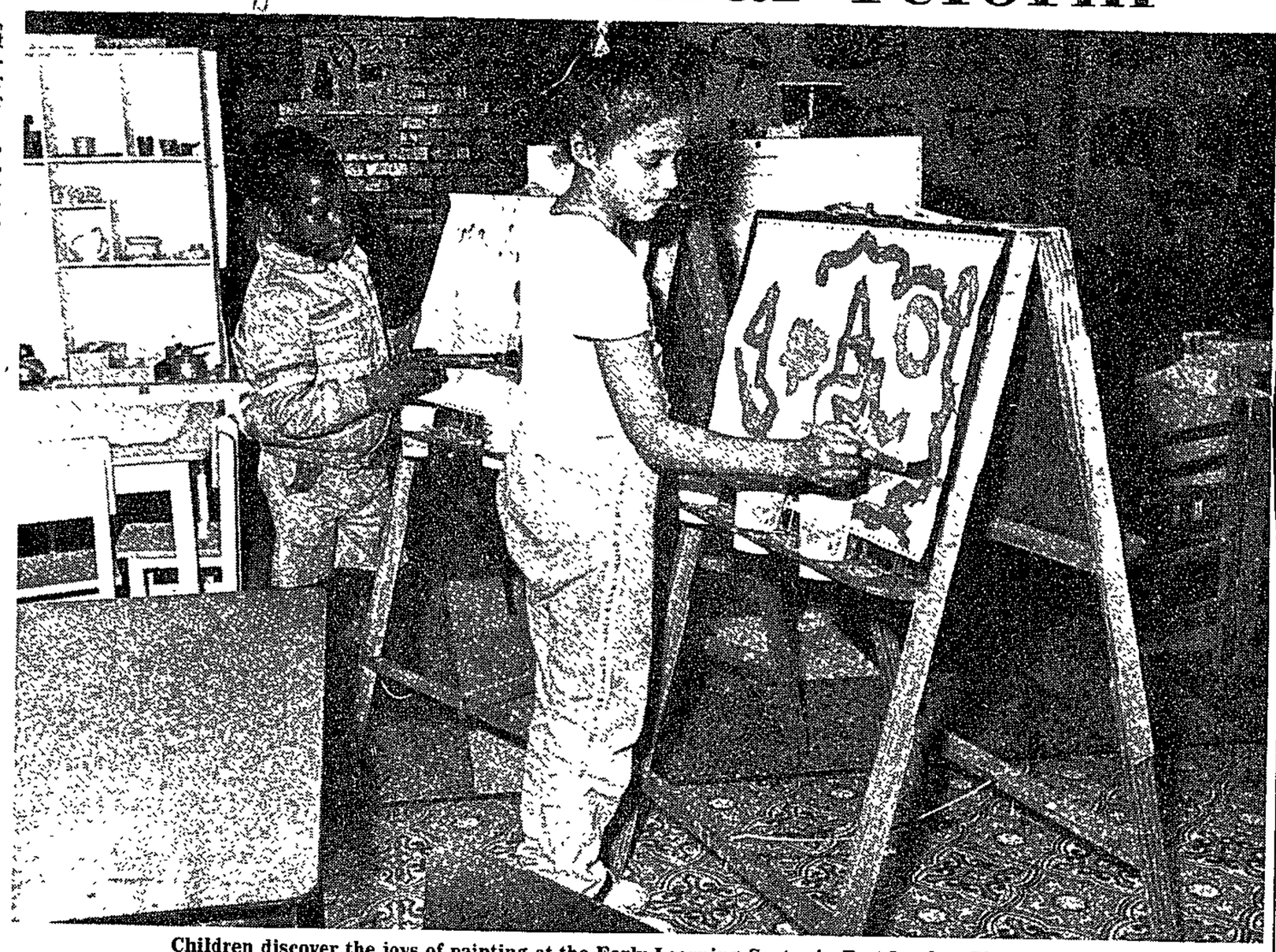
In most cases the projects are of a pilot nature, designed to test an innovative approach to an educational need and especially to define appropriate roles for the private sector in the field of education.

The review said that in the broad scope of non-formal education, the Foundation has further concentrated on four areas: pre-school education, technical education, adult education and the in-service education and training of teachers.

The Foundation's smallest area of operation was that of enterprise development. However, great importance was attached to it for the following reasons:

- An inadequate business base, resulting from historical restrictions, prevented deprived communities from contributing to their development. Their dependence on the public sector and/or white businessmen for jobs was perpetuated.
- Entrepreneurship expanded the opportunities for individuals to pursue a choice of economic goals, and allowed the more enterprising to enjoy the fruits of their efforts.
- Without work opportunities people could not provide for their basic needs. Evidence indicated that both the formal small business sector and the informal sector provided real opportunities for job creation and financial support for the poor. In this way, development in both these sectors could play a part in cutting unemployment.

In conclusion the review said the more than 600 projects the Foundation had launched or financed in the seven years of its existence were not more important than the negotiations it was involved with.



Children discover the joys of painting at the Early Learning Centre in East London. The centre was established two years ago with the assistance of the Urban Foundation.

Nats refuse humble pie

CAPE TIMES 27/6/84 38KA

By HILARY VENABLES

IN advertisements placed in daily newspapers yesterday, the National Party staunchly refused to apologize to the Conservative Party for publishing an allegedly "misleading" abridged version of a document signed by Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The edited document was published on a pamphlet as part of the NP's campaign for today's by-elections in two Transvaal provincial seats.

The full-page advertisements were published after the CP had threatened legal action unless the "falsification" was corrected.

The NP took the opportunity, however, to restate its position that Dr Treurnicht was not consistent in advocating total racial segregation.

In the original document, which deals with an application from Mr L W Matanzima, son of the Transkeian Prime Minister, for permission to study and live at the University of Cape Town, six points are made giving reasons, precedents and conditions for allowing a black student on campus.

The text ends:

"In the light of the exceptional circumstances of the case it is recommended that:

- He be allowed to live on campus.
- Authorization be valid for only the current academic year.
- Further requests to accommodate him on the campus be considered on their merits.
- It be pointed out to the university that this case must not be seen as a precedent and that the concession is not applicable to black students in general.

In a handwritten note at the end of the text, Dr Treurnicht states: "Request approved **but** (underlined) we will run into trouble with the children of plus/minus 70 black ministers. We must investigate further the idea of lodging, provided by the university, in a black residential area. If it is decent there is to my mind no reason why a minister's son should not live there."

The NP, in abridging the document omitted all but one of the first six points made, quoting only: "On page 10, the University of Cape Town indicated that the applicant would be accommodated in a single room in one of the hostels where he would share all other amenities with fellow students."

The "pamphlet version" continues: "In the light of the exceptional circumstances of the case, it is recommened that:

- He be allowed to live on the campus.
- The authorisation be valid only for the current academic year."

Dr Treurnicht's note at the end of the text is reduced to: "**Request approved** (underlined) If it is decent there is to my mind no reason why a minister's son should not stay there."

The impression is given that the minister's son should be allowed to live in "decent" university accommodation.

NP's 'boereverneukery'

Cape Times 27/10/84. 304A

Political Staff

THE CP yesterday accused the NP of "boereverneukery" over the advertisements it published yesterday which were supposed to have been an apology for the row over the "Treurnicht Document".

An incensed Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan), acting as party spokesman yesterday in the absence of other more senior party members who were preparing for today's two critical Transvaal by-elections, said: "They were no apology at all."

The NP had compounded its fault by publishing a second State document to justify its incorrect use of another confidential State document and the CP was now taking legal advice about laying charges against the NP for possible contraventions of the Protection of Information Act.

He said the NP was supposed to have published an "approved apology" for its selective use of a government document which had severely embarrassed the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, but the NP had not shown the CP what it was going to publish.

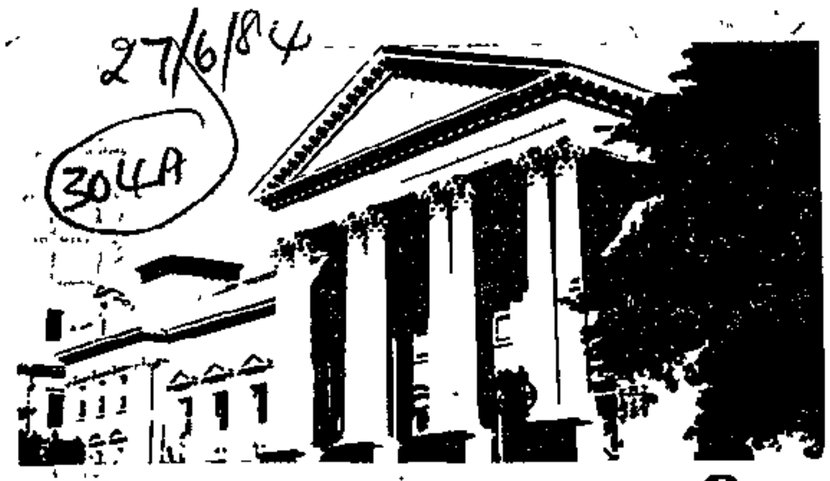
"We are not satisfied with these advertisements. They are no apology at all," said Mr Le Roux.

The NP had seen fit to make use of a second government document to make political mileage out of its original misuse of a State document.

He said the CP was now going to insist on the appointment of a judicial commission to investigate the whole affair and was investigating the possibility of a prosecution in terms of the Protection of Information Act against Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, who released the original state document, and Mr Chris Rencken, MP for Benoni, who had drawn up what the CP regarded as a "fraudulent" version of the original document.

Mr le Roux said he believed the use of the State document in a Nationalist election pamphlet to embarrass Dr Treurnicht could also be in contravention of the Civil Service Act which precluded the misuse or publication of State documents against the interests of the State.

Cape Times
27/6/84
(304A)



More power for State President

Political Staff

THE considerable powers of the executive State President under the new Constitution are to be extended even further in terms of a bill published in Cape Town yesterday.

One of the provisions of the Constitution Amendment Bill will allow the State President to administer any State department for "general" affairs.

This change will apparently allow the State President to allocate to himself a portfolio or portfolios in the cabinet.

There was speculation in Cape Town yesterday that if the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, becomes State President — as is widely expected — he will take on the Finance portfolio himself if Mr Owen Horwood retires.

The bill also provides for the State President to authorize any minister in the cabinet to perform any "power, duty or function" that he (the State President) would normally perform as the holder of a cabinet portfolio for "general" affairs.

Coloured, Indian ministers?

It seems possible that the State President could use this provision to allocate ministerial functions either in full or in part and for regulated periods to coloured or Indian ministers in the new cabinet.

It has been speculated that two or three coloured and Indian Ministers will be included in the new cabinet, possibly as ministers without portfolio.

There was speculation in some quarters in Cape Town yesterday that if the State President takes one or more portfolio for himself, he will allocate duties in terms of the portfolios to the ministers without portfolio.

This could, for example, allow someone such as the leader of the Indian political party Solidarity, Mr J N Reddy — a respected banker — to be allocated certain functions of the Minister of Finance.

The bill also provides for a more streamlined system of calling joint sittings of the three Houses of Parliament, probably for the second readings of bills on "general" affairs.

However, the three Houses will still be barred in terms of the Constitution from adopting any resolutions at a joint session.

ARGUS 27/6/84 (250) 304/7

Govt quiet on Slabbert speech

404

Parliamentary Staff

THERE was hardly any reaction from Government benches in the Assembly on the Leader of the Opposition's damning indictment yesterday of the growth of bureaucracy.

The entire House listened intently to his hard-hitting speech made during the third reading of the Budget debate.

Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert

Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert slammed the Government which, he said, had developed a system of bureacratic patronage and privilege in SWA/Namibia, the independent States and South Africa, which was costing South Africa a fortune.

Only two Government speakers reacted. Mr de Klerk said Dr Slabbert had ignored the fact that following the Government's rationalisation programme there were fewer State departments and greater co-ordination between these departments.

Earlier, Dr Slabbert pointed out that the rationalisation programme had led to an increase in the number of officials employed.

Mr de Klerk said this could be ascribed partly to the Government's training and education programme. There were now more school children than at the start of the rationalisation programme.

The increase in the number of teachers had been the single largest increase in the number of civil servants.

As a result of the new differentiated system, coupled with the economic slump, more people had been attracted to the civil service, he said.

The Deputy-Minister of Agriculture, Mr G J Kotze, said it seemed as if the Opposition was pleading for a new colonialisation. Dr Slabbert had said that it would be cheaper if South Africa took over the jobs of the civil service in the national states.

THE UPS AND DOWN (204) OF

Minister Horwood

BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff, traces the career of an optimistic Minister of Finance

Cape Times June 1984

OWEN PIETER FAURE HORWOOD'S term as Minister of Finance has been as up and down as the mercurial price of gold.

There will probably be debate for years to come on how good or bad he was at controlling the country's finances. Of his ability as a politician there are very few who are prepared to defend him.

Grandson of a member of Cecil Rhodes's Cape Cabinet and son of a Springbok cricketer, he started off life following a course that pointed everywhere but to the National Party.

He graduated from the University of Cape Town in 1938 with a B. Comm. (the fact that this was his only degree was to be thrown at him in later years when it was used as an insult in his confrontation with students at the University of Natal)

With the outbreak of World War Two he joined the Air Force as a pilot but was forced to leave because of ill-health.

Accountant

He joined a Cape Town firm as an accountant and politician and in 1946 married Helen Watt, a sister of the wife of the former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Mr Ian Smith.

In 1947 be embarked on what was to eventually be an extremely controversial academic career.

Despite his single degree Mr Horwood earned himself a reputation as an informed economist working on numerous commissions, often being asked to analyse and comment on the country's economic problems.

United Party

Politically he supported the United Party and gave it the benefit of his economic advice. Prior to his appointment as principal of the University of Natal he was a popular figure on campus and his ability to explain complex economic issues was appreciated by students — some of whom are sitting in opposition benches in Parliament.

A sportsman of some abilty , he was president of the sports union at the university for a number of years.

He was described in those years as being as "a staunch anti-republican, a pundit who prophesied doom for a South Africa shorn of its Commonwealth ties, a critic of job reservation, a champion of underpaid non-whites, an advocate of African trade unions and an economist who condemned the Government's fantastic Bantustan policy because 'it offends against every cannon of sound economics'".

Changed course

In September 1965 he was elected principal and vice-chancellor and he seemed to change his course. First his criticism of the Government became more muted and he became involved in a growing conflict with the student body.

It led to the suspension of the S R C in Durban a year later and the banning of the student magazine Dome. Also suspended was Mr Roger Hulley, the President of the S R C and now the P F P member of Parliament for Constantia.

The conflict reached such proportions that a committee of inquiry was appointed under Mr Justice Harcourt. The report of the committee was critical of Mr Horwood and did not support his claims that politically inspired trouble makers from outside the university had come to the campus "with the set purpose of inciting students to defy authority."

Joined Nats

In 1968 he secretly joined the National Party and in 1969 to the "jubilation" of the student body he resigned as principal, announcing that he was to join the National Party as a Senator.

Such was the relief at him leaving that the message that he had gone was daubed in paint on the walls of the university.

The university authorities broke with tradition by not awarding him an honorary degree but they did allow him to keep his luxury car.

From conflict with students he soon became known as one of the most sensitive politicians in the business. His confrontations with newspapers and reporters are legion.

Threats

A difficult person to get hold of most of the time he was always rapidly in touch with a reporter, and there were many, who offended him.

He threatened and blustered repeatedly. He told the Anglican Church that he would leave them unless it broke its ties with the World Council of Churches. He warned newspapers of legislation to keep them quiet. In the last general election he voiced displeasure with the building society movement for putting up interest rates on mortgage bonds and appointed a commission but has since then said he cannot control the rates.

His political career within the National Party has had its ups and downs. He was never been very popular among the rank and file but under the protection of Mr John Vorster he climbed rapidly.

Never stood

Unlike most politicians Mr Horwood's political survival and success can be ascribed also to the fact that he never let the electorate judge him.

The only time he came anywhere near was in a by-election in Vryheid in 1978 when he made himself available as a candidate. However there were reports that the might not win the nomination and he withdrew. Otherwise he repeatedly ignored or rejected challenges to stand and fight.

On arriving in Parliament it was clear that his conversion to the National Party was complete. For example in a debate over the Government's refusal to allow M C C Cricketer Basil D'Oliveira and tennis star Arthur Ashe into the county he said the incidents were all part of a "monstrous, communistically inspired plot to take over South Africa."

Granted since then he has moved with the N P and no longer sees, or says he sees, the inclusion of blacks in foreign teams as part of a communist plot.

Vorster's aid

The one place he had to fight elections was in the hierarchy of the N P.

When he stood for the Natal leadership in 1972 against the conservative Mr Joos le Roux of Vryheid, the intercession of Mr Vorster ensured that he plucked victory with a 114-vote majority.

In Parliament meantime he had been surging ahead. Appointed to the Cabinet as Minister for Indian Affairs and Tourism two years after his arrival e was given the Economic affairs portfolio in 1974.

A year later he took over from "Mr Gold ", Dr Nico Diederichs, as Minister of Finance.

Info scandal

Of all the controversies in which he has been involved none will be debated longer or received as much publicity as his part in the Information debacle.

His description of how he did not examine details of some highly contentious projects of the Department of Information and signed agreement to the appropriation of funds is well-known.

His success as Minister of Finance rose with the price of gold and when it was selling around the 800-dollar mark the praise for his abilities was thick on the ground.

But as the price of gold dropped so did the praise and much of it has changed to harsh criticism, although as he is wont to do, Mr Horwood still seems able to find enough people to quote supporting his economic policies.

The praise centered on his tight controls, his refusal to allow money to be used for improving images in constituencies and his refusal to bow to pressure.

But in this week's debate it is on these very points that he was faulted.

One thing that can be said for Mr Horwood is that he must be the most optimistic Minister of Finance ever. Unlike other who often painted gloomy pictures, Mr Horwood consistently talks of better times ahead and how good they are now, no matter how bad they actually are.

ARGUS 27/6/81 (30CA)

PARLIAMENT

Slabbert lashes out at the growth of bureaucracy

Parliamentary Staff

A DAMNING indictment of the growth of bureaucracy and its exhorbitant cost to the South African taxpayer was made by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, in a tough speech to Parliament.

"This country, this economy and its people literally cannot afford to pay for this Government and its policies," he said.

Dr Slabbert's hard-hitting speech was listened to in virtual silence by members of Parliament from all sides, and he used the occasion to lambast the Government for wasting money on tribal despots elected to lead homelands incapable of producing enough money to look after themselves.

Using statistics provided by the State, he showed that the growth of useless bureaucracy had crippled SWA/Namibia and sucked funds from the South African treasury to support nepotism and incompetence in the independent homelands.

South Africans paid R226-million for a bureaucratic elite in the Transkei in this year's budget alone, yet the number of people there who were below the Poverty Datum Line had risen from 4,1-million to 8,9-million in the past two decades.

The numbers of destitute people had jumped from 250 000 in 1960 to 1,4-million in 1980 despite this aid to the Transkei.

In South Africa itself, the Prime Minister's much-vaunted "rationalisation" of the civil service had simply upped the number of officials employed from 174 550 in 1979 to 183 299 in 1981.

"We have been spending money as if it is going out of fashion. We are not progressing one metre along a new road, we are creating a four-lane highway to disaster," Dr Slabbert said.

"Every year the taxpayer pours a fortune into the maintenance of these splended bureaucratic failures."

Dr Slabbert said bureaucratic expansion was the necessary and inevitable forerunner of corruption and inefficiency in Government.

There was no way of undermining a country better than spending money which it did not have, he said.

Urban Foundation 'supports reform and rejects confrontation'

304A

27/6/84

Star

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Urban Foundation's "most profound" public service was in the area of negotiation with the Government, said the organisation's chief executive, the Hon J H Steyn, at the foundation's annual general meeting in Diepkloof, Soweto, yesterday.

Detailing the foundation's role in introducing the 99-year lease in the townships and the revision of the "Koornhof Bills", Mr Steyn said: "The public sector has come to realise that, to a certain degree, governing is the management of different interests towards the best compromise — and not the imposition of a single viewpoint on all parties."

He added: "I am convinced that the interaction between Government and ourselves will play an increasing role in the future ... I suspect even more so under the new constitution in which the quest for consensus is an avowed objective."

Mr Steyn unequivocally supported the reform process and rejected the idea that violent confrontation was inevitable. The 99-year lease, the Black Local Authorities Act and the Black Communities Development Act — targets of sharp criticism from many black organisations — were described as landmark achievements.

"I make bold to say that history will identify the 99-year leasehold legislation as a true turning point in South Africa's history. Access to our free enterprise economic system was conferred through the concept of mortgageable title.

"Capital formation was made possible, exclusive dependency on the provision of State-subsidised rental accommodation terminated, and some freedom of choice conferred."

The first two "Koornhof Bills", enacted after protracted talks between the foundation and the Government, were "hardly recognisable when measured against the original drafts. Instead of being oppressive and highly paternalistic, they offered new opportunities and scope for development and self-realisation to black urban communities".

Mr Steyn explained that the foundation supported reform not only by talking to the Government but by initiating innovative projects designed to improve the quality of life.

In the seven years since its launch the organisation had participated in more than 600 projects, including 65 new ventures in the past year. Its present areas of concentration were housing — particularly utility companies and self-help schemes; education, ranging from pre-school to adult classes; and small business development, Mr Steyn said.

Moulding a better argus 27/6/84 (304A)

future by negotiation

Extracts from the address by Dr JAN STEYN, executive director of the Urban Foundation, to the annual general meeting of the organisation last night

Dr Steyn

QUOTE: Changes and reforms are the basic needs for a better quality of life

IN MARCH this year the Foundation completed its first seven years of operation. These seven years represent a period of learning, of gaining insight and understanding of our role and function and of establishing ourselves as an organisation with clear and unambiguous goals.

Much has been achieved in respect of structural reform and through this process, improvements in the quality of life of many South Africans have been secured.

But, based on the experience and knowledge gained over the past years, I can say with conviction that many of these achievements (and particularly those in the field of housing, education and small enterprise development), still have to be converted from the level of policy and principle to practical application of scale at grass roots level.

Only when these changes and reforms are *experienced* with some intensity by the poor, the disadvantaged and the deprived — in short, by those for whom they were intended — can we speak of real achievements.

The plight of those whom I have identified has to be translated from the cold statistics concerning the existing and ever-increasing need for housing, for education, for employment, for health services, into the reality of human misery and loss of dignity

Collectively these problems, with their complex and widespread impact, are the face of millions of fellow South Africans struggling to survive.

These are our fellow citizens who have to experience in tangible form the reforms we have helped to initiate. Only then can we proclaim about lasting achievements.

Given the existing socio-economic and socio-political conditions, and having identified the areas in which we endeavour to improve the quality of life, it has become quite clear that fundamental improvements are not possible within South Africa's existing structures, policies and attitudes.

Clearly, changes and reforms are necessary prerequisites for the achievement of meaningful improvement in the general quality of life. It was thus a natural and necessary step for the Foundation to become involved in the reform process.

This involvement led us to adopt a dual stretegy of direct negotiation and innovative projects.

Although Government had abandoned the concept that the urban black was a temporary sojourner, this ideological premise was not readily jettisoned by those who had created the legislative, regulatory and administrative framework within which it operated.

Hard horse-trading followed. Clearly the granting of freehold tenure was the desirable, ultimate goal. But what was essential was a form of tenure which conferred defensible title.

What was on offer in the eventual departmental draft was not capable of conventional registration, not susceptible to mortgage (the duration of the lease was 20 years) and alienation was so restricted as to be practically valueless.

With the invaluable assistance of the building society movement, with whom we had and still have a very considerable coincidence of interest, Government was persuaded to commission a draft which incorporated the principles I have identified.

I suspect that history will identify the 99-year leasehold legislation as a true turning point in South Africa's history. Through this legislation access to our free enterprise economic system was conferred via the concept of mortgageable title, capital formation was made possible, exclusive dependency on the provision of state subsidised rental accommodation terminated and some freedom of choice conferred.

I have used this example because it demonstrates the unquestionable validity of the Foundation's role in the field of negotiation to which I am devoting so much of my own time.

Its objective must be to seek to enrich the capacity of decision-makers to determine issues in accordance with a balanced perspective and on reliable objective information.

It is my conviction that through its negotiating activities the Urban Foundation serves the public interest perhaps most profoundly.

Moveover, it brings a perspective into the process of decision making which is vitally important for good government. I am delighted to say that this is today also the perception of authority both at national and regional level.

As recently as four years ago the publication of potentially controversial bills affecting Blacks for public notice and comment was almost unthinkable.

Yet, Government, by doing this in October 1980 in respect of the three Bills which were to regulate the lives of millions of urban blacks, opened the way for positive interaction between Government and other interested parties.

What could have been retrogressive and potentially dangerous legislation, was averted and a process of negotiation and representation started.

This process continued throughout the various drafts of bills in 1981 and 1983. It is history and common knowledge that when the first two of these bills were eventually enacted (in 1982), they were fundamentally amended — in fact hardly recognisable when measured against the original drafts.

Instead of being oppressive and highly paternalistic, they offered new opportunities, scope for development and self-realisation to black urban communities.

The last of the three Bills, and by its very nature the most sensitive and potentially damaging, has been held over for more searching consideration. Having been intimately involved with the negotiations on these three bills, the Foundation can testify to the value of the process.

The public sector has come to realise that, to a certain degree, governing is the management of different interests towards the best compromise, and not the imposition of a single viewpoint on all parties.

We may not, and in fact we do not agree on all matters, but we have learnt to respect each other's premises and problems.

On this basis, I am convinced, the interaction between Government and ourselves will play an increasing role in the future.

This will, I suspect, be even more so under the new constitutional dispensation where the quest for consensus is an avowed objective.

That the Foundation has chosen to base its approaches on the principles of a free market economy is because we believe that this system, with the imperfections to which all human systems are subject, offers the best opportunities for individual development and self-realisation.

But above all, in principle it offers opportunities to individuals to gain access to our free enterprise economy and to use their *own* initiative and their own ingenuity to improve their lot.

We should never forget, however, the conviction which lies behind the Foundation's activities. That is the profound sense of injustice that is caused by institutionalised discrimination and the need to eliminate that injustice in our society. The Foundation is — and has to be — as businesslike and efficient as possible in its activities, but the commitment with which it identifies and addresses its tasks comes from a desire to see a more just society in which the worth and dignity of every individual in South Africa is recognised and preserved.

The Foundation totally rejects the belief that this violent confrontation is inevitable in South Africa. Our joint future — black and white — is not "predetermined." That future is being moulded and created now through positive action by determined people

Barend du Plessis replacing Horwood

Cape Times 29/6/86

304A

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Mr Barend du Plessis, the current Minister of Education and Training, will succeed Mr Owen Horwood as Minister of Finance.

And the Minister of National Education, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, will take control of the Department of Education and Training temporarily when Mr Du Plessis becomes Minister of Finance at the end of the parliamentary session, it is reliably understood.

The announcement on a successor to Mr Horwood, who yesterday declared his intention to retire, will be made today by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

Mr Horwood's retirement will end a 10-year tenure as controller of the county's purse-strings and follows increasing criticism of his policies from politicians, economists, bankers and business leaders in recent months.

Mr Horwood will also step down as Natal leader of the National Party, but will continue serving as president of the Development Bank of South Africa.

There has been strong speculation for the past year that Mr Horwood could be taking up a position with Nedbank.

Mr Du Plessis, who took over as Acting Minister of Finance during Mr Horwood's recent European tour, has had a meteoric rise in the National Party ranks following his election as MP for Florida in 1974.

The 43-year-old verligte "whizz-kid" was sworn in as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information in August 1982 and became Minister of Education and Training last year.

Authority

Mr Du Plessis lacks some of the financial background usually associated with such a post, but he commands considerable authority among his colleagues.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said of Mr Du Plessis: "He is a particularly capable parliamentarian and I wish him the best in his new post.

"I believe the task of the Minister of Finance will be one of the most demanding, given the needs of the new constitutional dispensation and the economic problems facing South Africa.

"It would be small-minded of anyone not to wish a minister of finance everything of the best with such challenges facing him," Dr Slabbert said. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

● More reports, pages 4, 5

SUNDAY MORNING

(304A)

SA may be running out of time, says Oppenheimer

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The national chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, said here on Wednesday night that the "undoubted risks involved in accelerating the rate of internal change are risks that ought to be taken".

Speaking on the future of the South African Intitute of International Affairs to commemorate the institute's jubilee year, he warned that time might not be on South Africa's side and a change of government in the United States or Britain would bring the "wise" policy of constructive engagement to "an immediate end".

He said that while the new constitution was regarded a "encouraging" externally, that was only because "it is thought of as the beginning of a process which will lead to power sharing on a reasonable basis with the black people also, and in particular with the black population in and around our large cities.

"Is that how our government sees the matter? Or do they regard the new constitution not as an approach to power sharing with blacks but as something that may make such power sharing unnecessary? I do not know," he said.

Mr Oppenheimer also warned that South Africa should not become over-optimistic or complacent following the European tour of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the "slight lessening" of South Africa's isolation.

He said South Africa's problems and "alleged misdeeds" were not as prominent on the international agenda at present only because it was overshadowed by the steadily deteriorating superpower relations.

He said that developments in Africa had also served to distract attention from South Africa's internal problems.

"Western powers are being forced by the facts of the case to re-assess their attitude to the new Africa. Western nations are increasingly concerned about the nature of their future economic and political involvement in the continent.

State of 'near crisis'

"The experience of Zimbabwe on whose future after independence in 1980 so many hopes had for no good reason been placed has had a particularly sobering effect."

He said the pursuit of Marxist oriented social and economic policies "intended no doubt as a demonstration of their freedom from colonialism" had combined in recent year with the devastating drought to produce a state of "near crisis".

The Soviet bloc had also shown itself unable or unwilling to help and Western powers had become increasingly doubtful about providing large-scale economic assistance "only to see their money wasted either through pure mismanagement or through the pursuit of inappropriate, politically inspired policies".

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In this context South Africa had been able to assert itself as the leading economic and regional power whose interests and policies had to be taken into account by her neighbours "whether they like it or not".

"This means that South Africa has great opportunities but these are linked with equal risks and responsibilities. Nor are all developments to our advantage. In spite of evident material benefits to Botswana, Lesotho and Angola through concluding non-aggression pacts on the lines of the Nkomati Accord, they have so far been unwilling to do so and the future course of events in SWA/Namibia is to put it mildly far from clear and a cause for serious anxiety."

Mr Oppenheimer emphasized South Africa's First and Third World characteristics and urged the institute to pay more attention to the problems of Third World countries and their relations with the industrialized world.

"In looking ahead we should surely be optimistic enough to envisage changes within South Africa which will break down the political barriers which shut us out from the rest of Africa and we are in a specially favourable position to understand and influence their mutual relationships."

 CAPE TIMES 29/6/84 (304A)

Horwood resignation letter

Political Staff

MR OWEN Horwood has resigned as Minister of Finance after 10 years in the post.

Here is the text of letters exchanged between Mr Horwood and the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha:

Dear Prime Minister, When several months ago I mentioned to you that I felt the time was approaching for me to think of stepping down from the Cabinet, you were good enough to say that the longer I remained as Minister of Finance, the better it would suit you. At my suggestion we agreed that I would remain in office until the end of the present session of Parliament.

The main reason for thinking that this was the appropriate time to step down is my belief that, with the discussions on the implementation of the new constitution now in their final stages, the person to be responsible for the financial side of things ought to take office in time to acquaint himself with the work of the department before the commencement of the historic September session.

Naturally, I should have liked to go when the gold price looked better and the severe drought was behind us, but those things will come about in good time.

It has been an immense honour for me to be a Member of Parliament, first in the Senate and then the House of Assembly, and of the Cabinet. Your own inspiring leadership, courage, imagination and high administrative standards will go down in our history.

The whole country owes you a lasting debt of gratitude. The success of your unceasing efforts to improve the relations between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking people in our land is but one — albeit perhaps the greatest — of your many accomplishments.

Among these I feel I ought also to mention your sustained striving for peace and prosperity in South Africa and in Southern Africa, the fruits of which are already apparent.

It is comforting and reassuring to know that in the great and challenging times ahead, a man of your calibre is at the helm of our affairs.

Helen joins me in wishing you and Mrs Botha and the members of your family great happiness and great success. May you be richly blessed in all your endeavours.

Yours sincerely and respectfully,

O P F Horwood.

The text of the Prime Minister's reply read:

Dear Colleague, With reference to your letter delivered to me today, I wish to reiterate what I told you personally during our discussion on your intended resignation from the Cabinet.

I have sincere appreciation for the public services you and Mrs Horwood rendered to our country. I am convinced that I can state this on behalf of the vast majority of our public.

Naturally, I still regret your decision to terminate your membership of the Cabinet. I do respect the way in which you took your decision.

Your served your country with dedication and loyalty. You had a most distinguished career at several universities in Southern Africa. You administered various portfolios in the service of the State with great capability.

As Minister of Finance you carried a heavy burden in the Republic of South Africa as well as at international financial conferences. But you did so with distinction.

I wish to express my appreciation as well as that of our other colleagues for your preparedness to continue serving as president of the Development Bank of Southern Africa. This institution is of vital importance to the stability of our sub-continent.

Please accept my appreciation for your kind remarks about my leadership. Without the support and loyalty of men like you and other colleagues no success will be possible. In this regard I also wish to mention your valuable contribution as provincial leader of the National Party in Natal.

Mrs Botha and I both wish you and Mrs Horwood and your family success for the future.

May God bless you as a family.

Yours sincerely, P W Botha.

(304A)

THE BROEDERBOND

A diminishing power base

From a powerful and feared secret organisation which heavily influenced all major decisions on SA's future, the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) seems to be becoming what a former senior member this week described as "a toothless lion" and "a club for so-called verligte elitists."

After the resignation of Andries Treurnicht, Conservative Party (CP) leader and former chairman of the executive council of the AB, all other CP MP broeders followed suit. The resignations were announced in statements by the party and are seen as a signal to all CP followers to quit. The immediate past chairman, Carel Boshoff, also resigned recently and is now chairman of the alternative Afrikaner Volkswag (AV).

It is not clear how many broeders have heeded, or will heed, the CP call. Some sources believe it could reduce the AB membership from its highest point of about 13 000 to less than 10 000. The verligte, or P W Botha, faction of the AB has always been bigger than the Treurnicht-Boshoff faction, mainly because the CP's and HNP's constituency is largely among blue-collar workers and the lower echelons of the civil service. The AB recruits most of its members from the Afrikaner elite — what it likes to call *die room van die volk*.

The consternation in AB ranks is demonstrated by the fact that at least two of its regional councils, those in the Free State and Johannesburg, recently held emergency meetings to discuss the crisis.

Die Afrikaner, mouthpiece of the HNP, predicts that most CP members will follow their leader out of the organisation. The paper adds: "Actually, it is tragic to see how the AB is dying bit by bit; indeed, this organisation has over decades played an important role in the life of the Afrikaner people."

It is worth examining the rise and decline of one of the most successful and effective secret societies of modern times.

The AB was formed on the Witwatersrand in 1919 to mobilise and inspire Afrikaners, impoverished and demoralised by the Anglo-Boer War and humiliated as "poor whites" by the rest of the white population in the post-war period.

In the first decade or two of its existence, it did a great deal to advance Afrikaner interests in economic, social and educational life. Some would say that it did much to rid Afrikaners of their collective sense of inferiority.

But as early as in the Thirties, the small elitist leadership of the AB began to realise that they could serve themselves while serving the volk. The AB became a secret and very exclusive organisation that usurped all Afrikaner cultural organisations and used them as fronts. (It is interesting to note that the AV also uses culture as a cover).

The AB was organised in cells and regions, and members of one region did not know the identity of members in other regions. Cells met secretly after midnight — wearing tuxedos. Members had to swear an oath, address each other in prescribed ways and greet each other with a secret handshake.

No one can apply to become a member of the AB. It is like an exclusive golf club where a prospective member's name has to be put forward for positive vetting. The opposition of a single member is sufficient to short-circuit admission to the club.

The AB helped start Afrikaner business concerns like Uniewinkels and Sasbank and systematically infiltrated the civil service, education, the media, churches and organised agriculture. It worked actively against Smuts and Hertzog — who, in turn, bugged its meetings and tapped members' phones.

Victory

The AB's big victory came in 1948 when the National Party won the general election. In the Fifties and Sixties, the AB was at the height of its power. The "think tank" of the AB designed basic government policy. Very few senior appointments — whether in the Cabinet, Parliament, provincial councils, SABC, three Afrikaans sister churches, civil service, defence force, police, sports bodies, schools, universities and colleges, Afrikaans newspaper companies, co-operatives, control boards or parastatals — went to non-broeders.

Never before in SA was organisational nepotism taken to such an extreme on a national level — except perhaps in Ciskei.

In 50 years, the AB achieved its objectives. The Afrikaner had secured a substantial share of the economy. He had achieved monopoly of white political power. But that did not seem to be enough. And that was the AB's undoing. Many prominent Afrikaners began criticising the organisation. Others resented being excluded.

In the Sixties, the AB took its first serious knocks when the *Sunday Times* obtained ultra-secret AB documents that had been in the keeping of disillusioned senior member, Beyers Naude. It is perhaps significant that Naude has been harassed ever since — and that he is still banned.

In the Seventies, a very senior broeder and Cabinet minister, Albert Hertzog, broke away from the NP to form the HNP. All the senior HNP leaders were expelled from the AB. Leaks on what was going on in the inner circles of the AB appeared more regularly in newspapers, and several books were written on the subject — with lists of members' names.

The split in the NP in 1982, when Treurnicht formed the CP, was the beginning of the end. It culminated in the resignation of the then chairman, Carel Boshoff, the founding of the rightwing alternative to the AB, the AV, and with the resignations of the last two weeks.

The split in the party weakened the organisation in another way. The NP has come to rely, willy-nilly, on the support of English speakers, who are perforce excluded from the AB.

Unisa political science professor and ardent AB-watcher Willem Kleynhans believes the AB has now become "fairly impotent," but that it is not about to become extinct. "As long as the NP is in power, the AB will have favours to dish out to its members," he says. Kleynhans does not believe that all CP members will leave the organisation — mainly because of the "fringe benefits" attached to membership.

Boshoff ... leading the alternative bond

Cape Times (30411) June 1984

Discriminatory laws: Probe call

Staff Reporter

DISCRIMINATORY legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the Population Registration Act and the Immorality Act should be re-examined by a parliamentary standing committee, according to a recommendation by a committee of the President's Council.

In its final report on the adaptation of constitutional structures in South Africa, the Constitutional Committee says these laws are "ceasing to be relevant as time passes and circumstances change".

In the process of creating a favourable climate for co-operation in respect of common affairs, and in a spirit of mutual goodwill, it will be necessary to look anew at hurtful and discriminatory measures, the report says.

A standing committee of Parliament should be directed to examine such statutes on a continuous basis and advise the cabinet on the desirability of adaptations.

The committee warns, however, that "this argument in favour of better inter-group relations must in no way be seen as approval of, or a plea for, biological mixing".

● The constitutional committee failed to make any concrete suggestions regarding the constitutional future of blacks in its report.

'Not excluded'

In a chapter on the position of blacks, the committee criticizes black leaders for refusing to co-operate with the government's plan for a "black council" and accuses them of "allowing a golden opportunity to promote white-black constitutional relations slip by".

The planned black council is cited as proof that blacks were not excluded from the new constitutional dispensation.

Blacks could not, however, be included in the same parliamentary system as that created for whites, coloureds and Indians, as this would lead to group domination, according to the committee.

The committee reports that "its virtually unanimous opinion was that a system of undifferentiated majority government, or what is generally known as 'one man, one vote in a single political system' would be impracticable".

The government's homelands policy, black municipal elections and the Black Communities Development Act "to provide for the purposeful development of black communities outside the national states" are listed as examples of how blacks have been catered for under the new system.

The committee emphasizes the need for negotiation with blacks but declines to elaborate, on the grounds that the special cabinet committee is already "actively engaged in giving its attention to the problems mentioned".

(304A) (~~105~~) (291) D Dispatch 30/6/84

beat

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Some shops reported a "definite upswing" in the sales of furniture and clothes while others said sales were at the usual month-end level.

The manager of a local supermarket reported that there had been "a fair amount of demand for large items like large tins of coffee and bulk packs of toilet paper".

Staff members at many stores will be burning the midnight oil at the weekend to reprogramme cash registers before Monday.

From Monday, the maximum price for a loaf of white bread will be 56c, and 39c for brown and whole-wheat bread.

A litre of milk in a carton will cost 67c and milk delivered to homes will cost 68c. — DDR

Sebe attacks Slabbert

BISHO — President Lennox Sebe said in The Assembly here yesterday that Dr van Zyl Slabbert's attack on the independent states exposed the man and the party for what they were.

What he had said was tantamount to comparing the chiefs and MPs with garden boys. He spoke like a schoolboy who had been made a prefect, President Sebe said.

President Sebe announced that the Ciskei delegation holding talks with representatives of the South African Government had reported that the deliberations were going well so far and that they had noticed a great change in attitude.

He said nobody wanted confrontation but if agreements had been made they had to be honoured.

Supporting President Sebe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ntandazo Pityi, said apartheid was never planned for the black man's comfort.

That there were seas of poverty and underdevelopment in this country was no accident. What was strange was that there were still a great percentage of white voters who felt that the "screws of oppression" were being loosened far too quickly, he said.

These people should be thankful to premier P. W. Botha's bravery and skilful leadership.

Mr Pityi said Mr Botha had dared to split the "renowned" Afrikaner secret organisation, the Broederbond, by the small step of accommodating coloureds and Indians in a grand apartheid design known as the tricameral parliament.

He said Mr Botha had inherited an unjust society and no amount of mudslinging from South African liberals would make any thinking men see him as an "ogre."

He agreed with Transkei's Prime Minister George Matanzima who had said he agreed with Dr Slabbert on the tragedy of excommunicating blacks from the governing process but differed when the PFP leader appeared to want blacks to revert to a status quo in which they had no say in shaping their destiny.

"How long shall the blacks be political football's of the whites in this country? How long shall South Africa endure to be the polecat of the world? How long shall the South African Prime Minister endure such ugly scenes of demonstration when he visits abroad? When shall the South African whites be big enough to see that the colour of a man's skin means nothing?" he asked.

Mr Pityi said no one in his right senses believed the salvation of blacks would come from somewhere else but it would come when the white legislators saw reason and that a black man was God's creation and therefore he should not be denied the good things of live.

"May that day come soon," he said. — DDR.

xempted foods

canned or bottled fish, marinated and pickled fish, bait, fish extracts and pastes, caviar and caviar substitutes, smoked fish, fish biltong, fish products containing less than 60 per cent raw fish and fish sold ready to eat;

- Fruit not cooked or treated, except for protection against perishing, excluding nuts, dried fruit, glace fruit, canned or bottled fruit, fruit jam and fruit juices;
- Maize meal, including super maize meal, sifted and unsifted maize meal, samp, mealie rice for human consumption but not maize flour,
- Margarine;
- Raw meat, including poultry, sausages, hamburger patties, steak and beef burgers but not canned meat, marinated or pickled meat, polony, Vienna sausages or frankfurters;
- Milk of cattle, sheep and goats, including skimmed and full cream milk, buttermilk, sterilised milk and long-life milk but excluding condensed or concentrated flavoured, sour, or sweetened milk and yoghurt;
- Milk powder obtained by removal of water from milk;
- Vegetables for human consumption which have not been cooked or preserved except by freezing, blanching or scalding but excluding canned and dehydrated vegetables; and
- Wholewheat meal.

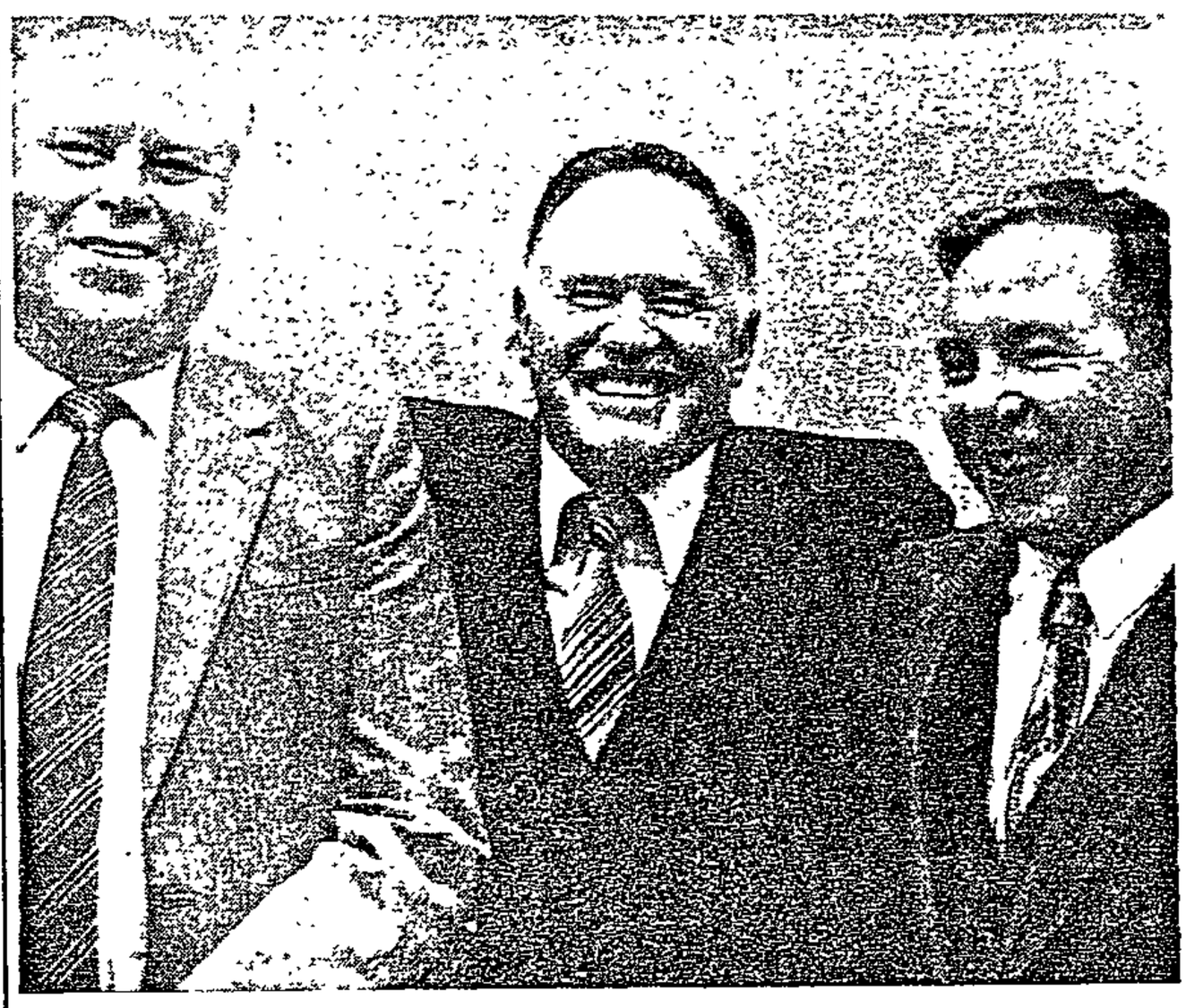
discuss adverts

three months.

Secretary of the Cape Law Society, Mrs I. M. Hoffman, said: "No concrete moves have been made in this regard. The issue is being discussed however."

The president of the East London Attorneys' Touyz, said that since his organisation fell under the Cape Law Society it was not within their jurisdiction to comment on the issue.

The debate is split between attorneys who are in favour of advertising and those who still see it as unethical, a local



Major Brown retires today

Major Warren Brown is retiring today after 36 years' service with the police. Highlights of Major Brown's career include playing a part in the solving of the Oppenheimer jewels case, personally arresting over 300 bag-snatchers while stationed in Durban, representing Natal and Eastern Province at service shooting and becoming one of the first members of the flying squad in Johannesburg.

Major Brown, who leaves his post as police press liaison officer for Border, will be leaving for a well-deserved holiday in Cape Town with his wife, Joan. Seen with two colleagues at a farewell last night: Brigadier J. Bekker (left) and Col J. Steyn.

The 'doctored' document . . . sinister overtones

(304A) Star 30/6/84

By Andre Meyerowitz
Political Correspondent

The Matanzima document — released in order to show that Dr Andries Treurnicht had once subscribed to the National party ideals he now so vehemently rejects — raises at least one major worry for all South Africans: are the private details of any of us safe in the hands of the State?

CAPE TOWN — There are profound and ominous overtones to the latest bust-up between the Conservative Party and the National Party.

The spectacle of the right wing and the far right clawing at each other's throats yet again would normally be boring.

But this time their argument involves something concerning the peace of mind of everyone in South Africa, whatever race creed or political persuasion:

Are details of any individual's personal affairs safe in the hands of the State?

Giving rise to the question is the pretty low trick the Nats tried to play on the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

They used an item out of government files to show that he was party to racial mixing five years ago, in the days when he was a Nationalist in a position of authority.

As a Deputy Minister, he allowed a black student — the son of the Transkei Prime Minister — to live at a white university.

In a cut-and-paste job on the relevant document, supplied (no doubt readily) by the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, Nat propaganda made it appear as if Dr Treurnicht granted permission whole-heartedly.

In fact, they cut out a vital part of the document in which the verkrampte Dr Treurnicht expresses serious misgivings.

Dr Treurnicht's own position was thus, in Conservative Party terminology, "falsified".

Moreover, personal details about the student in question (clearly identified as Mr L W Matanzima) came to be disclosed. He was shown to have achieved matriculation symbols of distinctly modest worth.

Going further still, an Afrikaans newspaper this week took up the matter in a leader-page item which trod all over civilised notions of university autonomy and questioned Mr Matanzima's academic suitability for admission in the first place.

Three things are, however, clear:

- A supposedly confidential document was used to smear Dr Treurnicht with the "crime" (as Conservatives would see it) of racial mixing.
- The innocent Mr L W Matanzima finds his exam results,

One MP expressed fears that details of race re-classification could be made public in National Party propaganda.

"What confidentiality can any Member of Parliament now expect on representations made to the Government ?" he asked.

What about details of marriages, or the pensions of little old ladies?

What if the Progressive Federal Party asks a bureaucrat for private documents to use in a propaganda campaign?

There is a mixed bag of legislation and practice on the confidentiality of information.

Under the income tax laws it is doubtful if the Receiver of Revenue will tell anyone what Joe Bloggs earned last year. The Department of Statistics, similarly, will not identify any individual in the information it publishes.

Word from the Department of the Interior is that its Minister has made it a practice not to disclose, even to fellow ministers, any details concerning individual immigrants.

The population register is supposed to be sacrosanct.

The civil service regulations prohibit an official from making known information acquired in the line of duty "without first obtaining the consent of his department head".

This may have been the clause under which Dr Koornhof found it possible to abet the attempted smearing of Dr Treurnicht (bearing in mind that Dr Koornhof is both a Govenment office-bearer which he gained more than five years ago and which he may well wish to forget, splashed in the South African Press.

- Ordinary citizens — you and I and our friends and families — may wonder with some reason whether there are devious uses to which details of our own private affairs may be exposed.

Opposition MPs have raised the issue in Parliament but so far there has been no definitive government statement assuring the public of confidentiality.

Dr Treurnicht — he allowed the son of a black Prime Minister to live in a white university.

and a National Party office-bearer).

The Protection of Information Act says, in part: "Any person who has ... at his disposal ... any document ... which he has obtained ... by virtue of his position as a person who holds or has held office under the Government ... and the secrecy of which document ... he reasonably should know to be required by the security or other interests of the Republic ... and who discloses such document ... to any person other than a person to whom he is authorised to disclose it ... shall be guilty of an offence."

But nowhere is there the assurance that an L W Matanzim can go forth free of the fear embarrassment — or worse.

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The P F P's Mr Colin Eglin has called on the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, "to make it quite clear that he condemns that kind of thing" which his party minions got up to in the Treurnicht affair, and for which they have probably been castigated.

But such public reassurance is still awaited.

Ciskei rejects Slabbert attack

BISHO — President Lennox Sebe said in The Assembly here yesterday that the leader of the PFP, Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert's attack on the independent states exposed the man and the party for what they were.

What he had said was tantamount to comparing the chiefs and MPs with garden boys. He spoke like a schoolboy who had been made a prefect, President Sebe said.

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That there were seas of poverty and underdevelopment in this country was no accident. What was strange was that there were still a great percentage of white voters who felt that the "screws of oppression" were being loosened far too quickly, he said.

Full report —

Govt retreats in row with LP

1/7/84 S. Times 304 A

THE LABOUR PARTY is likely to be allowed to go ahead and contest seats in both the coloured and Indian Houses for the August elections.

By BRIAN POTTINGER

This comes after the Government stepped back from a major confrontation with the party, which threatened to scuttle succesful implementation of the new constitution.

The Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act — centre of a fierce dispute between the Government and Labour Party — will be referred to one of the Standing Committees in the new Parliament.

The basic principles of the existing legislation mean no person may belong to a party comprising people of other races, no person may adress political meeting of other races during elections, and nobody could be an election agent for a different racial party.

Go ahead

In the meanwhile, the Labour Party will be allowed to go ahead and contest seats in both the coloured and Indian chambers.

The Government initiative represents the first significant victory of the consensus-style of government that the new constitution is supposed to embody.

It also heralds a last-ditch Government effort to diffuse the impasse created by the Labour Party's determination to field Indian candidates in the August elections in defiance of the law.

Officially, the Government is playing its cards extremely close to the chest.

Time factor

This week, Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Internal Affairs, confirmed the time factor made it impossible to present a final politics-across-the-colour-line Bill this session.

He revealed "interim" measures, which have a bearing on the Act, would be announced next week — it is believed on Wednesday.

It is understood the issue is to be discussed in Cabinet on Tuesday, and on Wednesday Mr De Klerk will call for a Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate the proposed revamped Political Interference Bill.

The Select Committee's activities would then automatically be taken over by one of the Standing Committees in the new dispensation, thus giving coloureds and Indians a direct say on a legislative measure affecting their lives.

It is understood, meanwhile, the Government is considering measures whereby the Labour Party can fight in both elections.

Good faith

The compromise reached this week, meanwhile, is likely to enjoy the support of the Labour Party, who believe they have already shown good faith by registering twice for the two chambers.

The Rev Alan Hendrickse, Leader of the Labour Party, has declined to comment on the moves until after Mr De Klerk has made an official statement. It is understood a meeting between Mr De Klerk and the Labour Party is on the cards for next week.

Mixed feelings to Govt-ANC talks

AZAPO: Mr Muntu Myeza.

UDF: Mr Popo Molefe.

By SAM MABE

BLACK leaders yesterday reacted with mixed feelings to a hint that the South African Government might be willing to talk to the ANC to discuss peaceful solutions to the country's problems.

The hint was made at the weekend by Foreign Minister Pik Botha while addressing a Press conference in Maputo, where he had gone to deliver a message from Prime Minister P W Botha to Mozambican President Samora Machel.

Bishop Desmond Tutu of the SACC said he would be happy to see talks between the Government and the ANC taking place, but not before the Government complied with certain conditions.

To show its bona fides, Pretoria would have to declare its commitment to an undivided South Africa. Pass laws would have to be abolished immediately, forced removals stopped, all banning orders lifted and a uniform system of education implemented.

opened a window to the diabolic fantasies "that inhabit the minds of the South African Government."

He said the country believed itself to be in a position of strength, hence its willingness to bargain with the ANC. He warned, however, that the Government was overlooking the fact that the ANC was not the only organisation in the struggle for liberation, and that it does not hold monopoly of the representation of black political aspirations.

Mr Popo Molefe, national secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), said Mr Botha's claim that his Government was willing to talk to the ANC was not genuine. He described it as the best public relations exercise and a Nationalist Party propaganda calculated to mislead the world.

If the Government was genuine, it would have to start by releasing Nelson Mandela from prison, scrap forced removals, reverse the Bantustan policy, the new constitution and the Koornhof laws "which have clearly been identified by the UDF as a recipe for conflict."

Warning

"Once those conditions are met, one could easily start taking the Government seriously," said Bishop Tutu.

Azapo released a statement in which it said the ANC would be committing suicide if it were to agree to "discuss whatever solutions with South Africa."

The statement further said that Azapo would itself be prepared to talk to the Government only if such talks were to centre around the transfer of land to its rightful owners, the return of all exiled organisations and persons, the release of all political prisoners and an end to structural violence like detentions, removals, pass laws and other dehumanising practices.

Mr Muntu Myeza, Azapo's publicity secretary, also said in the statement that Mr Pik Botha's statement

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, a dot appears next to each number in the telephone directory that has since been changed and in the front of the directory there is a list of the new numbers. But there is a very large number of people whose numbers do not appear at all in the previous directory. Therefore those numbers could not be held over. How on earth are we going to get those people's numbers known to the public in general?

Telephone directories

*12. Mr A B WIDMAN asked the Minister of Post and Telecommunications:

Whether telephone subscribers are required to accept a yellow page telephone directory with every white page directory issued; if so, why; if not, what is the procedure followed in the distribution of yellow page directories?

The MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS:

No; an adequate number of yellow page directories is sent to each distribution point where subscribers get copies together with their other directories unless they decline them.

Mr A B WIDMAN: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is he aware of the fact that at some post offices the officials are insisting that when one takes a new directory one must take a copy of the yellow pages as well? Because of that, people who do not want the yellow pages just dump the yellow pages on the doorstep of the post office.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have received no complaints of large numbers of yellow pages being dumped on the steps of post offices, but I can tell the hon member that it is not our policy to force the yellow pages on to somebody. The copies are there and they are informed that they can take one.

Perhaps the hon member will also desist from giving interviews to the newspapers and trying to suggest that we are wasting the Post Office's money by printing too many telephone directories and then quoting very selectively the number of directories we print and not saying how many were not distributed. I can give the hon member the figure. It is less than 0,4% of all the directories that are printed that are not handed over to the public. Perhaps that will help the hon member with his problem.

Mr A B WIDMAN: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask him when he is going to answer my last question on the number of telephone directories that have been printed and not distributed.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, if the hon member will look at his post he may find that it is already in his possession.

A Nugent

*13. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to the reply of the Minister of Internal Affairs to Question No 3 on 27 June 1984, the South African Police are investigating the possible presence in the Republic of Mr Arnold Nugent; if so, when (a) was the matter referred to the South African Police and (b) did the investigation commence;

(2) whether the investigation has been completed; if not, what progress has been made; if so, what were the findings;

(3) whether any action has been taken as a result; if not, why not; if so, what action?

†The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (for the Minister of Law and Order):

(1) Yes.

(a) and (b) On 2 July 1984.

(2) No. So far no progress has been made, but certain information is being pursued.

(3) Falls away.

Motor Vehicle Assurance Fund

*14. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Whether there has been a delay in completing the audit for the Motor Vehicle Assurance Fund; if so, (a) what is the reason for the delay and (b) in respect of which financial year is this delay being experienced; if not, for which financial year was the last audit for this Fund completed?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

Yes.

(a) Late submission of returns and audit certificates by members of the Consortium.

(b) This is a problem which has been encountered annually since the inception of the Fund. The last completed audit is in respect of the 1982-83 financial year.

Hansard Q. Col. 1897 4/7/84

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Registration of political party

*15. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

(1) Whether his Department has received an application from the Labour Party to register as a political party for the purposes of promoting the election as members of the House of Delegates of candidates representing that party; if so, when;

(2) whether the application has been approved; if not, why not; if so, when?

†The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes, on 22 June 1984.

(2) No, the application has been withdrawn this morning. This whole matter relates to a notice of motion in connection with proposed legislation which appears on the Order Paper for today, as well as with the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, 1968 (No 51 of 1968). In this regard I wish to announce that the Government has decided to propose that a select committee be appointed with the following terms of reference—

(a) in view of the successful functioning of the new Constitutional dispensation, to investigate the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, 1968 (No 51 of 1968) and other related legislation affecting the constitution of political parties and similar organizations and their participation in elections, and to report thereon with regard to reviewal, amendments or repeals of such legislation bearing in mind the spirit and principles of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983; and

(b) to investigate into and to report on the Second Electoral Act Amendment Bill, of which the First Reading will be moved today, with the power to call for papers and to submit legislation.

For the information of the hon members, I may further mention that the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, 1968 (No 51 of 1968), has already been assigned to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning since 1 November 1983. Notice of this has been given in Government Notice No 878 of 1983, published in *Government Gazette* No 8965 of 18 November 1983.

As a result of the relevancy of the last-mentioned Act and the Electoral Act, 1979, which falls under the Department of Internal Affairs, both Departments and Ministries were concerned with this matter on a continuous basis, and it was agreed to that both Departments and Ministries shall also remain involved with the activities of the select committee.

It is the intention to transform the select committee into a joint committee of Parliament as soon as the new Parliament has been established.

†Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, do I understand him correctly that this means that the Bill given notice of yesterday and appearing on the Order Paper today, will therefore not be proceeded with during the present session?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I shall introduce a motion tomorrow that that Bill, together with other broader terms of reference, be referred to a select committee.

†Mr B W B PAGE: Before the Second Reading?

†The MINISTER: Yes.

Voters

*16. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:

What total number of (a) Coloured and (b) Indian persons had registered as voters as at the closing date for registration for the purposes of the general elections in August 1984?

The MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

(a) In view thereof that applications which were received during May 1984 are still being processed, a final figure will only be available toward the end of next week.

(b) 425 966.

Number of Coloured persons/Indians in Republic

*17. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(a) What is the total estimated number of (i) Coloured and (ii) Indian persons over the age of 18 years currently resident in the Republic and (b) in respect of what date are these statistics furnished?

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(a) (i) 1 500 558.

(ii) 514 946.

(b) June 1984.

Certain officer: secondment

*18. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 16 on 22 June 1984, the officer concerned has at any time during the past 18 months been seconded to any other Department and/or agency of the Government; if so, (a) to which other Department and/or agency and (b) between which dates?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (for the Minister of Law and Order):

No.

271 Hansard Q.Col. 1900 4/7/84

Malebogo Location, Northern Transvaal

*19. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

(1) Whether the residents of Malebogo Location in Northern Transvaal are to be moved; if so, (a) why, (b) when, (c) where will they be moved to and (d) how many persons are involved;

(2) whether his Department has held discussions with any individuals in the Malebogo community regarding the proposed move; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) who are they and (c) what was their response;

(3) whether he or any member of his Department has received any representations from the Malebogo community; if so, (a) when and (b) what was (i) the nature of the representations and (ii) his response thereto?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AND OF LAND AFFAIRS:

It is assumed that the hon member refers to Mmalebogo's Location in the District of Bochum in Lebowa.

(1) No, not by the Department of Co-operation and Development. It is, however, understood that negotiations are taking place between the Lebowa Government and the tribe and tribal chief concerned with a view to co-operate in moving a few members of the tribe in order to establish a nature reserve, which will include a very sensitive conservation area with mist- and rain forests on the Blouberg. This is a matter which rests entirely with the Lebowa Government and the tribe concerned.

(2) and (3) Fall away.

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Cape Peninsula: squatters' shelters

Q.Col. 1901 4/7/84

*20. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

Whether officials of his Department and/or the Western Cape Development Board took any steps in respect of shelters of squatters in the Cape Peninsula during the period (a) 28 May to 14 June 1984 and (b) 15 June to 2 July 1984; if so, (i) what steps and (ii) (aa) how many shelters were affected by these steps in each case and (bb) where were they situated?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION:

(a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(i) Structures were demoloshed by officials of the Western Cape Development Board.

(ii) (aa) 111 structures during the period 28 May 1984 to 14 June 1984 and 912 structures during the period 15 June 1984 to 2 July 1984.

(bb) In the area between Nyanga and Crossroads and in the KTC area.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, in view of the fact that nearly nine times as many structures were demolished in the 17 days following upon the hon the Prime Minister's return to South Africa from his overseas visit compared to the number of structures demolished during the 17 days while he was away, could the hon the Deputy Minister tell us whether any instructions were issued to the officials, to the Development Board, to reduce or eliminate altogether the number of demolitions while the hon the Prime Minister was overseas?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: No.

*21. Dr A L BORAINE—Law and Order—Reply stading over.

327 251 Hansard

Security Branch: premises of certain company

Q.Col. 1902 4/7/84

*22. Dr A L BORAINE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any members of the Security Branch were present at the premises of a certain company, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, on or about 23 February 1984; if so, (a) at whose request, (b) why, (c) what action did they take and (d) what is the name of the company concerned;

(2) whether members of the Security Branch spoke to any (a) employees and (b) members of the management of this company on this occasion; if so, (i) to whom, (ii) why and (iii) what was said on each occasion?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (for the Minister of Law and Order):

(1) Yes.

(a), (b) and (c) They were not requested to be present at the

'Backdown' by LP a boost for De Klerk?

C-Times 6/5/89

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The ostensible backdown by the Labour Party in their dispute with the government, if nothing else, has probably added a new lease to the political life of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk.

In spite of the fact that the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was assigned to the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning in November last year, it was Mr De Klerk who found himself in the hot seat.

And he was quickly embroiled in a morass in which the government discovered it was on a collision course with the LP, headed by the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

In quick succession, the LP announced that it:

- Had admitted Indian members, which meant a blatant contravention of the Political Interference Act once it proceeded to register for the House of Representatives.

Mr Allan Hendrickse

Mr F W de Klerk

- Would also register the LP for the House of Delegates elections.

Mr De Klerk, in return, talked of:

- Minor amendments to the Political Interference Act which would retain its basic principles.
- The introduction of the Second Electoral Act Amendment Bill which would effectively have prevented the Labour Party from registering for both elections.

The stage, it would appear, was set for a classic confrontation. Mr De Klerk had to resolve the situation, and do so in such a way that it appeared as if a compromise had been reached. And compromise was achieved.

In the short-term, it would appear that the LP, in withdrawing its application for registration to contest the elections for the House of Delegates, has backed down.

But it has nevertheless won a significant victory in that it will not expel Indian members and will be putting up Indian candidates as Independents for the House of Delegates.

What this amounts to very simply is that it is being allowed to openly flout a provision of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act which states that members of one racial group may not belong to a party to which members of another racial group belong.

And in the longer term, the LP has achieved what amounts to a "declaration of intent" in that both the Political Interference Act and the Second Electoral Act Amendment Bill are to be referred to a Select Committee.

This in turn, under the new constitution, will become one of the new Standing Committees on which both coloured and Indian MPs will sit, which would seem to indicate that both Acts are likely to disappear.

However, it is difficult to see how the LP will, in the eyes of the public, not be seen to have at least compromised, if not backed down.

Not that this should effect their election chances, as any losses suffered by the LP are likely to be to the United Democratic Front, which will not be contesting the elections.

PM sees no demos in Bonn arrival

Cape Times 5/7/84 304A

BONN. — Strict security measures were taken to protect the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, when he started the German leg of his European shuttle yesterday.

Large-scale demonstrations were predicted for his three-day visit but when he arrived at Cologne/Bonn airport none were in sight.

However, as a security precaution Mr Botha's special jumbo-jet taxied to the Wahn Luftwaffe airbase, and stopped about 3km from the main airport terminal building.

After being met by the German Chief of Protocol and a Luftwaffe guard of honour, Mr Botha was whisked away from the airport in a helicopter, direct to the residence of the South African Ambassador to Bonn, Mr Niel van Heerden, where he will be staying.

The rest of the South African delegation and the press corps are staying at the Steigenberger Hotel, close to the houses of parliament and government offices.

● **JOHN SCOTT** reports that the question of petty apartheid and the poor international image created by such laws as the Mixed Marriages Act were raised during a meeting between Mr Botha and 32 of Germany's top businessmen yesterday afternoon.

The meeting, which lasted two hours, was closed to the press. However, it is understood that the harmful effect of racial laws on big-business contacts was one issue discussed.

On the whole the meeting was highly successful, with Mr Botha urging greater German business interest and investments in Southern Africa.

At present, German investment in South Africa is about half-a-billion rands and increasing annually by about seven or eight million.

To meet Kohl

Mr Botha will meet the German Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, for 30 minutes in Bonn today with only an interpreter and a note-taker present.

Tomorrow, in West Berlin he will lay a wreath near the Berlin Wall and visit the airlift memorial.

He will then return to Bonn and depart for Brussels on the next stage of his visit.

● Sapa-Reuter reports from Frankfurt that a bomb, apparently connected with Mr Botha's visit, exploded early yesterday morning outside a branch of the Deutsche Bank in Frankfurt's fashionable west end.

It caused damage estimated at 30 000 marks (about R14 000), a police spokesman said.

Slogans daubed on an outside wall of the bank protested against "Botha and other fascists and racists" and "Nato imperialism". Other slogans proclaimed solidarity with the "fight for freedom in South Africa".

The spokesman said police said the identity of the bombers was not known. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Thatcher's gift to Mrs Botha

From JOHN SCOTT

BONN. — The South African Prime Minister's wife, Mrs Elize Botha, has received a special gift from Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Britain's Prime Minister.

But Mrs Botha's greatest thrill on the European tour so far was the presentation of a diamond ring she thought she had lost.

Mrs Thatcher's gift to her was a beautiful Byzantine porcelain vase. Mr Botha brought it with him when he returned from his meeting with Mrs Thatcher at Chequers on Saturday.

Mrs Elize Botha

Mrs Botha did not accompany her husband to London but instead shopped for Swiss mementoes in Zurich.

She had been very downcast since her discovery on arrival in Switzerland that somehow a favourite ring consisting of three diamonds and worth thousands of rands had disappeared from her little finger en route from Lisbon.

So when the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in the presence of her husband and several officials, presented her with a package on their return from London, she assumed it was Mrs Thatcher's gift.

What she did not know was that technicians working on the interior of the touring party's aircraft, the Boeing 747 Matroosberg, had found the ring lodged under her seat.

Mrs Botha opened layer after layer of packaging. Finally she was down to an old toothbrush box.

"Who sends gifts in this?" she exclaimed.

Inside the box was more tissue paper. And in the tissue paper yet another box.

She opened it — and there was the ring.

"I was so excited that I kissed everybody in the room," she said yesterday.

Now she has swopped the ring from the little finger of her right hand to her left hand beside her engagement ring.

Elections: Labour change stand

304A

C Times 5/7/84

Political Staff

IN WHAT amounts to a major backdown the Labour Party yesterday withdrew its application to register for the Indian House of Delegates.

The Labour Party's decision to do so brought an end to weeks of controversy over the Prohibition of Political Interference Act which at one stage threatened to jeopardize the future of the new constitution.

In what appears to be a major compromise between the Labour Party and the government, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, announced that:

- The Labour Party had withdrawn its application for registration for the House of Delegates:
- The Prohibition of Political Interference Act and the Second Electoral Amendment Act would be referred to a select committee;
- The committee would be transformed into a joint standing committee once the new tricameral Parliament is established.

Compromise

On the surface it appears that a compromise has been reached.

However, there can be no gainsaying that the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has had to back down from the point where he stated he would not compromise on being able to register for both the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

Mr Hendrickse could not be reached for comment last night.

The Labour Party will however, according to one of its candidates in the August elections, Mr R Lackay, not expel its Indian members and will put up Indian candidates as independents in the elections.

Comfort

The Labour Party can draw comfort from the fact that:

- It is apparently being allowed to flout the Prohibition of Political Interference Act by having both coloured and Indian members;
- Both this act and the Second Electoral Act Amendment Bill in addition to related legislation is going to a select committee; and
- This committee is to become a joint standing committee on which coloured and Indian MPs will sit — and that should mean significant changes to the principles of

To page 2

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From page 1

the Political Interference Act.

Looking at the change from Mr Hendrickse's point of view, it is obvious that the government was not prepared to budge on its stand of not allowing the Labour Party to register as one party for both elections.

It is understood that the Electoral Act amendments which Mr De Klerk will introduce today will effectively tighten up the provisions of Section 38 to prevent the Labour Party from legally registering for both elections.

Mr Hendrickse was, it would appear, presented with a choice of either compromising and giving at least a nominal victory to Mr De Klerk, or reversing his decision to participate in the "new deal".

He chose the former, although the decision was apparently taken without the knowledge of his executive or the Transvaal-based deputy leader of the party, Mr Miley Richards, who indicated last night that the decision was news to him.

This in itself could spell trouble for a party which is already threatened by members dissatisfied with the way in which the party's candidates were selected.

The announcement by the Mr De Klerk yesterday apparently comes after concentrated negotiations over the past two days between government officials and Mr Hendrickse.

The United Democratic Front probably stands to gain most from the yesterday's announcement.

Those coloured voters who were still undecided on whether to give the government a chance or not, will likely view the announcement negatively and refrain from exercising their vote on August 22.

The other parties contesting the election do not appear to have the muscle to benefit from the Labour Party's changed stand, and, in spite of this obvious loss of face, the Labour Party should still secure a majority in the House of Representatives.

Bursaries/study grants
Q. Col. 2015 11/7/84

*20. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

(1) With reference to the reply of the Minister of Internal Affairs to Question No 974 on 15 June 1984, how many Black persons (a) applied for and (b) were granted bursaries or study grants to study at (i) universities and (ii) other tertiary education institutions in 1984 in the field of (aa) agriculture and the veterinary sciences, (bb) architecture, (cc) the commercial and economic sciences, (dd) engineering, (ee) quantity surveying, (ff) forestry, (gg) the geo-sciences, (hh) law, (ii) librarianship, (jj) medicine and dentistry, (kk) the paramedical sciences, (ll) the pure sciences, (mm) town and regional planning, (nn) social work, (oo) education, (pp) the administrative sciences and (qq) any other specified sciences or studies;

(2) how many Black persons holding such bursaries or study grants qualified in each of these fields in 1983?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION:

The Department of Co-operation and Development awards bursaries to its own Black officials and to Black students in social work who intend to serve outside the national states. The national states award bursaries under their own bursary schemes to other Black students.

Bursars who study in medicine and who commenced studies with bursaries from the Department will continue to receive such bursaries until they complete their studies.

(1) (a) Apart from the 536 applications received via the Commission for Administration another 1 265 applications were received by the Department of Co-operation and Development directly from individual applicants.

(b) (i) (hh) 5

(jj) 3

(nn) 15

(ii) (qq) 2 national diploma in state accounting.

No. bursaries were awarded in other fields.

The remaining 1 776 applications were referred to the various national states for disposal.

(2) (jj) 5

(nn) 1

Hansard

Development Boards: liquor outlets
Q. Col. 2016 11/7/84

*21. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 30 on 4 July 1984, he will furnish this House with the names of the (a) majority and (b) other shareholders of the business undertakings to which the liquor outlets concerned were sold by Development Boards; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant particulars in respect of (i) T Prins and C M Stydom, (ii) Duncan Village Liquor Store, (iii) Petrusburg, Liquor Hall, (iv) C J de Beer Maatskappy, (v) H W du Plessis, P Mofakeng and Partners, (vi) Columbo Liquor Store, (vii) A K Lolwane and Partners and (viii) J P R Mbau and Partners?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION (Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

(i) (a)	B I Mokoena	51%
(b)	T Prins and C M Strydom	49%
(ii) (a)	R L Ngwane	100%
(iii) (a)	R Mocwaledi	25%
	A Radithlare	26%
(b)	J S J Hugo	25%
	D J Terblanche	24%
(iv) (a)	J M Molutzi and M S Nchecke	51%
(b)	C H Fourie	9%
	J P Neser	9%
	R J Muller	9%
	H S Oberholtzer	9%
	C J de Beer	9%
	R J Reder	4%
(v) (a)	B J Hlakide	88 shares
	M W Finger	5 shares
	R D Matsiniane	9 shares
(b)	H W du Plessis	40 shares
	J A J van Rensburg	29 shares
	P M Vermaak	29 shares
(vi)	Tender not granted to Columbo Liquor Store but to D Shole.	
(a)	D Shole	100%
(vii) (a)	A K Lolwane and J P R Mbau	100%
(viii) (a)	J P R Mbau and A K Lolwane	100%

Hansard

Election: registration
Q. Col. 2017 11/7/84

*22. Mr A FOURIE asked the Minister of Internal Affairs:†

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 16 on 4 July 1984, a final figure is available in respect of the number of Coloured persons who had registered for the general election in August 1984 as at the closing date for registration; if so, what is this figure?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS:

Yes. 907 106

I wish to add that the final number of Indian voters for the respective electoral divisions has in the meantime become available. According to this final division of Indian voters into the respective electoral divisions, the total number of Indian registrations amount to 411 654. This number is 14 312 lower than the figure furnished by me in reply to Question No 16 on 4 July 1984. The reason for this is that during the final division of voters into the respective electoral divisions a further 14 312 duplicate registrations were traced and removed from the voters' lists. Mr Speaker, with your approval, the number of Indian voters in the respective electoral divisions will be tabled as an annexure to this reply.

†Mnr S S VAN DER MERWE: Sir, may I just inform the hon the Deputy Minister that there are still 10 extra Coloured voters for him. They are at present on the White voters' roll for Green Point!

ANNEXURE

ELECTORAL DIVISION	NUMBER OF VOTERS REGISTERED
PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE	
Malabar	4 283
North Western Cape	2 547
Rylands	4 121
PROVINCE OF NATAL	
Allandale	11 717
Arena Park	10 572
Bayview	10 080
Brickfield	12 088
Camperdown	9 354
Cavendish	12 954
Chatsworth Central	11 260
Clare Estate	11 634
Durban Bay	7 722
Glenview	11 654
Havenside	9 904
Isipingo	10 510
Mariannhill	8 966
Merebank	13 224
Montford	11 035
Moorcross	11 215
Natal Midlands	12 640
Newholme	15 154
North Coast	11 304
Northern Natal	12 339
Phoenix	23 264
Red Hill	11 942

ELECTORAL DIVISION	NUMBER OF VOTERS REGISTERED
Reservoir Hills	10 798
Springfield	12 566
Southern Natal	10 285
Stanger	11 827
Tongaat	10 518
Umzinto	11 217
Verulam	13 536
PROVINCE OF THE TRANSVAAL	
Actonville	7 683
Laudium	9 863
Lenasia East	5 660
Lenasia Central	5 538
Lenasia West	5 878
Central Rand	8 273
North Western Transvaal	9 744
Eastern Transvaal	6 785

Questions standing over from Friday, 6 July 1984:

Drug abuse problems

*1. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of Health and Welfare:

(1) Whether he has received any representations concerning drug abuse problems in the Republic; if so, (a) when, (b) from whom and (c) what was the (i) nature of the representations and (ii) response thereto;

(2) whether any of these representations were referred to him by other Government Departments; if so, (a) when and (b) by which Government Departments;

(3) whether his Department has taken or intends to take any action in this regard; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF HEALTH AND WELFARE:

(1) Yes;

(a) regularly,

(b) various persons and organizations,

(c) of a divergent nature and dealt with different aspects of drug abuse;

(2) yes;

(a) representations are received frequently,

(b) from various Government Departments;

(3) (a) and (b) the measures provided for by the Medicines and Related Substances Control Act, 1965 and the Abuse of Drug Dependence-producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres Act, 1971, are applied continuously. These Acts are reviewed at present so as to further improve control measures;

(4) no.

Hansard 11/7/84
Q. Col. 2020

Crossroads

*6. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of Health and Welfare:

(1) Whether his Department held an investigation into health conditions at Crossroads recently; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) what was the (i) nature and (ii) extent of the investigation and (c) what were the findings;

(2) whether any action has been taken as a result; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action, (b) when and (c) with what results;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF HEALTH AND WELFARE:

(1) No; it is the responsibility of the Divisional Council for the Cape. The Department, however carries out an overhead supervisory function and is satisfied that under the circumstances a satisfactory service is rendered by the Divisional Council;

(2) falls away;

(3) no, except that it is the duty of every medical man to press for the removal of Crossroads.

Dr M S BARNARD: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply and seeing that he is a medical man, why?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, because a medical man will realize that living under those appalling conditions is not beneficial to the health of anybody there or of anybody living near that area.

Dr M S BARNARD: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, did he not say before that the Department of Health thought the health services there were adquate?

The MINISTER: NO, I did not say that. I said that a survey was conducted by the divisional council.

Dr M S BARNARD: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, does his Department know what the health facilities at Crossroads are?

The MINISTER: I have said that under the circumstances the facilities there are adequate. I want to repeat that under the circumstances the facilities are adequate. I challenge the hon member or any other medical man to improve on it, including the hon member for Houghton.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, when last did he personally visit Crossroads to have a look at the conditions there? [Interjections.]

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have not been there personally as it does not fall under my jurisdication at all. I do not believe it falls under the hon member's jurisdiction either.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell what categories of diseases have a higher incidence in Crossroads than in Guguletu, Nyanga or Langa?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, that is a question which any intelligent member can answer for himself.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell us whether he has ever heard greater nonsense from hon members of the Opposition than the questions asked here this afternoon?

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply and on the assumption that he might be an intelligent member of this House, can he answer my question?

Hansard
Q. Col. 2022 11/7/84

Development Board: pension fund

*9. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Health and Welfare:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 31 on 27 June 1984, the Western Cape Development Board has applied for the approval of their temporary employees for the purposes of membership for the Temporary Employees Pension Fund; if so, (a) with effect from what date and (b) how many employees are involved?

†The MINISTER OF HEALTH AND WELFARE:

Yes.

(a) If the application is approved, from the date of such approval;

(b) approximately 1 000.

Importation of maize/wheat

*19. Mr P A MYBURGH asked the Minister of Agriculture:

304A FM 13/7/84

IMMORALITY ACT

Apartheid's domino theory

The repeal of Section 16 of the Immorality Act would set in motion a chain reaction that could affect just about every aspect of apartheid legislation. Government knows it too — which is why Internal Affairs Minister F W de Klerk's amendment to the report of the Badenhorst select committee considering repeal of the Act, instructed it to investigate "with due regard to continued social, educational and constitutional ordering of communities".

The moment sexual relations between whites and other races become legal, the first apartheid measure passed by the Nationalist government, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, becomes a dead letter. A government that proclaims itself to be Christian can hardly legalise miscegenation while prohibiting inter-racial marriage.

But repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act would immediately imperil the real cornerstone of apartheid — the Population Registration Act of 1950 which provides for the racial classification of every South African. The progeny of mixed marriages would make operation of this Act impossible, with individual families comprising members of up to three, or even more, different racial classifications.

The classification of people as black, white, coloured, other coloured or Indian is based both on descent and on criteria of appearance and social acceptance.

If the Mixed Marriages and Population Registration Acts go can Group Areas be far behind? This Act makes provision for the proclamation of specific areas where only members of a certain race group may live or own property. Even in uncomplicated, under-populated and under-urbanised Namibia, the concept of "grey areas" for mixed couples was rejected as impractical when the local application of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts was abolished.

But abolition of Group Areas would immediately impinge on the Reservation of Separate amenities Act of 1953. In the absence of race classification and separate residential areas it would become inoperable in practical terms.

Legislative props

Of course, the demise of the main legislative props of apartheid would soon begin to undermine the ideological and practical foundations of the new tricameral constitution.

Three ethnically separate chambers of Parliament would make less and less sense in the long run. A family could be made up of a white man, his Indian wife and their (presumably coloured) child. Each member of the family would be represented by a different legislator and be governed by a different set of rules and regulations. Even linguistically talented men like the CPs Connie Mulder would begin to have trouble defining *eie sake*.

That is government's dilemma. Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Piet Badenhorst says his select committee cannot improve the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts. They must either be scrapped or retained *in toto*.

De Klerk ... wary of the domino effect on apartheid

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a great deal of semantic dust was kicked up in Parliament over the issue. The dust should not be allowed to obscure two important points:

- A select committee, dominated by government members, asked for and got parliamentary approval to investigate the repeal of two of the most basic and hurtful apartheid laws;
- The overwhelming majority of individuals and organisations who gave evidence before the committee wanted the laws scrapped.

As the *FM* predicted earlier this year (April 6), the Acts do seem doomed. What is unknown is how government will deal with the "multiplier" effect of repeal.

It seems likely that whatever the select committee decides the issue will be referred to a joint standing committee in the new Parliament — where the coloureds and Indians will be able to have their say.

If government and opposition Progressive Federal Party (PFP) are already in agreement that repeal ought to be considered, there can be little doubt that a committee including coloureds and Indians will cheerfully help dig a grave for these laws.

The investigation by the select committee shows most South Africans reject the Acts. The overwhelming majority of the 79 organisations and individuals who submitted written evidence, and the 25 who appeared personally, were in favour of repeal, Badenhorst told Parliament.

Another significant aspect is that the select committee is to also consider "adapting other related legislation" if the Acts are repealed. That means in effect that the committee is probing apartheid *per se*.

304A

PARLIAMENT

The white era ends

There should be few tears for the political era which ends this week. Not before time, some will say, the last all-white SA Parliament is packing its bags. In the next session, the parliamentarians will be joined by ones who are not white.

All the pieces of the tricameral Parliament have been laid out on the board. Whether they will all fit together neatly is an open question — but change is rarely neat, and the potential for real reform could arise in unexpected ways as the new system gets under way.

Much that was praiseworthy was achieved by the white Parliament. But it also perpetrated a great many injustices. Above all, it symbolised a system under which a minority of the population grasped all the levers and benefits of power. It can no longer do that — entirely.

What replaces the white Parliament is a racial mish-mash — a legislature that is bound to be cumbersome, expensive and controversial. Whether it is workable, or whether it will confirm the worst fears of its detractors, is an open question. Yet it is a move towards reform; and reform, ultimately, has to be open-ended or fail.

As the University of Cape Town's Hermann Giliomee has pointed out, the new system stems from an attempt by Afrikaners to "try to find the secret of sharing power without losing control." As such, it is to be welcomed, despite its weaknesses, high costs and possible instability.

Given that no ruling class has ever been known to abdicate power voluntarily, the new constitution does represent an attempt to adapt to reality "without losing control."

In theory, the "new era" is to be a transition from *baasskap* to consensus. The sponsors of the new deal would like the world to believe that it represents a substantial broadening of the base of consent. The US government, for one, justifies its policy of constructive engagement in the affairs of SA precisely on these grounds. Western European governments are less sanguine about Pretoria's motives.

Their scepticism is shared by all who cannot accept the glaring omission in the new dispensation — the exclusion of blacks. In fact, the condition of blacks seems to have suffered a number of terrible reverses since the emplacement of the new constitution. The number of forced removals has increased. So have efforts to denationalise blacks — for the fragile pillar on which the new edifice rests is the theory that if there are no black South Africans, the new structure for whites, coloureds and Indians gains legitimacy.

Constitutionally, blacks will have been finessed out of serious contention in the common area. For those blacks in the rural hinterland, there are constitutionally separate homelands, "independent" or otherwise. For those in the metropolitan zones, there are feeble local structures with little or no financial viability — "boots without laces," as they have been called.

But it is also, as government itself agrees, the beginning, not the end, of the reform process. While ruling groups do not abdicate, the extent of their power can be whittled down through a slow accretion of adaptations and concessions, each of which spreads the decision-making power a little more broadly. Or they can be violently overthrown.

As Gatsha Buthelezi pointed out this week, violent revolution is not a viable option in SA — although there are those who will try to bring it about. Government, given the choice between maintaining the *status quo*, which could create the climate for confrontation and revolution, or adaptation, wisely chose to adapt.

In view of the political difficulties government faced, and its own ideological commitment to maintaining white (and particularly Afrikaner) self-determination, it is perhaps churlish to cavil at the fact that its chosen adaptation is imperfect.

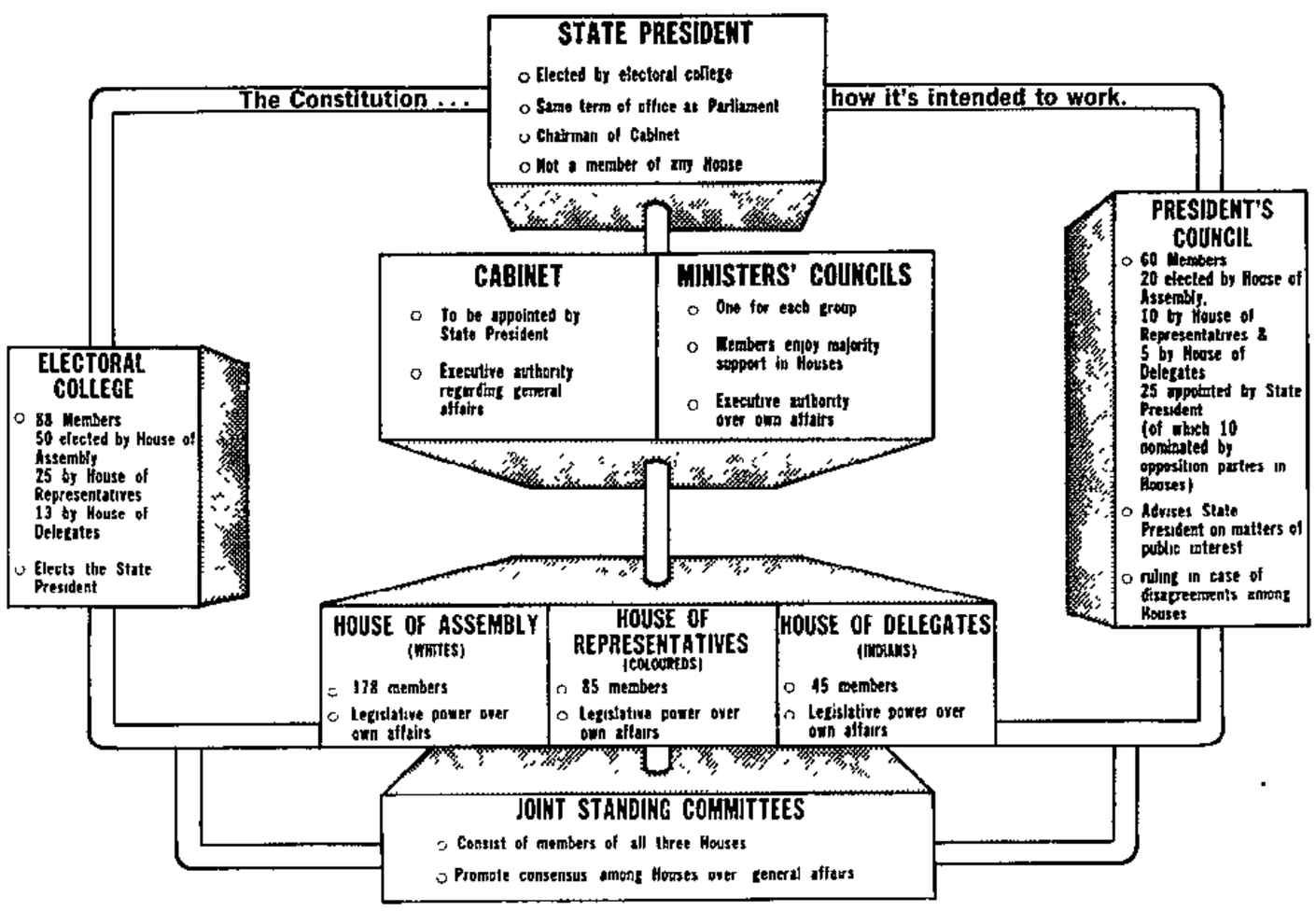
For all its imperfections, the new constitution will change SA permanently, and possibly in unforeseen ways. For the first time, it gives a toehold on power to at least some of those formerly excluded, and throws up obstacles in the way of those who would like to return to the lily-white *status quo*.

That said, it will not be an easy system to operate. The State President — almost certainly P W Botha — will have to conduct a political orchestra consisting of three ethnically diverse houses of Parliament which respond to differing constituencies. Coloured and Indian parliamentarians will be competing for the greatest possible share of political power and economic largesse.

Perhaps for this very reason, the constitution makes provision for government to continue in circumstances of parliamentary chaos. In particular, there are the extensive powers of the State President and the dispute-resolving role of the President's Council. If these powers prove to be necessary, many will recall with some nostalgia the open debates of the former Parliament. For, in its daily operations, the new constitution allows for much to be hidden from the public eye.

The various joint standing committees of the tricameral Parliament may do much to achieve consensus on "general affairs" between the Houses. But in circumstances where a political dogfight could be on the cards, the rules and regulations by which Parliament is governed will assume extra importance. For it is through these rules that the obdurate can be subdued and the mavericks controlled.

It is hardly surprising therefore that the parliamentary Committee on



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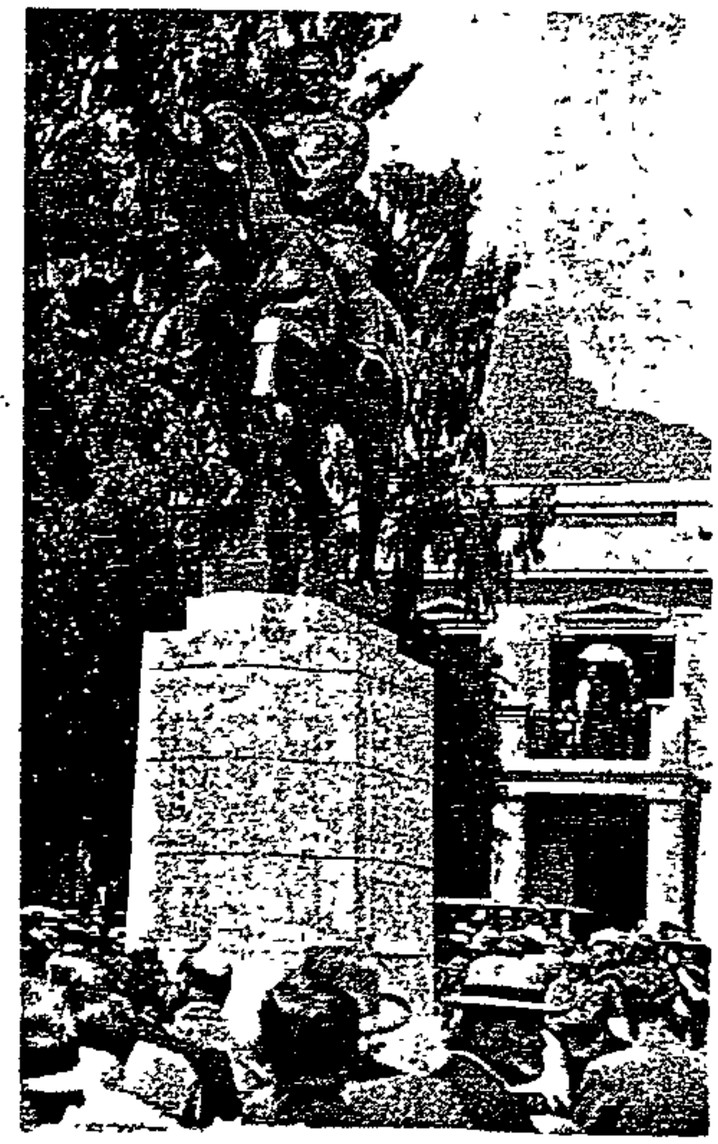

Old Parliament, patriotism, folk hero ... now for greater realism

Standing Rules and Orders includes the PM himself, the Ministers of Constitutional Development and Planning, of Co-operation and Development, of Transport Affairs, of Finance, of Foreign Affairs and of Internal Affairs — as well as the Leader of the Opposition, the government Chief Whip, the opposition Chief Whip and the leaders of the Conservative and New Republic Parties.

The committee has drawn up the draft Joint Rules and Orders (General Affairs) for the three Houses. This will almost certainly form the basis of the final rules governing procedural relations.

By and large, the draft rules are based on existing parliamentary procedures and on common sense. They do, however, make provision for certain controls. The possibility, for instance, of one or another of the Houses attempting to tie up the business of government by using extended debates to hold up financial Bills has been considered. Government has no intention of allowing that sort of filibuster: so the rules lay down the precise number of hours each House may devote to debating appropriation Bills.

Government has, of course, already insured itself against the refusal of any House to pass the Budget. In certain circumstances, the State President will have the constitutional power to do so by proclamation.

Having made the concession, in the Constitution Amendment Bill, that there will be more joint sittings of the three Houses than originally provided for, government promptly negated much of the value of that concession. Under the heading "Proceedings in joint sittings," the draft rules simply state: "There shall be no debate in a joint sitting."

The draft rules also seek to circumvent any procedural crisis that could arise in any House, or any standing committee, where general affairs are concerned.

Whether it will work as simply as government hopes is another question altogether. The unexpected can often happen when different interests are required to work through differing representative structures.

Referendum scene ... small beginnings

Government in SA is going to have a new style. Parliamentary sessions are likely to be shorter (probably between four and five months). Parliamentary standing committees, which will play an important legislative role, will continue to sit when Parliament is not in session. And the civil service is likely to grow larger.

Many matters are likely to be agreed by standing committees meeting behind closed doors before they reach the floors of the different Houses. A Bill sent to a standing committee when Parliament is not in session will probably be "deemed" to have been introduced in Parliament and to have been read for the first time.

The idea is to get the political horse-trading done privately — secretly, in fact. So it is only natural that whites who were comfortable with the existing system should regret its passing. Within the precincts of Parliament, they fought many memorable political battles. They twice declared war; once declared martial law; and passed the legislation needed to cope with national emergencies. The House also constructed the legal framework around which SA developed — including the intolerant apartheid and security laws.

But change is part of the essence of any realistic system of government. The latest is an adaptation to altered circumstances — a dramatic and potentially healthy one. When advancing interest groups clamour for a role in government, they have to be accommodated if the country is not to face

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conflict.

The will and integrity of the new parliamentarians will be under intense scrutiny. It cannot be otherwise, for many of them have already stated that they intend pushing against apartheid in a forum that counts. Government's dilemma, therefore, will be how to accommodate them while retaining its constituency. If it uses the veto powers it has written into law, it could face walkouts and a wholesale loss of credibility.

It probably can't afford that. But that may mean more give than take than Pretoria either anticipated or realised. Quite an early test will come when promised legislation on reshaping influx control emerges from behind the *verkrampte* doors of the Department of Co-operation and Development. Cabinet Ministers of colour are likely to balk at making life more difficult for blacks than it already is.

And the laws on group areas, "immorality" and mixed marriages — which are particularly hurtful to coloureds and Indians — are already under fire. If genuine concessions can be made, and the system can stand the strain, reform will become concrete. The alternative is a drift towards authoritarianism as the processes of government degenerate into factionalism and acrimony.

We hope it doesn't come to that.

OK BAZAARS

Poised to strike back

Within the parameters of a depressed economy, OK will have to fight a particularly rough supermarket price war. Although its performance last year was under par, improved marketing techniques should ensure that the company's profit slide has been arrested.

The immediate economic outlook for consumers and retailers is hardly encouraging. Interest rates seem set to climb higher yet, and many critical indicators are decidedly negative. With the authorities apparently determined to curb consumer spending, in the interests of long-term economic health, the supermarket chains could find themselves at the sharp edge of deflationary policies. This year, OK faces a severe test of its financial mettle.

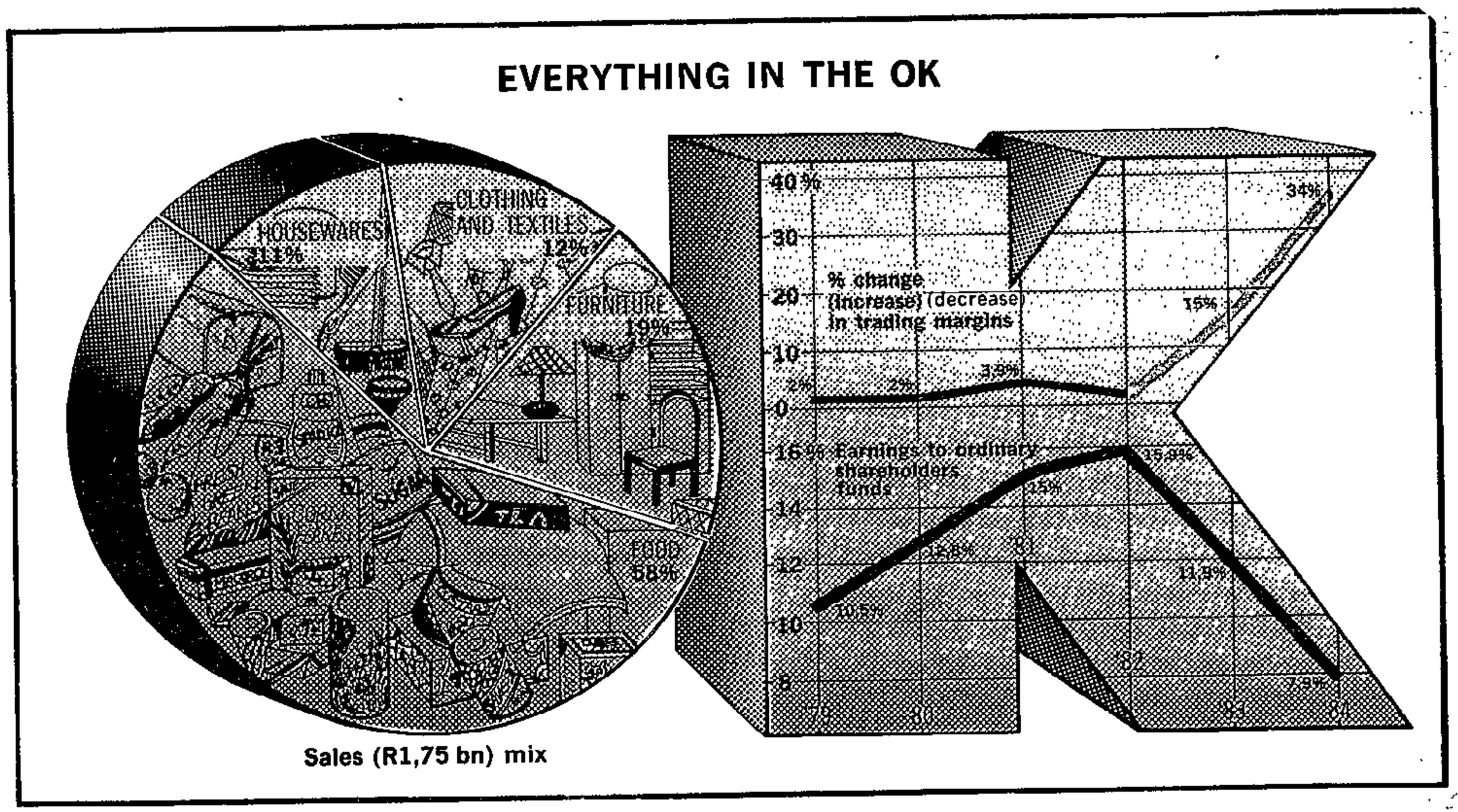
As it is, the company buckled under the strain of a cut-throat price war in the year to end-March, by which time its strategy of adopting a defensive stance in the marketplace had failed miserably. Sales in real terms — at 7,3% of the SA retail market — were static, and operating margins on a R1,75 billion turnover plunged from 4,4% to 2,9%. The directors slashed the dividend by 24% following a similar decline in earnings.

However, according to MD Gordon Hood, OK is changing its profile this year, and plans to increase market share through innovative sales techniques.

The July increase in gst to 10%, with the exemption of certain basic foodstuffs from the tax, has changed the rules of the supermarket price war game. All the big names are taking stock of the new circumstances. And although the wild consumer spending spree — in the run-up to the increase — is a thing of the past, OK stands to benefit from the change in levying gst.

OK's customer base primarily comprises the low-income and middle-income groups. The low-income group consists mainly of black consumers, which some analysts estimate provides OK with over 50% of its sales.

The discretionary income of the low-income group has actually been given a slight boost by the removal of gst on basic foodstuffs. Tax savings on foodstuffs should more than outweigh the increased tax on other purchases, whereas the opposite should be the case with the other income groups. The prospect, therefore, is that competitors such as Pick 'n Pay may well attempt to further erode OK's traditional customer base through attempts to draw off the low-income earners.



Prioriteite omtrent swart ontwikkeling

304A Rapport

19/7/84

Deur WYNAND MALAN, LV

DIE eis van swartmense om deelname aan politieke besluitneming spruit uit die behoefte om hul lewensomstandighede te verbeter. Dié toets vir effektiewe deelname is dan ook ongetwyfeld die mate waarin hul lewensomstandighede verbeter.

Hieruit kan 'n paar afleidings gemaak word — vir eers dat politieke mag nie 'n doel op sigself is nie, maar 'n middel tot ander doelwitte soos die verbetering van sosiaal-ekonomiese omstandighede. Die burgerregte-beweging in die VSA het hierdie begrippe omskryf met "groepstoestand".

Die tweede afleiding is dat die verbetering in groepstoestand vergelyk gaan word met dié van ander, naamlik die witmense. Swartmense gaan dus nie hul lewensomstandighede van die oomblik vergelyk met dié op 'n tyd in die verlede nie, maar al hoe regstreekser met dié van witmense. Die doelwit gaan word wat in Amerika bekend gestaan het as "gelykheid van die groepstoestand".

Ten derde kan afgelei word die wedloop gaan wees tussen swartmense se eis om politieke mag en die Regering se strategie om 'n model vir politieke regte vir swartmense te ontwikkel, gelyktydig met die opheffing van die "swart groep" op daardie terreine waar die eise hul oorsprong het.

Hierdie derde afleiding is die uitdaging waarmee die Regering gekonfronteer is. Mislukking met so 'n strategie kan 'n paar alternatiewe katastrofes veroorsaak.

Die swart eis om politieke mag kan al hoe militanter word met 'n gevolglike gewelddadige konfrontasie. Wat ook al die resultaat van so 'n konfrontasie, dit gaan bloedvlekke op die geskiedenis laat — ook in die letterlike sin. Magsoorname moet stellig uitloop op 'n sentraalbeheerde, sosialistiese ekonomiese beleid met al die veiligheidsrisiko's vir witmense wat daarmee saamgaan, en die ineenstorting van die ekonomie. Suid-Afrika sal nie net verarm nie, maar waarskynlik ook verhonger. Ons sal "deel wees van Afrika" in die mees makabere sin van die woord.

Dieselfde resultaat sal volg uit 'n onvermoë van regeringskant (hoofsaaklik blanke kant) om effektiewe politieke inspraak vir swartmense te bereik sonder om ook die sosiaal-ekonomiese doelwitte te bereik. Met ander woorde, dieselfde ineenstorting wat op die geweld-scenario sou volg.

● Wat moet die Regering se prioriteite wees en watter strategieë moet ontplooi word? — Allereers moet ontwikkeling op alle terreine gekoördineerd wees. Een doelwit kan nie ten koste van 'n ander nagestreef word nie. Een bestemming kan nie bereik word sonder dat die ander ten minste in sig is nie.

Brandpunt-kommentaar

'n Strategie vir die hantering van prioriteite sou m.i. die volgende rangorde hê (sonder om afbreuk te doen aan die eis van gekoördineerde uitvoering):

Ekonomiese politiek. Die sigbaarste vlak van ongelykheid is die ekonomiese toestand. Die armste swartman weet dat witmense in deftige huise woon en met motors, soms twee en meer, rondry. Hy ken nie witmense wat *nie* hierdie voorregte deel nie. Hy ken min, indien enige, swartmense wat in soorgelyke omstandighede leef.

Die najaag van 'n mark-ekonomie, van gelyke ekonomiese geleenthede gaan ons nêrens bring nie, omdat dit net denkbeelde is wat nie werklik kan bestaan nie. 'n Man sonder bene kan nie met 'n Olimpiese atleet meeding nie.

So ook het die burgerregte-beweging in die VSA van gelyke geleenthede na *affirmative action* beweeg, die erkenning dat 'n positiewe hulpaksie van owerheidsweë onderneem moes word om 'n gelykheid van groepstoestand teweeg te bring.

Die Regering sal nie hieraan kan ontsnap nie, maar die kanse op sukses is skraler as in die VSA, hoofsaaklik vanweë ons relatief armer ekonomie en die omgekeerde getalleverhouding tussen ryk en arm. Die strategie sal hom op die private sektor moet instel: vir eers om ontwikkeling te help, maar daarmee saam om werklik *om te gee*, om die opheffingstaak sy eie te maak.

Naaslopend sal die Regering nie minder moet bestee nie, eerder meer, maar 'n verskuiwing in die gebiede van besteding moet aanbring om beter opleiding, skoling en behuising te verskaf.

Politieke ontwikkeling. Vir die objektiewe waarnemer (by wie ek my nie insluit nie) is daar waarskynlik meer kans op sukses op hierdie terrein. Plaaslike owerheidsregering ontwikkel in die RSA. Die onafhanklike state wat uitgeskuif was, buiten wat geldelike steun betref, word weer nader getrek. Die gevoel groei van medeverantwoordelik te wees vir en teenoor daardie mense. Gesprekke vind plaas tussen die Spesiale Kabinetskomitee en leiers van nasionale state.

Tog kry 'n mens die gevoel dat die gespreksforum nie ideaal is nie, veral omdat dit met groot tussenposes plaasvind. As in ag geneem word dat die kernopdrag van bestaande politieke regte van swartmense slaan op diegene buite die nasionale state, sal die Kabinetskomitee 'n strategie moet bedink vir meer deurlopende gesprek en ook met meer gespreksgenote.

Dit sou m.i. ook wenslik wees om reeds informeel op al hoe meer terreine van gemeenskaplike belang met swartmense konsensus te soek vir uiteindelike regeringsbesluite, -optrede en algemene beleid.

Ek sou wou waarsku teen model-eksperimentering. Dit sou beter wees om ad hoc-gesamentlike besluite te formuleer wat as regeringsbesluite bekend gemaak kan word — wat inderdaad ook regeringskeuses is. Ad hoc-oorleg en -besluitneming kan in 'n patroon inval wat vir 'n latere model rigtinggewend kan wees.

Op informele wyse kan 'n grondwet ontwikkel wat die algemene politieke organisasie kan word om uiteindelik net "afgekondig" te word.

Ons kan maar die futiele debat van aanvaarbare en onaanvaarbare klassieke modelle staak . . . en voel-voel ons eie tuisgemaakte model ontwikkel. Ons moet 'n orde êrens vind wat daarin lê dat alle groepe effektiewe politieke deelname sal hê — wat nie net eise om verbeteringe nie, maar ook eise om instandhouding sal bevredig. Modelle daarvoor staan nie op 'n rak om net afgehaal te word nie.

SAIC boss calls it quits

304A

Cape Times 15/7/84

THE NATIONAL Peoples' Party has been given a devastating blow in the run-up to the House of Delegates elections by the resignation of SA Indian Council chairman E V Mahommed.

Mr Mahommed, a Maritzburg civic and political leader, was one of the leading figures in the NPP and had already been named as the party's candidate in the Allandale constituency.

It is not certain what Mr Mahommed intends doing now that he has resigned from the NPP, but he has indicated that he would remain active in politics.

It is rumoured he may join Solidarity.

In a telex sent to NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi this week, Mr Mahommed said he and some colleagues had formed the NPP when the Indian community had to make a decision about taking part in the SAIC elections.

Now that the life of the SAIC had come to an end, he felt the work of the NPP had been done and accordingly tendered his resignation.

The loss of Mr Mahommed is a severe setback for the NPP.

Political comment in this issue by P Selwyn-Smith and P Qoboza, newsbills by P Selwyn-Smith, and headlines and sub-editing by D Niddrie, all of 62 Eloff St Ext, JHB.

S. Tribune 15/7/84 (304A)

Confusion!

The terrible truth about the Nationalists' new Constitution

By PETER MANN, Political Correspondent

THE new three-chamber Parliament is only seven weeks away — but the Government is totally confused about how it will work.

Seventy-four years of Westminster-style government ended in the early hours of Friday 13, with the longest session of Parliament since World War 2.

And the Government suspended Parliament's normal rules to ram through legislation which is bound to be unacceptable to its new coloured and Indian partners.

Its actions meant it does not have to find consensus on the legislation in the new Parliament.

Simultaneously, Cabinet ministers were arrogating to themselves more power so they can cope with the new system — a step which has led to Opposition claims that they are violating democracy.

There is still confusion about:

☐ The new parliamentary buildings and where the coloured and Indian chambers will sit;

☐ MP's rights in joint debate, and the functioning of the Standing Committees, which are central to the entire system;

☐ Where the Standing Committees, which function while Parliament is not in session, will sit — and where MPs of colour will live if they sit in Pretoria;

☐ And the way Parliament will deal with the Budget.

In addition, nobody has yet said how much the Constitution is going to cost the country.

Nor have we been told where Indian MPs will live in Cape Town. There is also confusion about where coloured and Indian Cabinet ministers will live.

In one of the most extraordinary debates Parliament has ever seen, on the Standing Rules and Orders which will govern the new Parliament, the Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, was finally forced to admit: "None of us knows how the new dispensation is going to work. No-one can say it will be a success."

But he added: "With cooperation it can succeed. We want to draw minorities closer to us, not push them away."

In the new Parliament:

☐ Indian MPs will find themselves working hardest. With only 45 members, each MP will have to serve on an average of three Standing Committees in addition to their other duties as MPs;

☐ MPs in all three chambers will be allowed to ask questions only once a week, instead of twice as at present. In addition they will now have between 11 and 17 days' notice of a question for oral reply instead of the present three to seven days;

☐ Debate on the Budget votes — traditionally a political free-for-all when Cabinet ministers face sharp criticism of their administration — may be held in secret with no the Press access;

☐ The three chambers will be allowed to sit together to listen to a speech by a Cabinet minister, but will have to go their separate ways to debate it and take a decision.

This has led to the absurd position that no one knows whether an MP listening to such a speech will be allowed to interject, or even talk to his neighbour; a situation seen as "absolutely laughable" by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, this week;

☐ Hansard, the official record of debate in Parliament, will not be published simultaneously in English and Afrikaans as at present because Parliament does not have the staff or the money to do so.

This is going to cause immense hardship for MPs, especially Indians, who may not speak Afrikaans;

☐ And opposition MPs of all three colours will find themselves continually thwarted by rules designed to favour the majorities in each house.

Two examples of this are that opposition MPs are excluded from the Electoral College which chooses the State President, and they have little role in the Standing Committees which are deemed to have reached "consensus" when the three majority parties represented in them agree.

MPs were shown the plans for the new parliamentary buildings for the first time this week.

They sparked an immediate row. Conservative Party Chief Whip Jan Hoon noted there is to be a new chamber for joint sittings.

"It has 352 seats with green benches like we have in Parliament. But the new plan makes provision for only 308 white, coloured and Indian MPs.

"Who are the other 44 seats for? The black representatives?" Mr Hoon asked.

He challenged Mr Schoeman to say categorically that blacks would never be allowed to sit with whites, coloureds and Indians. Mr Schoeman sat silent, but later said this was not Government policy.

The CP hammered the Government, saying it had first been told the Indians would sit in Natal, the coloureds in Bellville, and the white Parliament would remain sacrosanct.

Now the coloureds were to sit in the old Senate Chamber.

Opposition Leader Slabbert hammered the procedure to be followed in the Standing Committees.

The Government has decided that a Standing Committee will be three committees, one from each chamber sitting together.

In terms of the rules the committees will have found "consensus" on legislation to be submitted to Parliament when the majority parties represented on them agree.

Dr Slabbert maintains consensus will be wrecked by this system. "It is a false consensus, not between political views but between the majority parties of racially classified Parliaments. It locks out all the minority groups and builds in domination," he told Parliament.

Mr Schoeman's only defence against the Opposition criticism this week was to say that things would be amended if they proved impractical when the new system began operating.

The PFP's Harry Schwarz, summing up the situation, said: "It is utterly ludicrous, quite ridiculous and an absurdity."

Argus 16/7/84 (304A)

Baster leader to support PCP in elections

Staff Reporter

CHIEF Jonas Daries, head of the Baster people in Namaqualand, has announced his support for the People's Congress Party in the August 22 coloured elections, the PCP leader, Mr Peter Marais, said today.

The Basters are an offshoot of the Griqua people whose two rival leaders, Mr Andrew le Fleur and Mr Eric le Fleur, have also supported the PCP.

Mr Marais said he had succeeded in uniting the two Le Fleur factions of the Griquas and now intended to reconcile the Basters who had broken away from the Griquas.

MASS RALLY

Mr Marais said he intended holding a rally of Griqua and Baster people in the near future to cement their solidarity.

He said there were 120 000 Griquas and 40 000 Basters and between the two could control 20 of the 80 elected seats in the House of Representatives.

Mr Marais said a split in the Labour Party was imminent in the Free State while 16 Labour members in Atlantis had joined the PCP.

However, Mr Fred Peters, Labour Party secretary, said Mr Marais was "talking through his hat". He said people resigning from the party included those who had not even submitted applications to be nominated.

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

(304A) Star 16/7/84

Hendrickse vows to have two Acts repealed

GEORGE — The Labour Party would see that the Mixed Marriages Act and section 16 of the Immorality Act were repealed, the party's leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said at the weekend.

He was addressing a rally attended by about 700 people at which the party's Southern Cape election campaign was launched. Mr Hendrickse:

- Vowed never to ask anyone who wished to join the Labour Party what his race was;
- Called for the release of Nelson Mandela.
- Accused the United Democratic Front of using young people as "cannon fodder".
- Challenged Dr Allan Boesak to fight the election.
- And compared the coloured people's struggle with that of the Afrikaner.

On the two Acts, he said it was a great scandal "that a Government which calls itself Christian can have these Acts on the statute books".

Slamming People's Congress Party leader Mr Peter Marais, who had said the legislation should be retained to protect coloured women from exploitation by white men, Mr Hendrickse asked, "are our people so weak they need a law to protect them from the white man?"

He said the Government ultimately had to threaten to amend the Electoral Act to prevent the LP from registering for both elections. He said it would not stop the LP from putting up Indian candidates because his party did not ask what a man's race was before making him a party member.

He launched a blunt attack on the UDF.

(Report by P Cull, 19 Baakens St, Port Elizabeth.)

Political comment in this issue by H W Tyson; headlines and posters by M Poikinghorne; cartoons by A Berry, D Fedler and K Smith; all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Rajbansi vows: we'll bring blacks into political system

By Gary van Staden, Political Staff

"Once in Parliament we intend to change South Africa, we intend to bring the black majority into the system and are not abandoning our disfranchised friends."

This was the message last night of Mr Amichand Rajbansi. He was addressing a tricameral election meeting in Laudium, near Pretoria.

Mr Rajbansi said that his National People's Party rejected the new constitution but that "rejection need not be boycott".

The meeting was "by invitation only" and tight security kept a strong United Democratic Front and Azapo contingent out of the hall.

No incidents were reported.

Inside the hall, Mr Rajbansi told about 400 people that he had rejected the Constitution from the outset and had demanded that it be placed before the Indian community via a referendum.

"We insisted on a Bill of Rights and a Government declaration that all discriminatory legislation would be removed from the statute books before we could support the new constitution. When this was not forthcoming, we demanded a referendum," he added.

Mr Rajbansi said that this demand had been ignored because at that stage there was no plan to hold a referendum for any group.

"Later the Solidarity Party (a rival for seats in the House of Delegates) convinced the Government that a referendum would be waste of time and money," Mr Rajbansi said.

"We were far from happy with the situation but once the white electorate had given the new Constitution the go-ahead, we were forced to make a choice.

"We could follow the path of boycott, or we could participate while making it clear that we still rejected the plan," he added.

He said that the correct tactics consisted of a mixture of boycott and negotiation.

"Do not underestimate the determination of the white man to stay in this country. Confrontation will not succeed," he said.

He asked that no judgment be passed on him or his party now. "Wait until you see how we perform first," Mr Rajbansi said.

He pointed out that the combined votes of the House of Delegates, the House of Representatives (coloureds), and the PFP in the white House of Assembly, was sufficent to defeat a Government motion in spirit if not in law.

"I know the system will not operate on such a combination of votes and that the President's Council can overrule us. But, ask yourself this: how many times can the President's Council overrule us while the whole outside world is watching and waiting for change?" Mr Rajbansi said.

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

NATIONAL

Argus 17/7/84 (304A)

Labour candidates named

Staff Reporter

THE Labour Party, likely to be the only party to contest all 80 seats in the election for the house of representatives on August 22, has completed its list of candidates. They are:

CAPE: Mr P Hendrickse (Addo), Mr A E Poole (Belhar), Mr W J Dietrich (Bethelsdorp), Mr G M E Carelse (Berg River), Mr N M Isaacs (Bishop Lavis), Mr P C McKenzie (Bonteheuwel), Mr D Adams (Bokkeveld), Mr P Mopp (Border), Mr L J Hollander (Britstown), Mr J J Swartz (Dal Josaphat), Mr L C Abrahams (Diamant), Mr E P C Buis (Diaz), Mr J D Swigelaar (Dysseldorp).

Mr P J Kleinsmidt (Elsies River), Mr J D Johnson (Esselen Park), Mr F L Erasmus (Gelvandale), Mr N J Padiachy (Genadendal), Mr J G van den Heever (Grassy Park), Mr I Essop (Griqualand West), Mr C A Green (Haarlem), Mr K H Lategan (Hanover Park), Mr J B Krieger (Hantam), Mr A Adriaanse (Hawston), Mr N D Thomas (Heideveld).

Mrs C S Sweetland (Karee), Mrs J Pilcher (Kasselsvlei), Mr A Stanley (Liesbeeck), Mr C B Herandien (Macassar), Mr A Williams (Mamre), Mr R J Lackay (Manenberg), Mr V Sass (Matroosfontein), Mr R D Williams (Mid-Karoo), Mr L T Landers (Mitchell's Plain).

Mr L J Jenneke (North Cape), the Rev A A Julies (Kalahari), Mr S Essop (Nuweveld), Mr R O'Reilly (North East Cape), Mr W B Pieterse (Ottery), Mr F G Herwells (Outeniqua), Mr D M Curry (Pniel), Mr B J Andrews (Rawsonville), Mr J W Christians (Ravensmead), Mr H P Ross (Rietvlei), Mr G N Morkel (Retreat), the Rev P Klink (Riversdale), Mr W J Meyer (Robertson).

Mr D R Redcliffe (Schauderville), Mr F E Peters (Silvertown), Mr M Friedberg (Springbok), Mr G A Links (Steinkopf), Mr P Harris (Strandfontein), Mr C H Ebrahim (South Cape), Mr P S Harmse (Suurbraak), the Rev H J Hendrickse (Swartkops), Mr J C Oosthuizen (Swartland), Mr M D Arendse (Table Mountain), Mr C Koeberg (Visrivier), Mr P Meyer (Vredendal), Mr M H Swartz (Upington), Mr C Wyngaardt (Wupperthal).

TRANSVAAL: Mr P S Jacobs (Alra Park), D D Nieuwenhoudt (Bosmont), Mr L Dewrance (Eersterus), Mr D Mateman (Eldorado Park), Mr A E Reeves (Klipspruit-West), Mr G R Wessels (Newclare), Mr J J A Smith (Northern Transvaal), Mr J A Rabie (Reiger Park), Mr S K Louw (Rust-Ter-Vaal), Mr I Richards (Toekomsrus).

FREE STATE: Mr P T Saunders (Eastern Free State), Mr B Grobbler (Heidedal), Mr G J Macalagh (Opkoms), Mr G L Leeuw (Southern Free State), Mr G Rooskrans (Western Free State).

NATAL: Mr C J Kippen (Durban Suburbs), Mr D C Young (Greenwood Park), Mr E D Dunn (Natal Interior), Mr M R Lewis (Natal Mid-east), Mr T Abrahams (Wentworth).

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

'Ignore doom prophets' call to voters

304A

Mercury Reporter

THE People's Congress Party's Natal election campaign was launched at Wentworth last night with an appeal to coloureds by provincial leader Morris Fynn to ignore 'the prophets of doom' and exercise their vote on August 22.

'For far too long whites had been deciding everything for us, but now the House of Representatives provides us with the much-needed channel to be heard.

'We have every confidence we will, if elected, set the pace for dismanting racial discrimination,' he said, adding the party was opposed to racially discriminatory laws.

He said it was an accepted fact that the new constitution had many shortcomings, but it was also a step toward the building of a new South Africa.

Lashed at Labour

A company director, businessman and farmer, Mr Fynn will contest the Wentworth and southern-districts seat for the House of Representatives.

Other Natal PCP candidates also announced last night are Mr Allan Fynn, an engineering construction foreman, Greenwood Park and Sparks Estate; Mr Sydney Bond, also a construction foreman, Natal Interior, Zululand and East Griqualand; Mr Hugh Baxter, businessman, Pietermaritzburg and Harding; and Mr Peter Marcus, insurance consultant, Natal Mid-East and Marriannridge.

The party's Eastern Cape provincial leader, Mr Abdul Wahab Tiry, who left Durban for home last night, has been tipped to fight Labour Party leader Alan Hendrickse for the Cape seat of Swartkop.

In an interview, Mr Tiry lashed out at Labour, describing its desire to field Indian candidates in the House of Delegates as a 'political ploy'.

He said: 'The coloured housing shortage in the Swartkop electoral division is shocking and Labour's record at finding roofs over the heads of homeless families has been dismal.'

(Report by N Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

KwaZulu impresses Solidarity man

Mercury 17/7/84

Mercury Reporter

A SOLIDARITY candidate for the House of Delegates, Mr Siripal Ramphal, says he is impressed with the way KwaZulu is developing — and he hopes to use the House to press for similar progress for Indians.

As a member of the South African Indian Council, he had rejected the new constitution at first and had opposed Indian participation in the new parliament.

'I changed my mind after visiting Ulundi,' he said in an interview yesterday.

Mr Ramphal said he was was impressed with the new KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and was 'heartened' by modern earthmoving and agricultural equipment being placed at the disposal of Zulu communities.

'Here I am at Graves End, just outside Umkomaas, battling for years to get the authorities to build proper roads in our farming areas.

Roads

'Across the Umkomaas River, within sight of my homested, I see roads and terraces in KwaZulu areas being developed with Government equipment.

'Is it any wonder, then, that I should decide to abandon rejection of the Government's offer of a parliamentary chamber for my community and offer myself as a candidate in the coming elections?'

Mr Ramphal, who is also president of the Natal Indian Agricultural Union, said he had met KwaZulu Cabinet ministers, Assembly members and Government officials and was inspired by their dedication and desire to uplift Zulus in the face of adverse conditions.

He also had 'great admiration' for KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, for the leadership he was giving.

'However, Indian farmers all over the country are also yearning for more land, more opportunities and better facilties and I feel the House of Delegates, if properly used, can achieve results for my community,' Mr Ramphal said.

(Report by N Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

ELECTION NEWS

Sowetan 19/7/84 (304A)

NIC urges boycott

THE NATAL Indian Congress has stepped up its campaign for a boycott of the coming House of Delegates elections.

The NIC plans to hold two meetings this week, the first in Pietermaritzburg today and a rally in Port Shepstone on Sunday.

The speakers at the second meeting will be Professor Fatima Meer, Mr Mewa Ramgobin and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Billy Nair.

Dr Farouk Meer, an NIC executive member, said the NIC also planned to step up its costly and sophisticated advertising campaign which was designed to show the flaws in the new constitution and the dangers of supporting participation.

News by M Robertson, 85 Field Street, Durban.

Mercury 19/7/89

304A

Six candidates to contest the Springfield seat

Mercury Reporter

SIX candidates are to contest the House of Delegates seat in Springfield, an area regarded as a stronghold of the Natal Indian Congress which has rejected the new dispensation in favour of a non-racial unitary Parliament.

Mr Mahmoud Rajab, advocate and businessman, is standing as candidate for Solidarity, Mr Ashwin Mohanlall, sales representative, for the National People's Party, and Mr Basil Maharaj, attorney, for the Progressive Independent Party.

The independents are Mr Mahipaul Varma, retired headmaster, Mr Vishnuduth Koobair, land and estate agent, and Mr Pragasan Murugan, clothing factory manager.

All are canvassing voters in the constituency extensively.

NIC president, attorney George Sewpersad said he was satisfied the community would heed NIC calls for a massive stayaway from polls throughout the province on August 28, irrespective of the number of candidates.

Hoodwinked

'The community will not let itself be hoodwinked into believing that the House of Delegates will be in a position to force political changes,' he said.

A businessman, Mr Dhanpal Naidoo, this week lodged his R400 deposit and nomination as an independent candidate for the Bayview (Chatsworth) seat with Returning Officer, Durban Magistrate Mr T N Kruger, a fortnight ahead of nomination day.

He is believed to be the first of the independents in Natal to do so.

A spokesman for the Department of Internal Affairs confirmed yesterday that two more Indian political parties had applied for registration as a party in terms of the Electoral Act, bringing the number participating in the coming elections to five.

They are the National Democratic Party, led by Mr Mohammed Khan, of Harding, and the Chatsworth-based National Federal Party, led by Mr M Y Begg and Mr Rama Reddy.

(Report by N Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Meer calls for boycott of elections

Star 19/7/84

By Lucille McNamara

When Professor Fatima Meer called in the Selbourne Hall in Johannesburg last night for a boycott of the coloured and Indian tricameral Parliament elections next month, more than 500 voices echoed her plea.

And the stage was set for the launch of the Transvaal Indian Congress's campaign against "a racist constitution which excludes the black majority people of South Africa".

While endorsing the boycott campaign, Mrs Meer, a member of the Natal Indian Congress and professor of sociology at the University of Natal, dismissed the possibility that a poll stayaway could halt the Government's new deal.

She said there were too many who would sacrifice the principles of the freedom fight for the opportunity of "hobnobbing with white Afrikaners".

"The Government has been sitting on top of us and breathing down our necks for so long, and now suddenly this fossilised Government, which is totally out of step with the rest of the world, presents us with a new constitution. Why?

"The answer is that the National Party has grown fearful that it might not still have the power it enjoyed for years, and is starting to feel the pinch from extremists to the left and right.

"The tricameral system is presuming to offer 40 Indian men and 80 coloured men the opportunity to represent themselves They certainly won't be representing us," she said.

"What's the point of entering into a fiasco and casting a vote which is totally meaningless, because the concentration of power will be with the President, who will decide what will be discussed in the brown houses."

Mrs Meer said candidates elected on August 22 and August 28 would enjoy a number of perks, such as increased salaries and fringe benefits.

"But you and I are proud of our ideology — our fundamental system of morals in which we strive for a single South African brotherhood and we will not lose them for a mere brown house.

FREEDOM SONGS

"Who are we brown people without the black people? Can we march into that thing without the rest of South Africa?"

When Mr Terror Lekota, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, took the stage next, the audience rose to its feet and sang freedom songs.

Mr Lekota said there was no question of Indian and coloured people being given seats in Parliament. Instead they were being offered a room next door.

"We want a government in which the people will govern. We do not want to become part and parcel of the existing Government because then we will take upon us its sins."

Mr Cassim Saloojee, the TIC's publicity secretary, described next month's poll as an experiment in betrayal.

He said the arithmetic of apartheid was supportiveness and the new constitution pretended to give Indian and coloured people a stake in the system when in fact it was no more than a second-class vote.

(Report by L McNamara, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

ANGD

Engrossed in conversation at the Transvaal Indian Congress meeting in Johannesburg's Selborne Hall last night were Professor Fatima

Mercury 20/7/84 304A

Confusion over polls nominations

Mercury Reporter

SOLIDARITY last night named businessman and farmer Naratuk Jamuna as its official candidate for the House of Delegates Natal North Coast seat — but he immediately repudiated this.

Mr Jamuna said he was still a member of the rival National People's Party, and also its candidate for the same seat.

'I admit signing a Solidarity application form. But my six election committee members were divided on my move and in a secret ballot they decided I should remain in the NPP. I conveyed this to Solidarity on Wednesday night,' he said.

Solidarity also announced last night that Mr Essa 'EV' Mohamed, who had resigned from the NPP last week, would contest the Allandale (Pietermaritzburg) seat on a Solidarity ticket.

Mr Mohamed said: 'I cannot, at this stage, confirm or deny this as I am considering requests from the NPP to forget our differences and get back into the party.'

In a Press statement, Mr Ismail Omar, chairman of Solidarity's Membership and Organisations Committee, announced 13 more Natal candidates, bringing the number in the province to 29.

They are Mr Logan Chetty, Chatsworth Central; Mr Freddy Naidoo, Moorcross; Mr T V Padayachee, Arena Park; Mr Hassim Cassim, Northern Natal; Mr N M Khan, Natal Midlands; Mr E V Mohamed, Allandale; Mr Solly Mansoor, Isipingo; Mr G L Pillay, Mariannhill; Mr Anil Hurbans, Tongaat; Mr N T Jamuna, North Coast; Mr John Iyman, Camperdown; Mr P D 'Butch' Persadh, Durban Bay; and Mr A K Pillay, Merebank.

Mr Omar could not be reached last night for comment.

(Report by Nagoor Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

304A

POLITICS

Neo-verkramptes in the NP

The National Party (NP) is again developing a rightwing. It is made up of people who have been labelled "the neo-verkramptes."

Not surprisingly, Internal Affairs Minister F W de Klerk finds himself in the middle of the controversy surrounding the rightists. As Transvaal leader of the NP he is closest to the firing line, for it is in his province that the Conservative Party has made most headway.

The new rightwing is made up largely of MPs and MPCs who were, in their hearts, part of the Treurnicht camp but who refrained from following him out of the party because of pressure, promises, privileges or personal loyalties.

The ambivalence of such people towards the NP is illustrated by the fact that at the time of the Treurnicht split, Danie Hough, now Tourism Board chairman, then Namibian Administrator General, spent a whole night on the telephone talking Transvaal MPCs out of leaving the party.

Some of the rightists are having second thoughts now that the new constitutional dispensation is at hand. Many, especially Free State and Transvaal *platteland* MPs fear losing their seats after the solid Conservative Party (CP) by-election performances in Transvaal. More than one *twyfelaar* has told the *FM* that he personally accepts the new constitution and is personally prepared to accept further dramatic constitutional developments. But they are quick to add they have serious misgivings about the willingness of their *people* to accept a break with the past.

The strength of rightwing feelings was illustrated by a proposal by an MP (thought to be Johann Heyns of Vasco) in the NP caucus earlier this year. He proposed, and obtained some caucus support, that the new constitution be postponed for a year "because the country is not ready for it."

Grumbling from the "new right" has been heard on more than one occasion in recent weeks. The rightists were not happy with the draft parliamentary standing rules as proposed by a Parliamentary Select Committee (*Leaders*, July 13). They were also upset by the Badenhorst report asking for a mandate to investigate the possibility of scrapping the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts, and at the appointment of "super-verlig" Barend du Plessis as Minister of Finance.

Du Plessis' appointment was seen as a victory for the "left" in the NP. Other prominent party men regarded as "super verligtes" are Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis, Industry, Commerce and Tourism Minister Dawie de Villiers, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Louis Nel, and East London North MP Hendrik Coetzer.

THE RIGHT WINGERS

The MPs whose names are most often mentioned as belonging to the new right wing in the NP are: Johann Heyns (Vasco); Piet Clase (Virginia); Daantjie Scott (Winburg); Karel Swanepoel (Gezina); Willem Landman (Carletonville); Nico Ligthelm (Middelburg); Flippie Olivier (Fauresmith); Jan van den Berg (Ladysmith); Amy Weeber (Welkom); Hendrik Tempel (Ermelo); Willie Lemmer (Schweizer-Reneke); George Ballot (Overvaal); Boet Botma (Walvis Bay); Frans Conradie (Sundays River); Louis van der Watt (Bloemfontein East); and Adriaan Jordaan (False Bay).

Also, the "Young Turks" from the Transvaal — Randburg's Wynand Malan, Krugersdorp's Leon Wessels, Geduld's Sam de Beer, Johannesburg West's Roelf Meyer and Innesdal's Albert Nothnagel.

More than one neo-verkrampte reportedly responded with anger to the fact that PM Botha and Heunis were not present at the last sitting day of the all-white Parliament — a day of symbolic importance to many MPs.

De Klerk seems to have been co-opted as the reluctant leader of the new rightwing. As a senior Cabinet minister and provincial leader he is committed to support the new dispensation, although he has never advocated it with any kind of conviction or enthusiasm.

Barend du Plessis ... 'super verligte' who upsets the right

It must also be remembered, as one MP pointed out to the *FM*, that De Klerk got his political schooling in the fifties from the extremely conservative and dogmatic J G Strijdom, then PM. Strijdom's wife was a sister of De Klerk's father — the equally conservative senator Jan de Klerk.

What is more, as several MP's point out, De Klerk's wife, Marike, is regarded as ultra-conservative. Says one CP MP: "If it were not for their wives, some of whom are friendly with the wives of Cabinet ministers, several other MPs would have left the NP with us. Never underestimate the power and influence of a politician's wife."

De Klerk's closest ally in the Cabinet is Transport Minister Hendrik Schoeman, if only because the latter fears he might lose an election in his very verkramp constituency, Delmas, if he strays too far to the left. But it is rumoured in Parliament that Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Danie Steyn, while accepting the new constitution, are not happy with the "super-verligtheid" of Heunis and the two Bothas.

There is apparently no love lost between De Klerk and the other two strongmen in the party, Heunis and Pik Botha. But reports of a showdown looming between the three for the post of Chairman of the white Ministers' Council under the new constitution seem to be wrong. Health and Welfare Minister and Free State leader of the party, Nak van der Merwe, is now seen as the strongest candidate for the post, and there are strong rumours that he is going to be appointed by Botha — not elected.

Even if there is an election for the post, the three men may avoid a confrontation. "They all have their eyes on the post of State President after P W Botha goes. Not one of them wants to spoil his chances now," one NP source says.

However, a new split in NP is unlikely in the near future. There is obviously no room for a party between the NP and CP and it would be very difficult for most rightwing nationalist MPs to join the CP. Even CP MPs agree that that is the case. But NP unity will be strained to the maximum if, for instance, the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts are scrapped or if significant concessions are made in response to pressure from coloured and Indian parties in Parliament.

In any case, PM Botha seems to be very much in control of his party and most observers agree that there will probably be no split while he is national leader and State President. "But if he were to go suddenly, the party would be like jelly," claims a senior CP MP.

Argus 20/7/84 CAPE 304A

Special votes could create 'bandwagon effect'

Staff Reporter

POLITICAL parties can create a bandwagon effect in the coloured and Indian parliamentary elections by organising the maximum number of special votes before polling day, political observers believe.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, the Pretoria political scientist, said some parties participating in the elections intended to go flat-out for special votes cast in the run-up to the campaign, to create the bandwagon effect.

Parties would be able to announce that thousands of people had already voted, thereby encouraging more people to vote on election day, he said.

With magistrate

Special votes are lodged with a magistrate or returning officer and are not open to the abuses that are possible in the postal vote system which is used in white elections and is organised by the parties themselves.

Special votes are available only for voters who cannot attend the polls on election day.

A spokesman for the Department of Internal Affairs said special voting would open on July 30 and close on August 20 for the house of representatives election. It would open on August 6 and close on August 27 for the Indian house of delegates.

Professor Willem Kleynhans

He said postal voting had been excluded from the elections as the parties lacked the organisation and manpower to handle the system.

Mr Carter Ebrahim, a Labour Party spokesman, said the party would make a special effort to enable voters in places such as old-age homes to vote. He said it was up to individual candidates to announce how many special votes had been arranged.

In terms of the Electoral Act, voters may cast special votes if they cannot attend a polling station on election day owing to:

- Illness of physical infirmity, advanced age or pregnancy;
- Absence from the electoral division in which they are registered during the hours of polling;
- Employment on public transport or in an essential service such as a hospital, police or fire brigade during the elections. Candidates who are unable to attend a polling station in the district in which they are registered, may also cast special votes;
- Being more than 50km by the shortest practicable road from the polling station in the district in which they are registered;
- Any duty to look after any person due to their physical or mental infirmity, advanced age or pregnancy.

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Schools to be polling stations

Staff Reporter

PRIMARY schools controlled by the Directorate of Coloured Affairs will be available for use as polling stations in the August 22 elections for the house of representatives.

However, a spokesman for the directorate said this week that no high schools would be used as polling stations. Primary schools selected as polling stations would be closed for the day.

Modderdam Secondary School hall will be the venue of a nomination court for the Bonteheuwel constituency to be held at 10am on Monday, which is nomination day for the elections but the school would not be closed.

School activities would not be affected as the nomination court sat briefly and was attended only by the people concerned.

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

PCP's Tiry may oppose Hendrickse

Staff Reporter

MR Abdul Wahab Tiry, Eastern Cape leader of the People's Congress Party, plans to stand against Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse in the Swartkops seat in the August 22 elections.

Another PCP canddate, Mr I Daniels, is likely to oppose Mr Hendrickse's son Peter in Addo.

Other PCP candidates to oppose the Labour Party are expected to be Mr Peter Bosch in Fish River, Mr Donald Cairncross in Gelvandale, Mr Steven Morongo in Bethelsdorp and Mr Donovan Meintjes in Border.

Mr Godfrey Julies

- Mr Godfrey Julies, deputy leader of the New Convention People's Party, has resigned and will stand for the PCP in Schauderville in the Eastern Cape, the PCP leader, Mr Peter Marais, has announced. Mr Julies could not be contacted for confirmation.

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

PCP will field 61 candidates in August election

Argus 20/7/86 (304K)

Staff Reporter

THE People's Congress Party today named 60 candidates to contest the election for the House of Representatives on August 22.

The PCP leader, Mr Peter Marais, said that another nine candidates standing for other parties, including the Labour Party, or as independents, would cross over to the PCP if elected.

He said they had joined the PCP and were "to all intents and purposes PCP candidates".

The PCP intends to name a candidate in Strandfontein before nomination day on Monday, bringing to 70 — including the nine "secret" candidates — the number of candidates in the 80 seats to be contested.

The Labour Party has announced candidates in all 80 seats.

Mr Marais said that youth was a factor in his line-up, with only 10 candidates over the age of 50.

There will be 45 official candidates in the Cape, 10 in the Transvaal, five in Natal and one in the Free State. They are:

CAPE: Mr I Daniels (Addo), Mr S Morongo (Bethelsdorp), Mr W Seefield (Berg River), Mr P J Marais (Bishop Lavis), Mr D Meintjies (Border), Mr P Malgas (Britstown), Mr L Rudolph (Dal Josaphat), Mr Joe Pinetown (Diamant), Mr P J Aarens (Dias), Mr J Prins (Deyseldorp), Mr P Steyn (Elsies River), Mr A Ismail (Esselen Park), Mr D Caircross (Gelvandale), Mr Y Deers (Grassy Park), Bishop D J Kanyilies (Griqualand West), Paramount Chief A S le Fleur (Haarlem), Mr J Bennett (Hanover Park), Mr Hartzenberg (Hantam), Mr F M Adams (Heideveld), Mr D Williams (Liesbeeck), Mr L Henderson (Macassar), Mr Abie Croutz (Mamre), Mr J Delport (Manenberg), Mr E de Bruyn (Matroosfontein), Mr B Jephta (Mid Karoo), Mr John Kennedy (Mitchell's Plain), Mr A E Davids (North Cape), Mr C J Drirgaardt (Kalahari), Mr Boykie Bowers (Nuweveld), Mr Dennis de la Cruz (Ottery), Chief Eric le Fleur (Outeniqua), Mr M Jacobs (Ravensmead), Mr D Josephs (Riversdale), Mr Godfrey Julies (Schauderville), Mr Karrim Khan (Silvertown), Sheikh Bardien (South Cape), Mr A W Tyrie (Swartkops), Mr G Leith (Swartland), Mr Ahmat Ismail (Table Mountain), Mr P Bosch (Fish River), Mr C le Fleur (Vredendal), Mr G le Fleur (Upington), Mr J Dirkse (Wupperthal), Mrs S Veldsman (Retreat).

TRANSVAAL: Mr P W Roman (Alra Park), Mr H Steenekamp (Bosmont), Mr W Campbell (Eersterus), Mr C Jacobs (Eldorado Park), Mr J P Prinsloo (Klipspruit West), Mr Les du Preez (Newclare), Mr A Campbell (Northern Transvaal), Mr H Adolph (Reiger Park), Mr J Douw (Rust-der-Vaal), Mr A McNally (Toekomsrus).

FREE STATE: Mr A G Hanken (Western Free State).

NATAL: Mr Pieter Marcus (Durban Suburbs), Mr I Fynn (Greenwood Park), Mr H Baxter (Natal Mid-East), Mr Sydney Bond (Natal Interior), Mr Morris Fynn (Wentworth).

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

Indians, coloureds the targets

Petrol bombs hit homes of 4 leaders

304A Star 20/7/84

By Mike Cohen, Crime Reporter

Four petrol bombs exploded in coloured and Indian suburbs early this morning. They were the latest in a spate of petrol bomb attacks on prominent politicians and civic leaders in Soweto, Lenasia, Eldorado Park and Fleurhof over the past few months.

Little damage was caused, but it appeared the attacks were carried out by the same people.

Brigadier Hennie Muller, chief of the Security Police in Soweto, said today there had been several similar attacks in the areas in the past few months — all directed at community leaders and politicians.

The first of this morning's bombs was at the Lenasia home of Mr Dinky Pillay, shortly after 2 am. Mr Pillay is standing for the Indian Solidarity Party and will contest next month's Indian parliamentary elections.

"The lounge window shattered but the bomb hit the burglar bars and fell outside. Fortunately there was no fire," Mr Pillay said.

While Security Police were investigating the attack on Mr Dinky Pillay, the bombers struck at the home of his cousin, Mr Dennis Pillay.

Mr Dennis Pillay is also a member of the Solidarity Party and will also contest next month's elections.

The third attack was at the Arlberg Avenue, Eldorado Park, home of management committee representative and Labour Party member Mr Don Mateman, at 3 am.

Blackened

"The damage is not great but the walls and floor near the door are blackened," Mr Mateman said.

Mr A P Booysen, of Fleurhof, near Florida, was the fourth victim. He is the leader of the Freedom Party and also plans to contest the elections.

"I only discovered the petrol bomb at about 6 am today. The attack must have taken place between 3 am and 4 am," Mr Booysen said.

The four attacks come only days after the home of veteran trade unionist Mrs Lucy Mvubelo was gutted when two petrol bombs were thrown into her house.

Mrs Mvubelo, who has been general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers of South Africa for the past 31 years, was almost killed in the attack.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, today reacted sharply to the latest wave of bombings.

He said in a statement released today: "I condemn this action in the strongest terms and I appeal to anyone with information which may result in the arrest of the offenders to contact the police without fail."

it's a more disgrace, disgrace, a moral " And. "We have ex- pain but progress American apart-

he stuck by his pre- text, Mr Jackson have said: "To be just, we cannot the number one trad- of South Africa they engage in the while devel- capability.

must be a new for- to South Africa Disenfranchisement, invest- Disenfranchisement, ment."

York Governor Mario keynote speaker: when we've been at our purposes were Now they're not. Now are as confused as Now we have no commitment to our and our ideals ... to rights, to the Refusen- Sakharov, Bishop Tutu struggling for in South Africa."

the Democrats had important things on minds.

sports commentators, Kim Shippey and Friedel Hansen, would cover the Los Angeles Olympics, the corporation said yesterday.

Shippey and Hansen will report regularly for all the SABC's radio services and they will also do voice-overs for Olympics items screened on TV.

These snippets will be received daily by the SABC in its news satellite feed from its external news agents.

The SABC's representative in the United States, Fanus Venter, will also submit special contributions on the Olympics for radio and TV.

Radio 5 will also feature 10 special inserts daily from July 28 to August 11.

The SABC will probably also feature special wrap-ups with voice-overs in programmes such as "Sportfokus" and "Sportsview" — but this could not be confirmed yesterday.

A while ago, Radio 702 said it would have a representative at the Olympics.

operational area, was killed ant- mitted them to Defence Force away

Police minders to guard black election hopefuls

By ANTON HARBER

THE South African Police is likely to protect at least some of the candidates for the Coloured and Indian parliamentary elections, following the petrol bombing of four Reef houses early yesterday.

Home-made petrol bombs were thrown at the houses of Mr Dinkie Pillay, Transvaal organiser of the Solidarity Party, his brother Mr Dennis Pillay, also of Solidarity, Mr Don Mateman, executive member of the Labour Party, and Mr Faiz Khan, leader of the Progressive Indian Party.

All four are prospective candidates in the Coloured and Indian elections on August 22 and 28 respectively.

The petrol bombs all fell outside the houses and caused little damage.

In Mr Khan's case, the target of the attack slept right through it.

Mr Dinkie Pillay's house escaped major damage when the bomb hit a window of the house and smashed it, but fell outside the house.

Mr Mateman's family apparently saw a Yellow Toyota Corolla outside their house shortly before the attack.

It appears the attackers moved systematically from one house to the other between about 2am and 3.30am. Two of the attacks were in Lenasia, one in Florida and one in Eldorado Park.

At least two of those attacked have secured police agreement to give them protection. However, a police spokesman Major Vic Heynes, would not comment on this.

General Johann Coetzee, Commissioner of Police, said yesterday he viewed the attacks in a very serious light and that everything possible was being done to track down the culprits.

"I condemn this action in the strongest terms and I appeal to anyone with information which may result in the arrest of the offenders to contact the police," he said.

All four of the candidates said the attacks would not deter them from standing and Mr Khan said he thought candidates "could look forward to more of this".

A number of black politicians have had their houses petrol bombed in recent months, and a group calling itself the South African Suicide Squad (Sass) has claimed responsibility for many of these incidents.

However, there is no sign that yesterday's attacks were linked to the Sass.

donor's gift s Zimbabwe

ARE. — Zimbabwe's of State Water Re- and Development, Msipa, yesterday five 500-litre water from "a South African donor," to alleviate the crisis in the rural

donor was not named. Msipa said the donation at a time when the need greatest. People in the areas had to walk long for water. — Sapa.

Three dangerous criminals on the run

Mail Reporter

A "DANGEROUS" criminal, Clifford Masebe, 18, escaped from the Crown Mines Hospital on Thursday night, the South African Prisons Department announced yesterday.

His escape follows that of two other prisoners from the Lichtenburg prison earlier this week.

As far as the prisons department is concerned, all three are still on the run.

Judas Segoane, 24, who was charged with murder, and Ephraim Sebambo, 29, a rapist, escaped from the Lichtenburg prison on Thursday morning.

The prisons department said Masebe has been serving an eight-year sentence for rape and robbery.

Masebe is 1,72 metres tall and weighs 63kg. He can be recognised from a number of knife scars on his chest and upper arms, as well as a Big Five sign and the legend "I love you Bad Boy" on his right forearm.

Masebe is said to be dangerous and the public has been asked not to apprehend him but to phone their nearest police station.

A spokesman for the Pretoria murder and robbery squad said yesterday Mr George Voulgarakis, 34, who has jumped bail of R10 000 following various charges of armed robbery involving the "helmet gang", has not yet been apprehended.

He is 1,83m tall, of slender build, and has a dark complexion.

By Chuck Roth

Fears of GST, fees hike

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

DEMANDS on Government funds are intensifying and another increase in GST towards the end of the year or, at the latest, the start of the new financial year is feared, according to economists.

Another fear is that the Government, to slash the enormous cost of education, may implement legislation already passed by Parliament to introduce compulsory fee-paying at white Government schools.

The 1984-85 Budget allocations for education for the first time exceeded the estimated spending on defence.

With the additional expenditure, the Government will also have to provide higher teacher salaries next year.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said earlier this month that the increases would cost about R54-million a month. They will be paid out from December. And for the three months owing, to the end of the current financial year, it will cost the State about R170-million.

However, as a reaction to pressure from teachers' associations, the Government agreed to back date the increases to October.

But the October-November increases will only be paid in the new financial year. This means the total needed for the increases for the new financial year will exceed R700-million.

The 1978 loan levy payout to companies and individual taxpayers of more than R600-million in February will make yet another crippling demand on State funds.

The Government's commitment to equality of education and the upgrading and expansion of black education makes an enormous demand on available funds.

Legislation to enforce compulsory fee-paying at white schools was incorporated in an Amendment to the National Education Policy Act in 1982.

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If your answer is correct you stand to win the prize named in the envelope. There will be big prizes, consolation prizes and booby prizes, and

Boat Show
Boating Industry Association of South Africa
Bootskou

Uproar forces land freeze

S. Express 22/7/84 (304A)

● Mr Amichand Rajbansi ... embarrassed

By MARTIN WELZ and GRAHAM WATTS

THE Pretoria city council this week hastily froze the allocation of hundreds of plots in its new Indian township, Claudius, amid a growing uproar sparked by complaints of irregularities in the allocation of land and housing.

At the same time, the chairman of the management committee, Dr Gerhard Davidtsz, promised a new inquiry into the complaints which include allegations of nepotism and bribery.

The land allocations were frozen when lawyers representing 45 applicants for plots in Claudius threatened to seek a Supreme Court interdict against further allocations of land by the Indian management committee that acts on behalf of the council.

This is the latest development in the furious dispute about the allocation of both plots and housing to the desperately land-hungry Indian community of Pretoria where 2 000 applicants are vying for 250 plots.

The dispute has already taken on national dimensions by embroiling Mr Ebrahim 'Boetie' Abramjee, the National People's Party candidate for the House of Delegates in the Indian elections on August 29.

It has also embarrassed Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the NPP and tipped to be the country's first Indian Cabinet Minister, who found his candidate inundated with bitter accusations when they appeared together on a political platform this week.

The accusations of irregularity have been simmering for some time. Mr Tertius Spies, a Progres

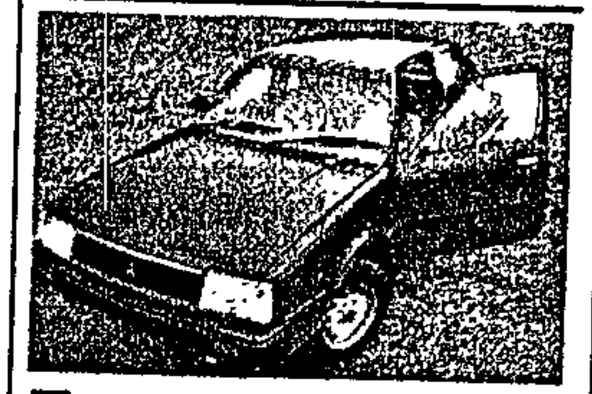
● Michael Tours, seven, of Parkmore, Sandton, with basset Katy, will act as Pumpkinhead from the comic strip Tiger in the Funny Business dress parade next Tuesday morning at Sandton City.

TALKING POINT

Why we gave our kids back

● A true story of our times: A couple so battered by the depression that there seemed one solution ... to hand back their foster children

PAGE 7



Treasure hunt!

● Somewhere in Johannesburg a brand-new R10 000 Mitsubishi Tredia S is waiting to be discovered by a Sunday Express reader. Get ready for the big search — on August 5 we'll publish the first clues.

REGULARS

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Uproar leads to land freeze

ive Federal Party city councillor, last month submitted to the Pretoria management committee a collection of affidavits, tape recordings and letters from angry Indian residents.

The complaints alleged that bribery and nepotism had resulted in grave irregularities in the allocation of plots at Claudius.

They also alleged that scores of applicants on the housing waiting list who qualified on merit had been ignored in favour of people who did not qualify.

Last week the council announced that an investigation by the town clerk, Mr Piet Delport, had found no irregularities in the allocation of plots by the Laudium

From Page 1

management committee. The council therefore approved an allocation list drawn up by the committee.

This week, faced with legal action, the council hurriedly reversed its position and froze the allocations.

Dr Davidtsz then admitted that the city council had in fact ignored the allegations of irregularities, bribery and corruption when it approved the allocation list.

"We did not wish to embarrass the Indian management committee," he said. "The Pretoria City Council has gone out of its way to allow the Indian community to manage their own affairs."

In an interview, Dr Davidtsz said the complaints were not investigated and none of the complainants were interviewed.

"We decided that the allegations of irregularities and corruption were for the police to investigate, and we only investigated whether correct procedure had been followed," he said.

"The town clerk and I interviewed the chairman of the Laudium management committee, Mr Boetie Abramjee, and officials involved in the allocations," Dr Davidtsz said.

"We put very serious questions to them. They were immediately able to answer every question and we concluded that there had been nothing irregular."

Dr Davidtsz could, however, not say what the correct procedures were. Asked if merit-rating procedures for the allocation of Indian housing had been laid down by the council, Dr Davidtsz said he did not know, but he assumed there would have been.

"We accepted tha t is the task of officials to allocate plots according to procedure — fairly and in the order in which the applications were received. The Laudium management committee only oversees the allocation and gives its final approval," Dr Davidtsz said.

"I cannot confirm, however, if this was in fact the procedure that was followed. I did not have lists of names before me."

"We are investigating the matter again," Dr Davidtsz said.

Lieutenant-Colonel F J van Kasterop of the Pretoria fraud squad confirmed that he had received copies of the affidavits and tapes handed to the Pretoria city council several weeks ago, but said he had not started an investigation or opened a dossier.

(Report by Martin Welz and Graham Watts, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg)

● See Page 6

John and Chris Lloyd make up again

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK — Tennis stars Chris and John Lloyd have announced they are back together after a six-month separation.

John Lloyd, who recently retained his mixed doubles title at Wimbledon, said in Florida yesterday: "We always knew we would work things out and at Wimbledon it became definite."

Mrs Lloyd commented: "We are thankful that this whole ordeal is over. I haven't had peace of mind for the last six months."

She said the decision to reunite began to form during the recent French Open.

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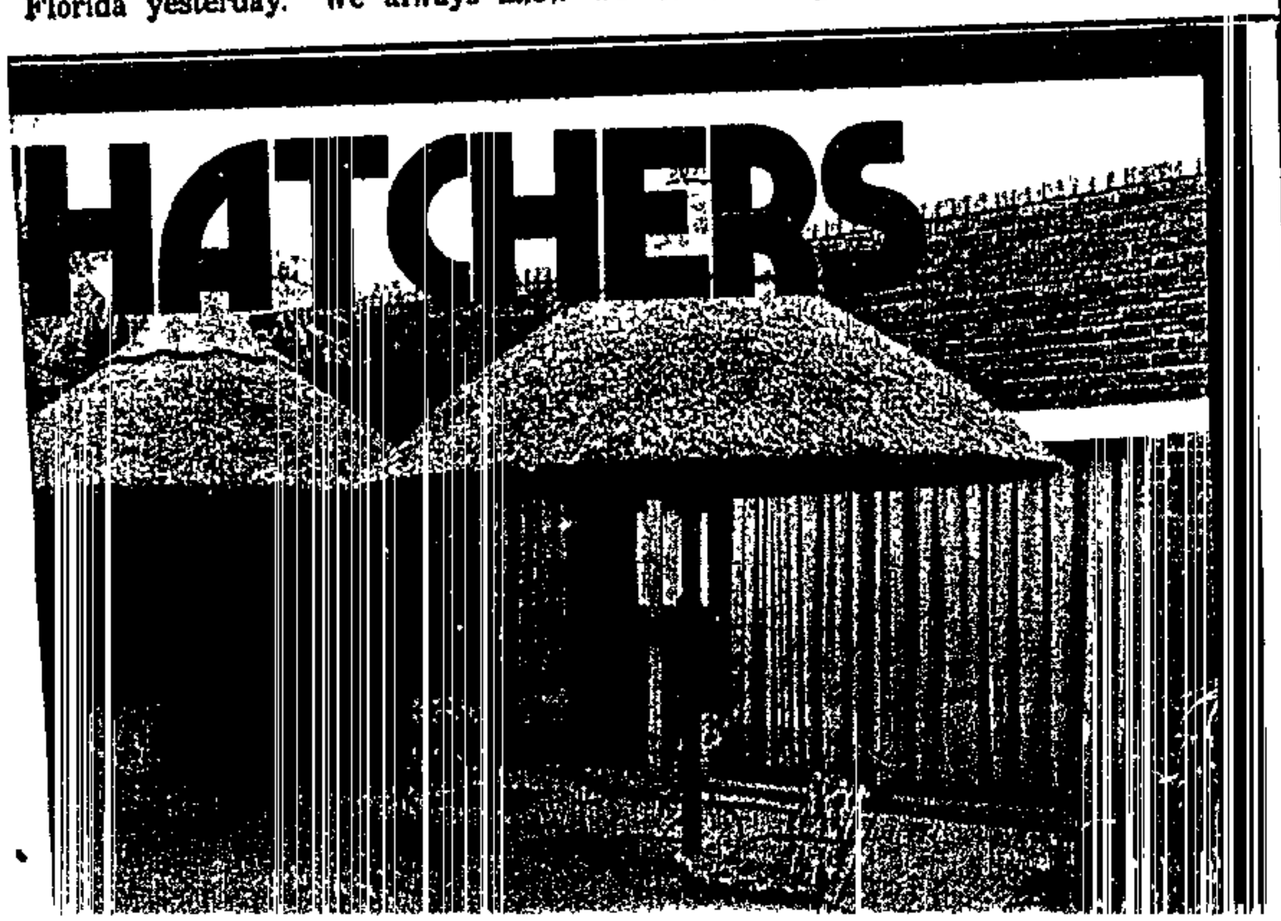
ture City, ABC Shoes, Cuthberts, Moda Belle, Scotts, Uniewinkels, Early Bird TV, Multiserv and Pronta Print, Southern Sun Hotels, Anglo Dutch and Duncan Bayne office furniture, Alpine, Grafton Everest, and Parker Knoll furniture and upholstery, and footwear by Barker, Crockett & Jones, and Hush Puppies.

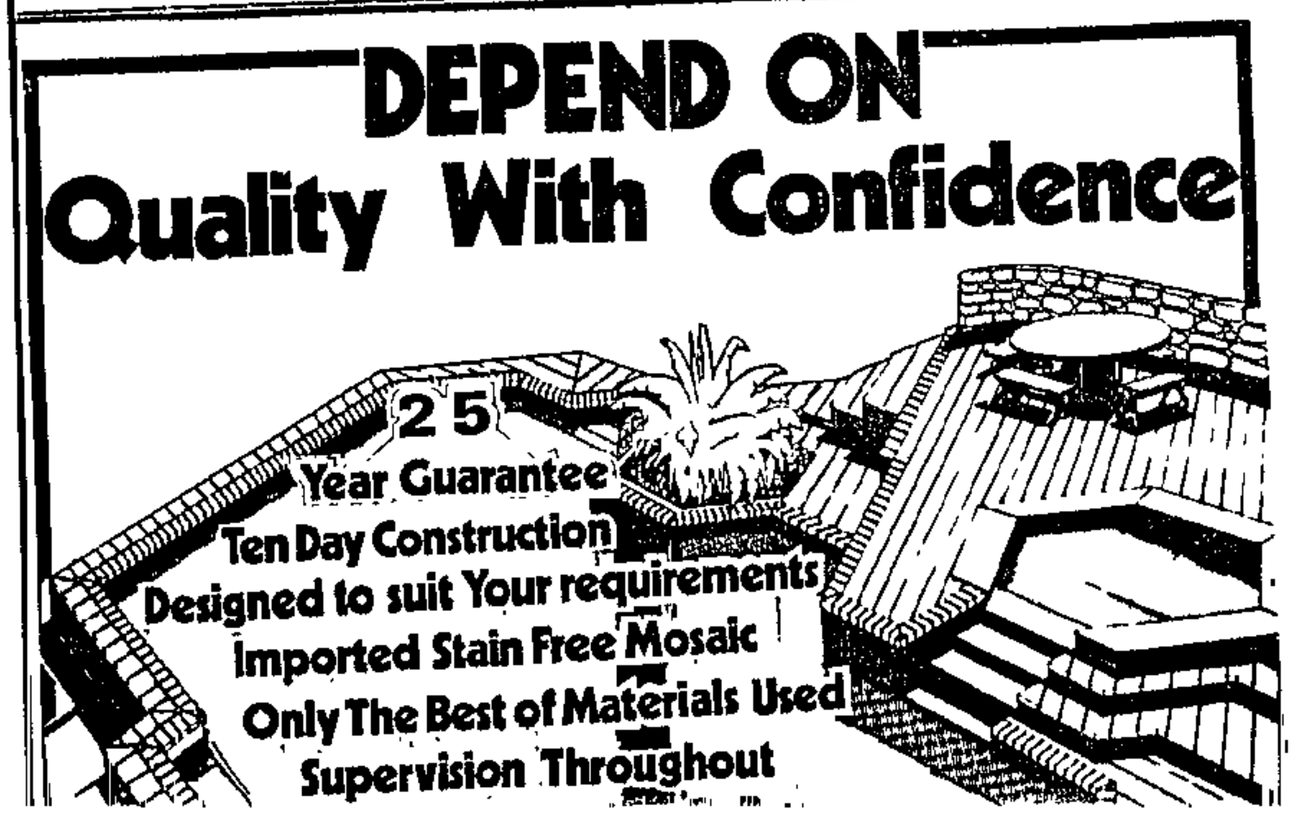
Group turnover exceeded R4,8-billion this year and its profits reached a record level of R205-million, up 30% on the previous year.

As a mining finance house, Johnnies is invested into a broad range of mining, industrial, property and financial undertakings. Its profit after taxation rose by 19,4% last year to R102,1m (1982: R85,5m).

On the face of it Mr Waddell's appointment seems only fitting because he was one of the 'back-room-boys' behind a R337-million deal and share swop in which JCI, Liberty Life and Anglo acquired 52% of of food giant Premier Group from a wholly owned subsidiary of Associated British Foods (ABF) last year, which eventually made Premier the biggest shareholder in SAB.

Dr Cronje, who intends withdrawing from active business life, will remain as a director.





Mercury 21/7/84

304A

Police protection likely for candidates

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The South African Police are likely to give protection to at least some of the candidates for the coloured and Indian parliamentary elections following the petrol bombing of four Reef homes early yesterday.

Home-made petrol bombs were thrown at the homes of Mr Dinkie Pillay, Transvaal organiser of the Solidarity party, his brother, Mr Dennis Pillay, also of Solidarity, Mr Don Mateman, executive member of the Labour Party, and Mr Faiz Khan, leader of the Progressive Indian Party.

All four are expected to be candidates in the August elections for the new coloured and Indian houses of Parliament.

A Mercury reporter writes that yesterday Dr F M Meer, an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress which has urged a boycott of the elections, condemned the attacks.

Leaders of Solidarity have slammed the bombings and have appealed to party members to remain calm and not to be swayed one way or another.

The petrol bombs all fell outside the houses and caused little damage.

In one case, the target of the attack slept right through it. Mr Khan discovered the attack had taken place only when he woke up in the morning.

At least two of those attacked have arranged for police protection.

All four of the candidates said the attacks would not deter them from standing.

Homes bombed as polls draw nearer

By BOETI ESHAK and TICKS CHETTY

THE petrol-bombing of the homes of people involved in the Indian and coloured elections next month has turned the campaign into one of violence, intimidation and fear as warring political groups square up to each other in open confrontation.

In the early hours of Friday morning bombs were thrown simultaneously at the homes of two Indian and one coloured politician.

In the past few weeks political meetings by election candidates have been disrupted throughout the country.

In Friday's attacks, petrol bombs were hurled at the Lenasia homes of Mr Dinky Pillay and Mr Dennis Pillay, and at the home of Mr Don Mateman in Eldorado Park, all in the Transvaal.

Mr Dinky Pillay, brother of Solidarity Party chairman Mr Pat Poovalingam of Durban, is the chairman of Solidarity's Lenasia branch and chairman of the Lenasia south-east consultative committee.

Red glow

His Daggerhead Street, Lenasia Extension 8, home was petrol-bombed at 2.30am.

"When my son Theo heard a window breaking, he called out: 'Daddy, daddy, somebody's breaking our windows.' When we awoke to investigate, we saw a red glow.

"We later found that a petrol bomb had been hurled at the lounge window. It struck and broke the window, bounced against the burglar guards and landed on the verandah.

"We found a broken bottle with its petrol contents all spilt out. There was a piece of cloth in the bottle.

"I phoned the Lenasia police and the Security Branch, who were on the scene within minutes," Mr Pillay said.

"I shudder to think what would have happened had the curtains caught fire. My books and papers were right next to the curtains. They would have also certainly gone up in flames."

Flames

Mr Pillay believes that his attackers threw the bottle from a distance.

"I will not be intimidated by these senseless acts. I will not change my beliefs. Violence will not solve anything," he said.

About the same time the Seagull Street, Lenasia Extension 1, home of Mr Dennis Pillay, who is chairman of the Lenasia management committee and an Independent candidate for Lenasia West in the August 28 elections for Indians, was also petrol-bombed.

A bottle containing the petrol was aimed at a huge circular window. It landed on the brick frame and fell to the ground.

When the Pillays went to investigate, they saw flames coming from the bottle.

The third bomb was hurled at the Arlberg Avenue, Eldorado Park, home of coloured management committee and Labour Party member, Mr Don Mateman, and, like the other two bombs, did not cause much damage.

● A new breed of terror is stalking the streets of Soweto: See Page 13

(304A)

LAND ALLOCATION ISSUE COULD SHIPWRECK GOVERNMENT'S NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DEAL

Housing: The raw nerve needling Indian politics

By GRAHAM WATTS
Political Reporter

MR AMICHAND Rajbansi, the man tipped to be South Africa's first Indian Cabinet Minister, wore the expression of a guest who rather wished he had not been present during an embarrassing family squabble.

He had come from Durban to the Indian township of Laudium in Pretoria to back his man for the August 29 election to the House of Delegates.

The invited audience in the Laudium Civic Centre last Sunday night, however, showed more interest in a questioner's remarks about alleged irregularities in the allocation of housing in the township than it did in grand talk of a new dispensation.

Called to task was Mr Ebrahim 'Boetie' Abramjee, chairman of the Laudium management committee, who had just announced his candidacy for the House of Delegates as a member of Mr Rajbansi's National People's Party.

The questioner asked: Did Mr Abramjee feel he could properly represent the people of Laudium when he and his management committee were the subject of persistent allegations of irregularities in the allocation of houses in the community?

Mr Rajbansi tried to look nonchalant.

He had made a stirring speech about the future, but now someone had touched the very heart of the politics now gripping the Indian community.

Apartheid had seen to it there were just 250 plots available to 2 000 applicants. There would be losers.

In an interview afterwards, Mr Rajbansi said there were a number of issues on which his party might have to reconsider its participation in the new Parliament. One of these was the allocation of land.

"Housing is the most important issue affecting the Indian community. The minimum requirement of that participation is sufficient land for the community's housing needs," he said.

Replaced

He said that until such time as land that had been taken away from Indians was replaced, dissatisfaction about the allocation of housing would remain.

The Laudium resident who led the questioning at Sunday's meeting, Mr Iqbal Mahomed, said afterwards the Indian community had been forced to behave like a pack of starving wolves: "When a small piece of meat is tossed to us, we first attack each other."

Residents spoken to this week blamed Indian politicians for their housing problems.

Mrs Premi Pillay, who shares a two-bedroom house with her husband and three children, was fed up with "all" the politicians in Laudium.

She did not know of any politicians who could improve things or whether the new constitution would make any difference.

She said she hadn't decided yet whether to vote because she wasn't aware of any candidates worth voting for.

She just wanted fairness. She could afford to buy a house, but she had not been allocated one even though she qualified, she said.

"I was asked by an official why, if I had half a loaf, did I now want a whole loaf. I told him I could afford a whole loaf and anyone who cannot is welcome to the half that I now have."

It is a community caught between success in the private sector and denial of its fruits by the Group Areas Act.

Little wonder that many Indian politicians believe that land and housing is being employed by the government as a deliberate policy of political control.

Mr A R Dawood, a Laudium resident an executive member of the Transvaal Indian Congress — which is boycotting the elections — said: "The bitterness and frustration of people who have seen their most treasured possessions — their homes — demolished and who have been moved in terms of the Group Areas Act has made an indelible mark on our community."

This bitterness was often turned on the local Indian authorities who administered apartheid's group areas, he said.

Mr Rajbansi, like scores of other candidates for the House of Delegates, is asking the Indian community to put its trust in him. He wants to be made overseer of the ghetto so that he can get rid of the ghetto.

Risk

The risk is great: "The suspicion created by such institutions as the SA Indian Council — though things have improved lately — is widespread. If the government still wants to cut the cake and distribute it unfairly, I am afraid we will not be able to galvanise the people behind us.

"I think the process of acceptability of the constitution will be decided after August 29 (election day)," he said.

(Report by Graham Watts, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.)

Why and how of allocations: Municipal official explains

THE why and how of the alleged irregular allocation of housing in Laudium was spelt out by a senior Laudium municipal official this week.

"You are faced with three applications for a single plot," he said.

"Applicant X is related to you and is of your religious and ethnic group.

"But he has no children and is not at all destitute but would like a home of his own for him and his wife. He does not qualify on the merit point system.

"Applicant Y is not related to you but is from the same area and has only one child. He also scores low on the merit point system.

"Applicant Z is from a different area, is not related to you and is married with six children and lives in an outbuilding. Teenage boys and girls share the same room.

"If you do not allocate the plot to X, you become an outcast in your family and ethnic group, accused of favouring others over your kith and kin.

"If you turn down Y, you are accused of having no loyalty to your own community.

"If you do not allocate the plot to Z you are accused of not caring for the poor and the needy."

The official said there were a number of other problems related to the allocation of plots.

"Mr and Mrs X Y Z Mahommed are childless — they cannot have children and therefore have very little chance of scoring on the merit point system.

"Must they be doubly punished for not being able to bear children?

"And what of the young man who wishes to remain a bachelor? There are no bachelor quarters. Such a man will never qualify for a house."

However, residents who believed themselves to be victims of the alleged irregularities said they were mostly to do with who could "afford" to get themselves placed higher on the waiting list.

Sensitive matters to do with relatives and the poor featured much less in their assessments of what was behind the alleged irregularities.

RDM 23/7/85

Leaders living in fear after more bomb attacks

304A

By SEFAKO NYAKA

COMMUNITY leaders operating in Government-created organisations are living in fear of their lives following a spate of petrol-bombings over the past week.

Petrol bombs were hurled through the windows of six homes in Soweto, Lenasia, Eldorado Park and Fleurhof. A group calling itself the South African Suicide Squad (SASS) has claimed responsibility.

The SASS has struck 16 times, mainly at the homes of Soweto, Dobsonville and Evaton councillors.

Each attack is always followed by a call to a local newspaper, claiming responsibility.

The latest victim, on Saturday morning, was Mrs Martha Taylor, a former Soweto Community councillor and a shopsteward of the National Union of Clothing Workers, living in Klipspruit, Soweto.

A petrol bomb was hurled into her bedroom where she was sleeping with a lady friend, destroying curtains, shoes and some clothing near the window.

A second bomb smashed her lounge window, burning the curtains and part of the lounge suite. Yesterday, a broken bottle containing a mixture of sand and petrol and a half-burnt rag were found behind a chair in Mrs Taylor's lounge.

Early on Friday morning, bombs struck almost simultaneously at the homes of three Indian candidates and one Coloured candidate for the August elections.

They were at the homes of Mr Dinky Pillay, Transvaal organiser of the Solidarity Party; Mr Dennis Pillay, an independent candidate and Mr Fiaz Khan, leader of the Progressive Indian Party.

Mr Don Matteman, executive member of the Labour Party, had a bomb hurled through the window of his Eldorado Park home.

'Govt, not UDF to blame for violence'

E. Post 23/7/84 304A

CAPE TOWN — It was the South African Government that committed acts of violence and not the United Democratic Front, church leader Dr Allan Boesak said yesterday.

The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches was responding at a mass meeting to calls for him to dissociate himself from the bombing of election candidates' homes.

These bombs were flung by individuals and not by the UDF, he said.

Petrol bombs have been hurled through the windows of six homes in Soweto, Lenasia, Eldorado Park and Fleurhof recently.

A group calling itself The South African Suicide Squad (SASS) has claimed responsibility for 16 attacks, mainly at the homes of Soweto, Dobsonville and Everton councillors.

Dr Boesak said the Government was trying to tell the people that the UDF was a violent organisation.

"It is an act of violence to raid people's houses, to deny young people education and to pass laws which deny people their humanity," he said.

"It is not the UDF but the South African Government who perpetrate violence," he said.

"They are afraid because they know that not in years has there been such an organisation as the UDF which has captured the minds of the people and unmasked these evils of apartheid."

The UDF is an umbrella organisation claiming the allegiance of 600 organisations.

The UDF is boycotting elections to the coloured and Indian wings of Parliament to be held next month.

Yesterday the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) which claims large support among the Indian community, reiterated its call for an House of Delegates election boycott.

At a meeting in Port Shepstone 300 people unanimously supported a resolution calling on the Indian community not to take part in the elections.

Senior NIC speakers, including Professor Fatima Meer, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Mewa Ramgobin and Mr Billy Nair, outlined what they called the black struggle for freedom from the days of Mahatma Gandhi.

Prof Meer said that any elections which excluded the African people were "doomed to fail" and the new Parliament would only entrench white supremacy.

Mr Naidoo said the Parliament was certain to create more problems.

A resolution said "the so-called new dispensation" entrenched apartheid which was contrary to the teachings and principles of Christianity, Islam and Hinduism.

No peaceful change could take place until all "authentic" and true leaders were freed from prison, exile and banishment and allowed to meet on a basis of equality.

The resolution also said that the peoples of South Africa must be allowed to work out "a truly democratic constitution" in accordance with the Freedom Charter to which the NIC subscribed.

The leader of the National Peoples' Party, Mr A Rajbansi, drew a crowd of 450 at Umkomaas. They gave full support to participation in the elections.

Reports by S Mirwis, 171 Main St, Johannesburg; T Clarke, 5 Kensington Drive, Durban North and Andy Braid, Burg St, Cape Town.

Participation in the new deal could end racism — Heunis

JOHANNESBURG — By participating in the new constitutional dispensation, coloured and Indian leaders could be successful in abolishing discriminatory measures based on colour, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said last night.

In an interview with SABC-TV, Mr Heunis said the new dispensation was aimed at changing the entire style of negotiation in Parliament — in future the accent would be placed on finding concensus on issues, rather than voting on them.

He added that fears of domination by one group over another in South Africa were very "real", and for this reason the new dispensation was evolving systems which protected groups against domination.

The Minister said many limitations on the progress of coloured, Indian and black people in South Africa had already been shed and this augured well for the country's future.

The executive director of the Islamic Council of South Africa, Mr Ibrahim Bawa, interviewed on the same programme, said he was opposed to participation in the forthcoming elections because it would be tantamount to condoning a dispensation he regarded as "unjust or immoral".

But, referring to the possibility of a low percentage poll, Mr Bawa said if only 20% of Indians voted in the elections it would be unfair of opponents to conclude that 80% of Indians opposed the constitution.

The leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said Indian usage of the new consitutional dispensation would result in further changes for all sectors of South Africa's population.

The leader of Solidarity, Dr J N Reddy, said Indians would use the machinery at their disposal to articulate the need for the "larger reconciliation in South Africa".

He added it was the "duty of those committed to peaceful change to take advantage of the opportunity to make a contribution where it counted".

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said although the constitution did not meet all the demands of the coloured community, "built into it" was "the question of change and improvement".

He said it was immoral to remain aloof to movement towards social change in the country.

He added the fact that people other than whites were today part of the decision making process was "already part of the dismantling of apartheid". — Sapa

Report by Cheryl Allison, Old Mutual Buildings, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.

Argus 23/7/84 (304A)

ndependents will make strong bid in elections

Staff Reporter

A LARGE number of independent candidates were today nominated to stand against the official political parties in the election for the coloured House of Representatives on August 22.

Eighty nomination courts sat throughout South Africa to receive nominations. Soon after the courts closed it became evident that almost all seats will be contested by one or more independents as well as by the official parties.

Mr David Curry in Pniel and Mr N J Padiachy of Genadendal, both of the Labour Party, were elected unopposed.

However, the People's Congress Party has announced that a number of independent candidates are really PCP supporters standing as independents who will cross the floor if they win.

The three candidates nominated for election to the House of Representatives in the Mitchell's Plain constituency at today's nomination court are, from left, Mr Luwellyn Landers (Labour Party), Mrs Sheila Carolus (Reform Freedom Party) and Mr John Kennedy (Peoples' Congress Party).

Nominations for the election for the House of Representatives.

CAPE:

ADDO:
Mr P Hendrickse (LP), Mr I Daniels (PCP), Mr C Julies (RFP).

BELHAR:
Mr A E Poole (LP), Mr F J Sellidon (Ind), Mr S E Wesso (Ind)

BERG RIVER:
Mr G M Carelse (LP), Mr W E Sauls (Ind), Mr C D Scheepers (Ind)

BETHELSDORP:
Mr W J Dietrich (LP), Mr S D Marongo (PCP).

BISHOP LAVIS:
Mr N M Isaacs (LP), Mr P J Marais (PCP).

BOKKEVELD:
Mr Y Rhoda (Ind), Mr D Adams (LP).

BONTEHEUWEL:
Mr P C McKenzie (LP), Mr J Delport (PCP)

BORDER:
Mr W J George (FP), Mr D K Meintjies (PCP), Mr P S Mopp (LP)

DAL JOSAPHAT:
Mr L R Rudolph (PCP), Mr J W Solomon (Ind), Mr J J Swartz (LP).

DIAZ:
Mr P J Aarons, (PCP), Mr E P C Buis (LP).

DYSSELSDORP.
Mr J Prins (PCP), Mr J D Swigelaar (LP).

ELSIES RIVER.
Mr P J Kleinsmidt (LP), Mr L P Steyn (PCP)

ESSELEN PARK.
Mr A G Bronn (Ind), Mr A Ismail (PCP), Mr J D Johnson (LP).

FISH RIVER
Mr P F Bosch (PCP), Mr S R Jacobs (FP), Mr C Koeberg (LP).

GENADENDAL:
Mr N J Padiachy (LP) unopposed.

GRASSY PARK.
Mr N A I Booysen (RPF), Mr Y Deers (PCP), Mr J G van den Heever (LP).

HAARLEM:
Mr C Green (LP), Mr A Le Fleur (PCP), Mr G Tee (RFP)

HAWSTON:
Mr A D Adriaanse (LP), Mr P Carolus (Ind), Mr C J C de Bruin (Ind).

HEIDEVELD.
Mr F M Adams (PCP), Mr A F Johannes (LP).

KASSELSVLEI:
Mr P Cloete (IND), Mr C Cupido (PCP), Mr C I R Fortuin (RFP), J Pilcher (LP)

LIESBEEK:
Mr A Stanley (LP), Mr D Williams (PCP)

MACASSAR:
Mr S Abels (Ind), Mr L M Henderson (PCP), Mr C B Herandien (LP)

MAMRE:
Mr A J Croutz (PCP), Mr A Williams (LP).

MANENBERG:
Mr J L Delport (PCP), Mr R J Lackay (LP), Mr J C Samuels (RFP)

MATROOSFONTEIN:
Mr V Sass (LP), Mr A C de Bruyn (PCP), Mr S J Jonker (RFP).

MITCHELL'S PLEIN:
Mr Luwellyn Landers (LP), Mr John Kennedy (PCP), Mrs Sheila Carolus (RFP).

NORTH EASTERN CAPE:
Mr C Hare (FP), Mr R O'Reilly (LP), Mr S P Smith (PCP).

OTTERY:
Mr D T de la Cruz (PCP), Mr W B Pieterse (LP)

OUTENIQUA.
Mr F G Herwels (LP), Mr E Maxwell (PCP)

PNIEL.
Mr D M G Curry (LP) unopposed.

RAWSONVILLE:
Mr B J Andrews (LP), Mr P A Carelse (Ind)

RETREAT.
Mr G N Morkel (LP), Mrs L P Veldsman (PCP).

RIVERSDAL
Mr D W N Josephs (Ind), P J L Klink (LP)

ROBERTSON:
Mr E F Jones (Ind), Mr W J Meyer (LP).

SCHAUDERVILLE
Mr W Africa (FP), Mr C Redcliffe (LP), Mr G I Julies (PCP).

SILVERTOWN:
Mr F E Peters (LP), Mr K Kahn (PCP).

SPRINGBOK
Mr M Friedberg (LP), Mr D Baard (RFP), Mr J M Englebrecht (FP).

STEINKOPF.
Mr A Balie (Ind), Mr C E Cloete (FP), Mr J W H du Plessis (Ind), Mr G A Links (LP)

STRANDFONTEIN:
Mrs S F Arendse (RFP), Mr J E W Calvert (PCP), Mr P C Harris (LP).

SOUTHERN CAPE
Mr C H Ebrahim (LP), Mr G A Bardien (PCP).

SUURBRAAK.
Mr J P King (Ind), Mr P S Harmse (LP), Mr C H Hartnick (FP)

SWARTKOPS:
The Rev H J Hendrickse (LP), Mr A W Tiry (PCP).

SWARTLAND:
Mr J C Oosthuizen (LP), Mr G M Leith (PCP).

TAFELBERG:
Mr M D Arendse (LP), Mrs S Hoosen (PCP)

VREDENDAL
Mr C A le Fleur (PCP), Mr P Meyer (LP)

WUPPERTAL.
Mr T S M de Leeuw (IND), Mr J Dirkse (PCP), Mr C A Wyngaard (LP).

(Report By D Breier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Police warn against poll violence

Staff Reporters

WITH reports of growing friction between election candidates and boycotters following five bombing incidents, calls were made today to end the confrontation.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, warned today that the police would take action to prevent intimidation.

He said the time had arrived for people working for a boycott of the new system and who were opposed to any constitutional development, to ask themselves what contribution their attitudes were making to incite the emotions of irresponsible elements.

It did not help to just summarily blame the Government's policy for everything. There was a positive spirit among all population groups in the country.

It was time for the leaders of opposition to constitutional development to express themselves strongly against any form of intimidation or violence.

It did not help to sit back in innocence because the time had arrived for some real action. Strong action would be taken against intimidators.

In Johannesburg there have been five petrol attacks on the homes of election candidates on the eve of nomination courts for the coloured House of Representatives which sit throughout the country today.

Mr Peter Marais, leader of the People's Congress Party, said an anonymous telephone caller had threatened to abduct his wife.

He said supporters of the United Democratic Front had tried to "make a fool" of his wife at his home yesterday and had "tried to pick an argument" with the wife of Mr John Kennedy, PCP candidate in Mitchell's Plain, while Mr Kennedy was away yesterday.

He said other PCP candidates had received threatening telephone calls.

(News by D Breier and T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Mr David Curry, one of the first people elected to the Coloured House of Representatives, is congratulated by his wife, Letitia, outside the Stellenbosch Magistrate's Court yesterday. No candidate was nominated to oppose him, so he will become the MP for Pniel on September 3. ● Report, page 4

Fighting at Labour meeting

C. Times 24/7/84 304A

Staff Reporters

THE Labour Party's election campaign in the Cape Peninsula started violently last night when violence erupted at the Bishop Lavis Civic Centre and police charged the crowd with sjamboks.

Several people were injured and were taken to hospital and a University of the Western Cape student was arrested, police confirmed last night.

A witness said that trouble started when "LP vigilantes armed with sticks" prevented some people from entering the hall.

Police were called in when some members of the crowd of about 200 people which had gathered at the door got inside.

Heckled and booed

Pandemonium broke out when the LP candidate for Bishop Lavis, Mr Nick Isaacs, was heckled and booed by members of the audience. Mr Carter Ebrahim, an LP member, was attempting to defuse the situation when police surrounded the hall.

A man and a woman who were pointed out by Mr Isaacs were ejected from the hall by police. As the woman struggled with police, members of the crowd inside the hall started hurling chairs and scuffles with the police broke out.

Outside, angry members of the public shouted at police to stop beating the trapped people. Extra riot police were called in to the area which was cordoned off.

The police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Gerhard van Rooyen, said members of the police reaction unit had gone to the hall to "calm down" people and restore law and order after complaints of violence.

The policemen had found the scene inside the hall "chaotic", with chairs being flung about and people being assaulted. Chairs were also flung at the police but none had been hurt.

Police with sjamboks had then stormed those fighting to "calm them down". After the "troublemakers" had been ejected the meeting had continued without further incident.

Captain Van Rooyen said a 20-year-old University of the Western Cape student had been arrested for allegedly assaulting two people with a chair.

He denied that police had assaulted anyone.

After the meeting, the Bishop Lavis Action Committee, the Cape Action League, the United Democratic Front and the Federation of Cape Civic Associations, said in a statement:

"We, the people of Bishop Lavis, Valhalla Park, Bonteheuwel, Kalksteenfontein and Nooitgedacht, condemn with the utmost contempt the brutal police action which resulted in violence at the meeting.

"We reject the violence of the Labour Party in calling upon the police."

(Report by Ebrahim Moosa and Marianne Thamm, both of 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

To Page 4

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Two petrol bombings had earlier caused damage of about R5 000 to Mr Christians' house. In his victory speech he lashed out at those who had "run him down" and accused him of incompetence. He said his opponents were merely "political nuisances".

He said in an interview the petrol bombings had frightened off potential voters, but he still had a satisfactory mandate.

PCP leader Mr Peter Marais said he was shocked by his defeat in Bishop Lavis. He received only 854 votes to the 1 589 polled by Mr Nic Isaacs of the Labour Party.

Mr Marais said he said he was prepared to resign as leader if his party executive wanted him to, but he would stay committed to the PCP.

'A TOUGH FIGHT'

A jubilant Mr Isaacs said: "It was a tough fight. Sometimes we were both a bit ruthless, but that is something you find in every election. It's a strange feeling to go from a traffic officer to MP.

"There is a tremendous amount of work to be done in the poverty-stricken Bishop Lavis community. I aim to set up offices in Bonteheuwel, Bishop Lavis and Valhalla Park where people can bring their complaints and problems."

He ascribed the low voter turnout to "intimidation" but didn't believe it would affect the credibility of elected leaders.

Police dispersed about 100 youths who were chanting "we won't vote" at the Bishop Lavis polling station last night. The youths regrouped outside a nearby cinema and sporadically threw stones at the police until they were again dispersed.

They were part of a crowd of about 500 who gathered in the early evening to witness the last few hours of polling.

(Compiled by L H Marshall, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town)

In the most remarkable result of the election, Mr Arthur Booysen, leader of the Freedom Party, tied the Bosmont seat with Mr D D Nieuwenhoudt of Labour. Both received 834 votes and a new election will take place.

RFP humiliated

And in Addo, the leader of the Reformed Freedom Party, Mr Charles Julies, lost to Mr Allan Hendrickse's son, Peter, who stood for the Labour Party.

The RFP was humiliated. All 11 candidates, including Mr Julies, lost their deposits.

The percentage poll in the elections is based on the 60 percent registration of coloured voters. Organisations opposed to the elections and participation in the new scheme base their calculations on the total number of eligible voters, including those who have not registered. They thereby claim that the percentage poll is much lower than suggested.

Estimates based on the number of registered voters are that the Cape Province had a poll of about 26 percent, with only about 10 percent in the Peninsula. The poll in the Transvaal was 39 percent, Natal had 23 percent while the Free State had a relatively healthy 54 percent.

Only woman winner

The PCP obtained only about 12 percent of the total vote.

Earlier this week Mr Marais predicted he would win between 39 and 41 seats. But the results appear to have shattered his party.

One of the non-LP candidates to win a seat was Mr Y Rhoda, an independent, who beat Mr D Adams of the LP by only 26 votes in Bokkeveld.

The only woman candidate to win a seat was Mrs Joy Pilcher, who easily won the Kasselsvlei seat for the LP, with two of her opponents losing their deposits.

Strong police presence

Yesterday's election took place under an exceptionally strong police presence as an operation was mounted to ensure an uninterrupted election.

Dozens of election boycotters were arrested on charges incuding the holding of illegal demonstrations and contraventions of the Electoral Act.

Several incidents marred the elections, including the dispersing of pupils and students by police wielding sjamboks in Bishop Lavis and Paarl.

Security police cracked down on leading figures in boycott movements, detaining at least 11 prominent boycott leaders on the eve of the elections.

(Report by L H Marshall and D Breier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

● See Pages 2, 4, 5 and 39.

Superstar Bjorn drops wife for au pair girl of 17

Argus Foreign Service

STOCKHOLM. — Tennis superstar Bjorn Borg is to divorce his wife Mariana — after losing his heart to a 17-year-old Swedish au pair who left school two months ago.

Borg, 28, five times Wimbledon champion who retired from tennis a multi-millionaire, melted to the charms of Jannike Bjorling, whom he met at a Stockholm disco.

The couple spent a long hot summer together and Borg did not return home to Monte Carlo last month for his fourth wedding anniversary. The couple are believed to be on holiday in Hawaii.

A spokesman for Borg's agents in the United States said: "The divorce is completely amicable. It was a joint decision and there is absolutely no animosity."

Mariana, was a Rumanian defector and a former champion tennis player in her own country.

The Borgs' relationship has been shaky for some time.

Mariana has had health problems, suffering a painful kidney complaint which was once rumoured to be cancer.

On top of this Mariana has not been able to fulfil Borg's greatest wish — to be a father. She has attended top consultants in Switzerland and Austria, but in vain.

Borg has not kept Jannike under wraps. She has been wined and dined in style.

The couple were seen in Broadway earlier this month and went on to Las Vegas — where they took the bridal suite at Caesar's Palace.

Bjorn Borg with his wife Mariana in happier times. A Swedish au pair is his new girl.

Details of Salem oil fraud released

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Government has issued a dramatic go-ahead to the first full exposure of the sensational Salem oil tanker fraud that rocked the world at the peak of the oil embargo on South African shipments in 1980.

A major disclosure is that South Africa has struck a deal with Shell Oil of Britain to take equal shares from all the cash recovered from the swindlers in international court battles.

Much now hangs on the outcome of a case in the Amsterdam High Court in which a Dutch businessman, Anton Reidel, is charged with deep involvement in the Salem fraud and stealing R70-million worth of oil that Shell claims it should have received.

SCUTTLED

The Salem, which sailed into Durban and unloaded its crude oil cargo, paid for by Sasol, was later scuttled off the coast of West Africa when it was supposed to be en route to Britain to deliver the identical cargo to Shell International, which had also paid for the shipment.

The incident caused a worldwide furore but South African newspapers were hamstrung by a prohibition on publication of details of oil procurements.

Now the Government has decided to finally unfold all the details of the swindle. The brief to handle the first exposures has been given to Dr D F Mostert, senior general manager of Sasol and a former director of the Strategic Fuel Fund that negotiated oil deals that broke the sanctions.

"All the secrecy has been vital so far to protect the identities of all our suppliers," Dr Mostert said. "But now that South Africa has its huge Sasol oil-from-coal operations in full swing we are no longer exposed to blackmail.

"There's no denying South Africa was taken for a ride. But the prices we were forced to pay for the Salem shipment were at least far lower than what even Shell had to agree to pay — so we were not alone in being ripped off."

Love-in with a neighbour after telephone hoax

Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — A young wife was persuaded to make love to a stranger by a telephone hoaxer.

The caller told the 25-year-old newly-wed he was her husband's sex therapist and he advised her to make love to the first man she met.

The wife, who had been cleaning her house, quickly slipped into some scanty underwear, then went outside where her next door neighbour was mowing the lawn.

The astonished neighbour, who had just moved in, did not protest when the woman led him to a bedroom, where they made love.

An hour later the husband arrived home in Teaneck, New Jersey, and his wife proudly announced that she had done as his sex therapist instructed.

The husband replied. "But I don't have a sex therapist."

Then he rushed next door to his neighbour screaming: "I'll kill him. I'll kill him."

The neighbour fled in his car.

Police have arrested TV executive Kenneth Cohen and accused him of making the call.

Cohen, vice-president of personnel for Metromedia, is charged with sexual harassment, resisting arrest and assaulting a policeman.

He was trapped when he made a second call to the wife She kept him talking, pretending to discuss her sexual problems, while police traced the call to a telephone box.

Police said. "The most perplexed person in this saga is the neighbour. He couldn't believe his luck. He thought he had moved into that sort of neighbourhood.

"The husband's made it up to him now we have caught the weirdo."

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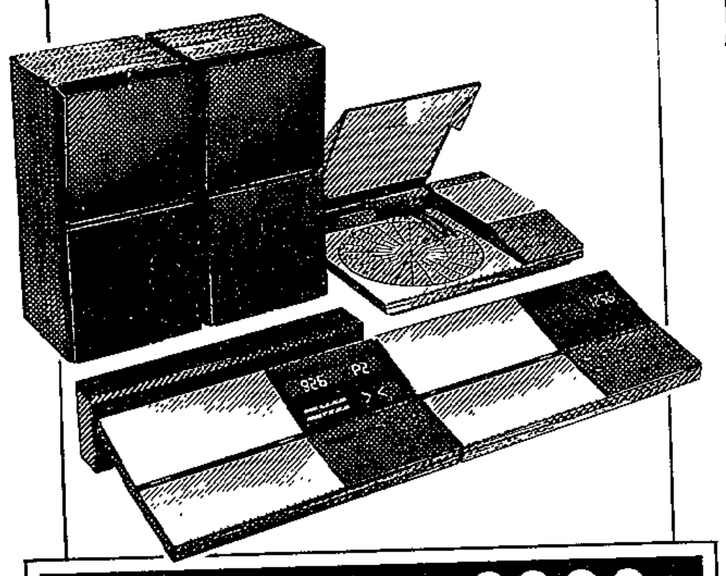

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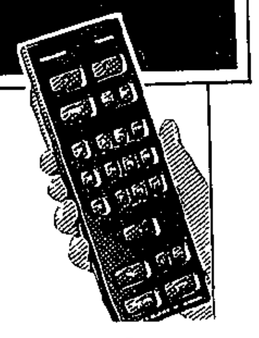

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Natal poll lowest in the elections

DURBAN. — The percentage poll in yesterday's coloured elections in Natal was the lowest in the country.

The overall percentage poll was 22,9 percent, while in the Cape it was 25,8 percent, Transvaal 38,8 percent and Free State 53,48 percent.

Reacting to the lo poll, the chairman of the United Committee of Concern, Mr Virgille Bonhomme, said the coloured of Natal rejected the new constitution.

The Peninsula's 20 constituencies, heartland of the coloured people, had an average percentage poll of about 10 percent, well below the national average of 30 percent.

The highest Peninsula poll was in Ravensmead — 22,9 percent, the lowest in Tafelberg — 4,14 percent.

In real terms the poll could be even lower. Fewer than half the eligible voters in the Peninsula are registered voters, according to the SA Labour and Development Research Unit.

SCRAPED HOME

In Tafelberg, which includes the central city area, the Labour Party candidate, Mr Mr M D Arendse, a former LP leader, scraped home with a three vote majority. His opponent, Mrs S Hoosen of the People's Congress Party, might appeal

Other percentages were: Manenberg, 4,7 percent; Liesbeek, 5,24 percent; Hanover Park, 5,5 percent; and Mitchell's Plain, slightly better, at 8,7 percent.

One of the toughest fights, which also produced a relatively higher poll, was in Bishop Lavis where the leader of the People's Congress Party, Mr Peter Marais, was defeated by Mr Nick Isaacs of the LP.

In Ravensmead, a small but lively crowd cheered the announcement of the result at 1.30am. They carried the runaway winner, Mr Hansie Christians of the Labour Party, shoulder-high from the stairs of the community hall.

'Credibility crisis' but Government to press on with new deal

The big stayaway

Political Staff

WITH one result still outstanding the Labour Party has scored a sweeping victory in the coloured election but the huge stayaway — particularly in the Peninsula — has caused widespread reaction.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, said that the Government would go ahead in spite of the low poll.

And the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, said the poll could have been higher. He said intimidation had played a part, as was shown by low polls in the Peninsula and higher polls in the rural areas.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said the new Parliament would "kick off with a credibility problem".

State of the parties

Labour Party	75
Independents	2
People's Congress Party	1
Freedom Party	0
Reformed Freedom Party	0

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, whose Labour Party came close to making a clean sweep of the election, said: "Once we are in power and can begin to deliver the goods I see a great change in attitude taking place there (the Peninsula)."

Political scientists agreed that the low poll presented the new constitution — and the Labour Party — with a credibility crisis. Their only way out now was to "deliver the goods".

The United Democratic Front claimed the low poll as a victory for themselves and for "other democratic forces".

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said: "This does not indicate a successful course for the new system."

The Peninsula, where the UDF has been most active, produced the lowest poll in the country — in some cases as low as four percent.

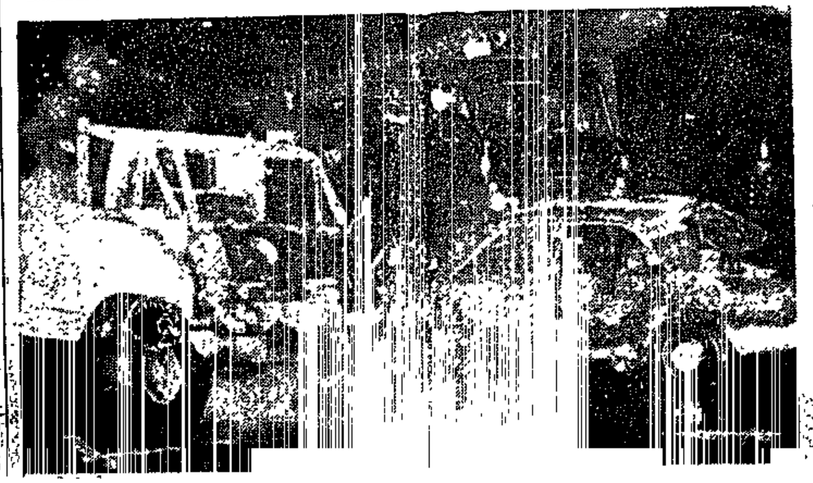
In general the rural constituencies tended to make up for the low polls in most urban centres. The highest poll so far was in the Northern Transvaal seat — with 59,24 percent — followed by the Bloemfontein seat of Opkoms with 57,39 percent and by Griqualand West with 51,9 percent

Indications are that the overall percentage vote could be less than 30 percent, with the rural constituencies as the major contributors.

Mr Allan Hendrickse sealed his party's landslide victory with a large majority in his Swartkops constituency. He beat his PCP opponent by 8 020 votes to 2 294 in a 46,5 percent poll.

PCP leader Mr Peter Marais lost to Mr Nick Isaacs of the LP in Bishop Lavis. Mr Dennis de la Cruz, the PCP's general secretary, won the Ottery constituency.

Mr Marais claimed afterwards there had been irregularities. [illegible] had been handed to the electoral [illegible]



Argus reader Mr Peter Crowder of Mowbray took these pictures of a car and a bakkie in flames soon after they collided in Observatory. The smash happened last night on the Liesbeek Parkway turnoff to Settlers Way near the Gordons Institute. The blaze was extinguished by the Cape Town fire brigade. The occupants — Miss Johanna Stoffels and Mr Reginald Pretorius, both of Woodstock, and an unidentified man — were slightly hurt. They were taken to Groote Schuur Hospital and discharged after treatment.

Face failure, Boesak tells Government and Labour

Staff Reporter

THE election had "failed miserably and the Government and the Labour Party should face up to this fact," said Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF, in response to yesterday's polling for the House of Representatives.

"I cannot see how the new Parliament will ever work and how continuing with it after yesterday's poll cannot cause more unrest and tension, not only in our community, but involving all of South Africa," he said in an interview.

"It is beyond any dispute that the vast majority of people yesterday rejected the new constitution or any participation in it," said Dr Boesak.

"IMPLICATIONS"

"The people going into the new system can't by any stretch of the imagination talk about a mandate."

The lack of mandate had "very serious implications" for the new system in terms of the local and international communities, he said.

"The question must now be asked: How can the Government continue to force the new constitution down the throats of those who have rejected it? Because if they do, there is only one answer — that the community will resist it."

UCT STUDY

Even with the Government's "exaggerated figure" of 60 percent of the coloured people being registered as voters, yesterday's 30 percent poll meant that "some 18 percent" voted, Dr Boesak said.

"But if the UCT study, in which it was found that the real registration figure could be as low as 23 percent is an indication to go by, then we are talking about a seven percent voter turnout," he said.

"On what basis does the Labour Party think it can speak for the people and how will they be able to state their case before the people they are supposed to represent? he asked.

(News by L Mackenzie, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

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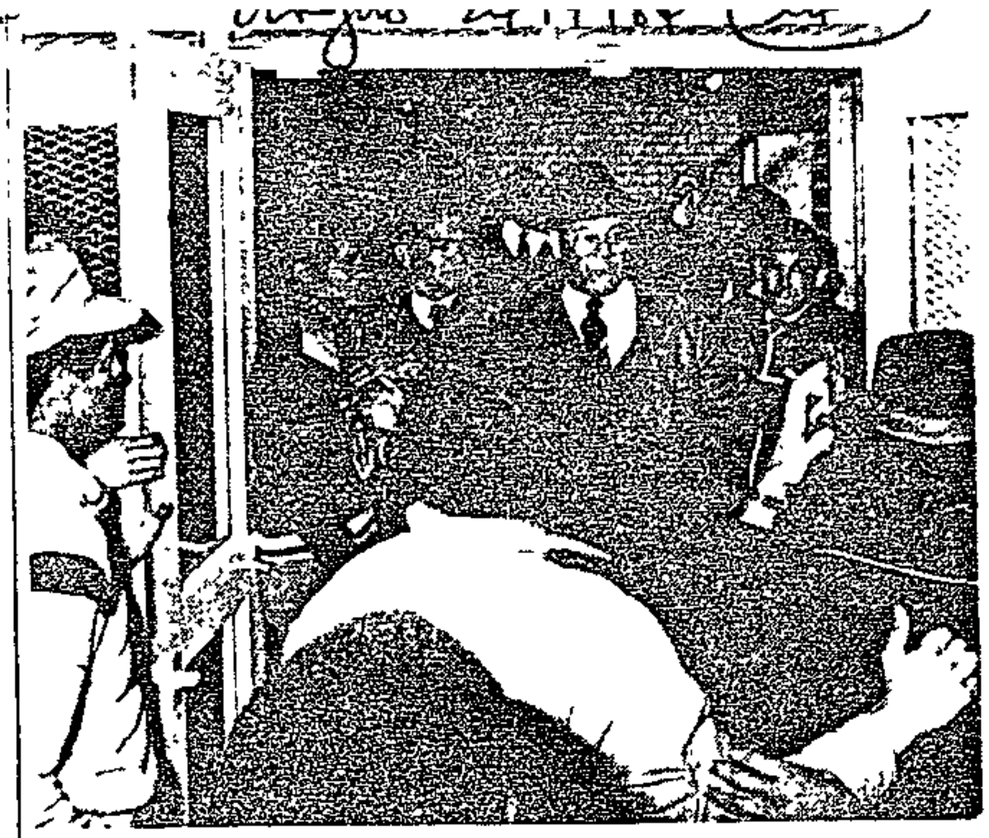

Party officials, one with an iron bar, stand in the way of anti-election demonstrators at the Bishop Lavis community hall. Mr Nic Isaacs, the party candidate for Bishop Lavis, is to the left of the man with the hat.

Shouting demonstrators at last night's Labour Party meeting. Speakers were unable to make themselves heard over the loudspeakers and the opening prayer by the Rev Chris April was also disrupted.

Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus.

A policeman lashes out with a sjambok while clearing the hall. Police ejected the youthful crowd which broke up the meeting and there was at least one arrest.

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Destroy apartheid — Labour's policy

Staff Reporter

THE Labour Party's policy was the destruction of apartheid, the stormy meeting in Bishop Lavis was told.

Addressing last night's meeting after the police ejected election boycotters, Mr Carter Ebrahim, the Labour Party candidate for South Cape, said

Accusations fly a poll meeting viol

By DAVID BREIER
Staff Reporter

ACCUSATIONS and counter-

police acted after demonstrators threw chairs, injuring people In such situations innocent

crowd which broke up the meeting and there was at least one arrest.

(Details — page 3)

Destroy apartheid — Labour's policy

Staff Reporter

THE Labour Party's policy was the destruction of apartheid, the stormy meeting in Bishop Lavis was told.

Addressing last night's meeting after the police ejected election boycotters, Mr Carter Ebrahim, the Labour Party candidate for South Cape, said the party's policy was "the removal of discrimination from the statute books".

Referring to accusations by boycotters that election candidates had been lured by the R43 000 parliamentary salaries, he said no such accusations had been made about white parliamentary salaries.

"But when a brown man goes to Parliament he is a 'sell-out'," he added.

He said R43 000 was comparable to a school principal's salary.

"When we have power, we can help our people. It's all about power," he said.

Mr Vernon Sass, the Labour Party's candidate in Matroosfontein, said the real sell-outs were people who said residents should not buy their houses.

Mr Nic Isaacs, the party's candidate in Bishop Lavis, said his track record for service in the area began 10 years ago.

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

● Full list of nominations — Page 15

Accusations fly after poll meeting violence

By DAVID BREIER
Staff Reporter

ACCUSATIONS and counter-accusations flew today after police stormed into the community hall at Bishop Lavis last night when demonstrators broke up a Labour Party election meeting.

Mr Jonathan de Vries, a spokesman for the United Democratic Front which was involved in last night's demonstration, said the meeting had been "set up to enable the police to subdue democratic forces".

He accused the Labour Party and the police of intimidation and of starting the violence.

But Labour Party spokesmen laid the blame on the demonstrators for intimidating people going to the meeting.

A police spokesman said the police acted after demonstrators threw chairs, injuring people. In such situations innocent people might be accidentally hurt by police acting against the real culprits, and the public would understand this, he said.

Last night the special police reaction unit and uniformed police, wielding sjamboks, charged into the hall after pandemonium broke out and chairs had been thrown.

HEAD WOUND

Shoes and spectacles were left strewn on the floor as police ejected the youthful crowd which had broken up the meeting. At least one person was arrested.

Mr William Douglas, 44, of Ottery, bled profusely from a head wound. He was treated in the hall and then went home.

After police had cleared the hall of anti-election groups, the meeting resumed. But outside, stones were thrown and police dispersed the crowds which regrouped some distance from the hall.

Demonstrators from the Bishop Lavis Action Committee, the Cape Action League, the United Democratic Front and the Federation of Cape Civics, then met in a nearby church hall, issuing a statement blaming police for starting the violence.

Several older people at the meeting complained that they had been hit as police had lashed out indiscriminately.

● A University of the Western Cape student who was arrested at last night's meeting is due to appear in the Athlone Magistrate's Court tomorrow.

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

Officials demolish hundreds of squatter shelters at KTC

Labour Reporter

WESTERN Cape Development Board officials, backed by armed police, demolished hundreds of shelters at KTC today, in a tense atmosphere.

Structures sheltering the old and the sick that have never before been demolished were torn down by board workers. People showed medical certificates to inspectors but the demolitions continued.

The board workers, all of whom are black, looked grim and tense as squatters hurled insults at them. They carried away sheets of plastic and branches.

The raid, which was the biggest so far, follows the 400 Crossroads refugees' refusal to move to a site in the Crossroads complex. They are supporters of Mr Oliver Memani.

The squatters have been living on the open site between New Crossroads and KTC for seven months after fleeing violence at Crossroads.

Yesterday, Mr Memani turned down an offer of 150 to 200 sites between Nyanga Extension sqyuatter camp and Mahobe Drive in Nyanga East.

It became clear at the site today that people were too afraid of the dominant Crossroads faction to move to the Crossroads complex. They are suspicious of promises of police protection, which they claim has been ineffective in the past.

"BROKE WINDOWS"

"When Ngxobongwana supporters in New Crossroads broke peoples' windows and cut their telephone wires last year, the police knew about it and nothing was done to stop them," Mr Memani said.

Mr William Hermans, who is a nightwatchman for a security firm, said he had not been able to sleep for several days.

"When I knock off work at 6 am, the board comes and I cannot sleep. I think I am going to be fired tonight," he said.

Scores of people gathered round as board workers demolished Mr Memani's wood and hardboard house. Mr Memani's 13-year-old son, Ntsikelelo, who has flu, stayed in bed throughout the lengthy operation.

People cheered and broke into song when the board truck carrying confiscated building materials got stuck in sand dunes near Mr Memani's house.

Argus 24/7/84 (307)

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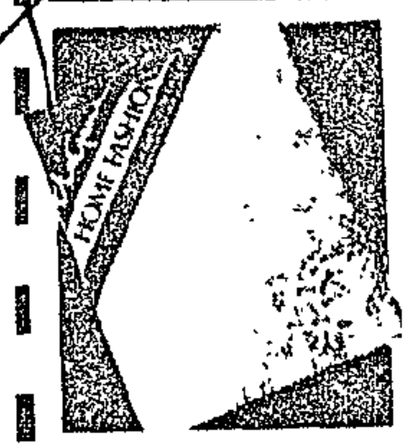

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 Mercury 24/7/84 (304A)

Curry takes Cape seat unopposed

Mercury Reporter

THE stormy petrel of coloured politics, former Labour Party national chairman David Curry, was returned unopposed as the Labour candidate for the Cape Pniel seat in the new House of Representatives yesterday when nominations closed.

But the party's national leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, faces a contest in the Cape Swartkop constituency with Mr Abdul Tiry, Eastern Cape provincial leader of the People's Congress Party, in the elections on August 22.

The PCP's national leader, Mr Peter Marais, is opposing Labour candidate N M Isaacs in the Cape Bishop Lavis constituency.

Labour has fielded candidates for all 80 seats in the House of Representatives — four have been returned unopposed — and its nearest rival, the PCP, has put forward 61

In Natal, Mr Trevor Potgieter, who recently resigned from the Labour Party, is standing as an independent in a three-way contest in Greenwood Park against Mr D C Young, Labour, and Mr Allan Fynn, PCP.

The PCP's Natal leader, Mr Morris Fynn, is challenging Labour candidate Tommy Abrahams in Wentworth.

Other Natal nominations were: Natal Interior, Mr E D Dunn (LP), Mr Sidney Bond (PCP); Natal Mid-East, Mr M R Lewis (LP), Mr H Baxter (PCP), Mr M Hoskins (ind), Mr Mr H Peterson (ind); Durban Suburbs, Mr C J Kippen (LP), Mr P A Marcus (PCP).

(Report by N Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

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ation or the ground floor offices of The Natal M
tasting starts at 5 p m and goes through until 9 p
Here Chookie Humphreys (left) tastes some of S
Arnold's, Delheim wine, while the managing dir
publishers of the Mercury, Mr David

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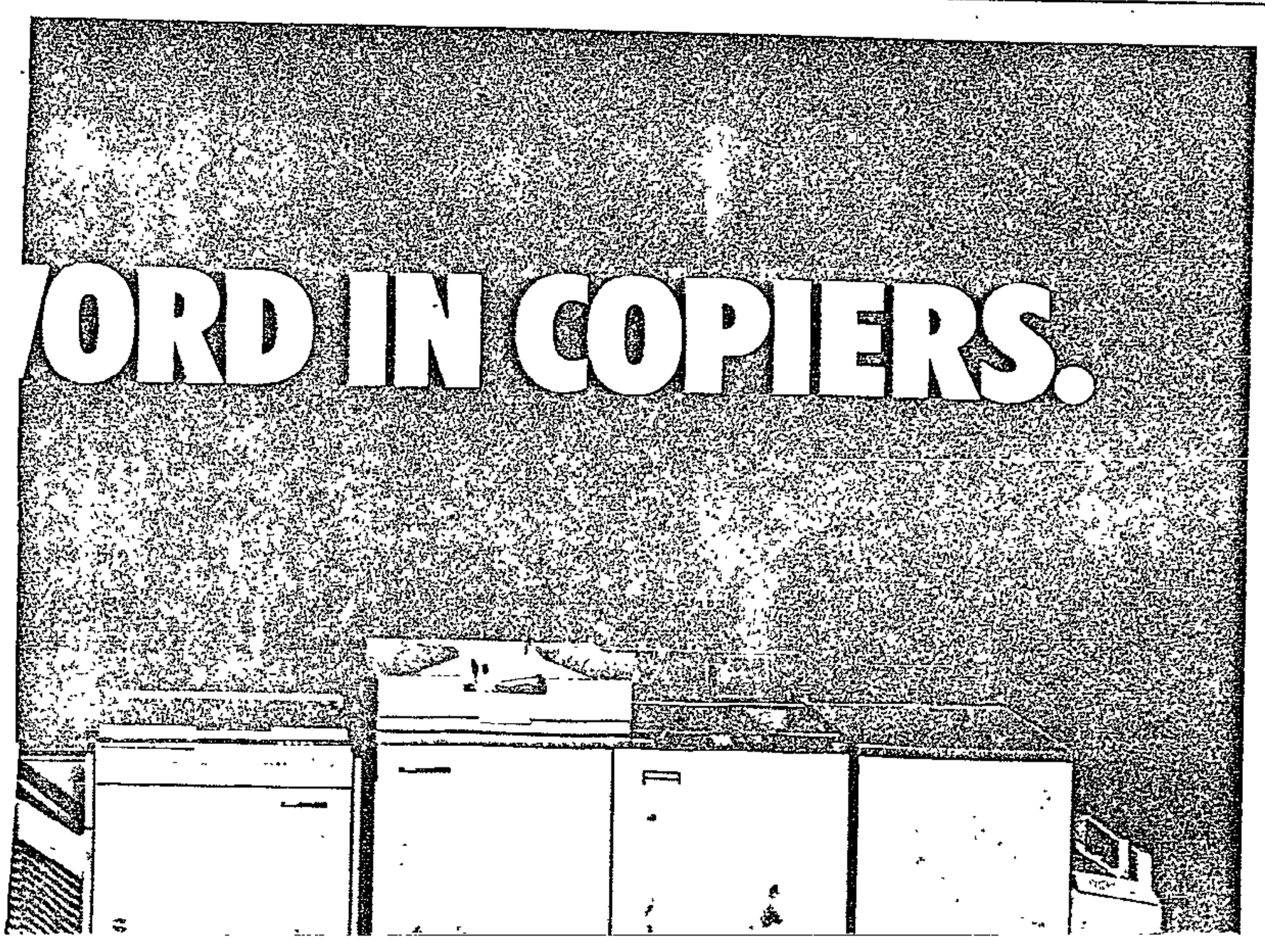

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RDM 24/7/84 (304A)

Party head accused of assaulting rivals

Mail Reporter

THE Transvaal leader of Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party was charged yesterday with assaulting leading members of the rival Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) as well as the provincial secretary of the United Democratic Front.

Mr Henry Padayachee, who is also chairman of the Western Transvaal Cultural Society (WTCS), faces three charges of assault and one of crimen injuria.

He is alleged to have entered the Lenasia home of TIC secretary Mr Ismail Momoniat on April 1 this year.

There, it is claimed, he hit Mr Momoniat and a journalist Mr Mohamed Valli, as well as the UDF's Transvaal secretary Mr Feizel Mamdoo.

He is also alleged to have called Mr Momoniat's sister, Yasmin, a "f...ing bitch".

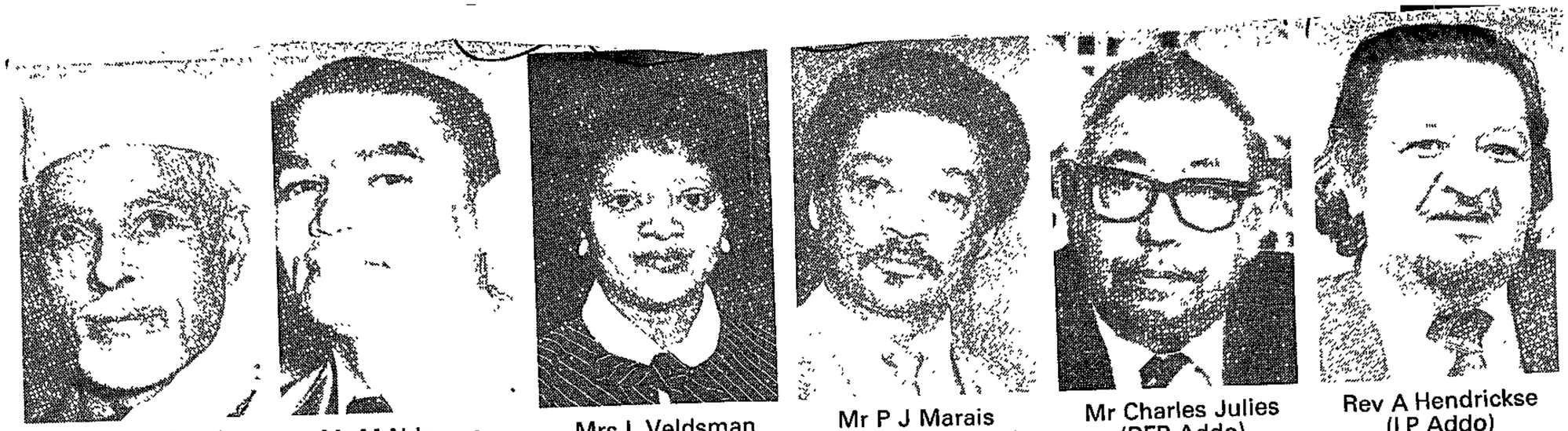
Mr Padayachee was not asked to plead. The case was postponed to September 3.

The 35-year-old politician has lodged a counter-claim of assault against Mr Momoniat, which will be heard in the Johannesburg District Court today.

Mr Padayachee was accompanied by the WTCS public relations officer Mr Hassen Laher and Mr Miley Makda, joint chairman of the Lenasia Committee of Concern. They sat together at one end of the corridor.

Mr Momoniat, with his parents and fellow complainants, sat on benches at the opposite end of the passage.

Mr C J de la Rey was on the bench.



Sheik G A Bardien (PCP South Cape) | Mr M N Isaacs (LP Bishop Lavis) | Mrs L Veldsman (PCP Retreat) | Mr P J Marais (PCP Bishop Lavis) | Mr Charles Julies (RFP Addo) | Rev A Hendrickse (LP Addo)

C. Times 24/7/84 (304A)

Battle between the LP and PCP

By MICHAEL ACOTT
Political Correspondent

THE battle for control of the new coloured parliamentary chamber will be fought between two of the four parties which registered candidates yesterday for the August 22 elections.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party was the only one to field candidates in each of the 80 seats for the House of Representatives.

The only other party which can hope for a majority when the coloured chamber is convened in September is the People's Congress Party of Mr Peter Marais, which put up 59 candidates.

The Freedom Party of Mr Arthur Booysen, with 24 candidates, and its offshoot, the Reformed Freedom Party of Mr Charles Julies, with 11, will be minority parties, even if all their candidates win.

A 12th RFP candidate, Ms Zainoenisa Maneveldt, missed nomination by minutes. She sought to hand in her nomination forms just after the returning officer at Hanover Park had declared nominations closed yesterday.

There are 33 independent candidates.

The surprise of yesterday's nominations was that the fifth party to register for the election, the New Convention People's Party, failed to nominate a single candidate. The NCPP is led by the Rev J M Vosloo.

A total of 203 candidates will contest the elections after four, all from the Labour Party, were elected unopposed yesterday. They included the former LP chairman, Mr David Curry, in Pniel.

Those returned unopposed yesterday, and the others elected on August 22, will be Members of Parliament-designate until the new Constitution is implemented on September 3.

The same will apply to those elected to the Indian chamber, the House of Delegates, when nominations close on July 30, and in the August 28 elections.

The third chamber in the new Parliament will be the present white House of Assembly, with its current MPs.

There was a strong police presence at nomination courts throughout the country yesterday. No incidents were reported but violence flared at a LP meeting in Bishop Lavis last night.

(Report by M P Acott, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town)

RFP woman was too late

Staff Reporter

A MEMBER of the Reform Freedom Party was disqualified as an official candidate for Hanover Park after handing her nomination in late.

Ms Zainoenisa Maneveldt was disqualified by the returning officer, Mr Dormeul Vosloo, when she tried to hand in her nomination form and deposit less than a minute after he had declared nominations closed.

Mrs Maneveldt said she had not understood the procedure as this was the first time she had ever stood for election.

(Report by Hilary Venables, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

4 LP candidates unopposed

Political Correspondent

FOUR Labour Party candidates were returned unopposed when nominations closed yesterday

They are Mr D Curry (Pniel), Mr N J Padiachy (Genadendal), Mr P T Saunders (Southern Free State) and Mr G L Leeuw (Eastern Free State).

All four party leaders were opposed.

The LP leader, the Rev A Hendrickse, faces a challenge from Mr A W Tiry. The People's Congress Party leader, Mr P Marais, faces Mr N M Isaacs. The Freedom Party leader, Mr A Booysen, is opposed by Mr D D Nieuwenhoudt. The Reformed Freedom Party's Mr C Julies faces Mr P Hendrickse and Mr I Daniels.

(Report by M P Acott, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

Election delights Curry

Staff Reporter

MR DAVID CURRY, a former national chairman of the Labour Party, became one of the first coloured people elected to the new tri-cameral parliament yesterday when he was returned unopposed as the Labour Party member for Pniel.

No other parties put up candidates against him at the Stellenbosch nomination court, and Mr Curry said he was surprised that no independents would oppose him.

He was elected to the House of Representatives yesterday with effect from September 3, when the new constitution comes into effect.

His constituency includes the Stellenbosch area, Pniel, Franschhoek, Simondium, Kylemore and Wemmershoek.

"I am delighted to be elected, though it is not the kind of parliament I would wish for," Mr Curry said.

"The real battle will start now, and a lot of hard work lies ahead. I am engaged in the political fight against apartheid. Housing remains a tremendous problem, and it must be finally settled that black people can live in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu."

Mr Curry's political experience stretches back to before the passing of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, when he was a member of the Progressive Party.

(Report by Peter Denneby, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

Union pledges to boycott elections

Labour Reporter

THE 12 000-strong General Workers' Union (GWU) has pledged to co-operate with other trade unions and "progressive organizations" in the campaign to boycott the elections for the coloured and Indian Houses in the new parliament next month.

The decision was taken at the annual GWU national conference held in Cape Town at the weekend, attended by some 120 delegates from centres throughout the country.

The conference declared that the union had an "important and legitimate role to play in the struggle for a non-racial democratic society".

The new constitution was based on racial discrimination and was intended to reinforce apartheid in South Africa, and the union therefore called on its members to fight the new constitution.

"In particular, it calls upon those of its members who are entitled to vote in the forthcoming elections to refuse to vote, and resolves to co-operate with other unions and progressive organizations in the campaign to boycott the elections on the 22nd and 28th of August," the resolution stated.

The GWU is among more than 20 emergent unions expected to unite in a new federation of independent unions later this year.

(Report by R de Villiers, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

Boycott politics cannot break stranglehold of apartheid — Rabie

304A

Star

24/7/84

By Gary Van Staden, Political Staff

The apartheid system rested on only a few laws, and those laws could be replaced, the Transvaal leader of the Labour Party, Mr Jac Rabie, told a House of Representatives election meeting in Reiger Park last night.

Mr Rabie, candidate in the Reiger Park constituency for the House of Representatives in the new tricameral Parliament, said his party had already scored notable successes over the South African Government, "and we are not even in Parliament yet".

He pointed to the fact that the Prohibition of Political Interference Act has been referred to a select committee, and to a constitutional ammendment which allows the Speaker of the House of Assembly (whites) to call a joint sitting of the three parliaments, as proof of Labour Party successes.

Mr Rabie said that so-called "boycott politics" has done nothing to break the stranglehold of apartheid, while the Rev Allan Hendrickse's refusal to register "ethnic" political parties had forced the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, to back down on the political interference issue.

"In addition," said Mr Rabie, "we were told that at no time would a joint sitting of the three parliaments be possible outside of ceremonial occasions. "But due to Labour Party pressure the constitution has been ammended to allow for such sittings to discuss ordinary business," he added.

He urged the 300 people attending the public meeting to carefully consider the options before listening to those calling for a boycott of the elections due to be held next month.

"The Government waved its hand and pronounced us "coloureds" and then stripped us of all our God-given rights. The new dispensation presents us with an opportunity to rid ourselves of these ungodly laws," Mr Rabie said.

"It was boycott politics that put Dr D F Malan into power in 1948, and I urge you to think about the damage boycott politics can do to us today."

Of the resistance to participation in the new tricameral Parliament, Mr Rabie said that no white man had ever intimidated him in the past and no coloured man was going to do so now.

He added that the Labour Party welcomed members of other race groups, including blacks, "so how can anyone say we are deserting our black brothers?"

"We will be fighting tooth and nail to bring blacks into the system," Mr Rabie said.

"Just a few years ago Mr John Vorster said that non-whites would sit in a South African Parliament over his dead body. Well, Mr Vorster is no longer with us and we are going to Parliament. It would be a tragedy if our own people stopped us," he added.

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Argus 24/7/84

Ex-Freedom Party leader joins Labour

JOHANNESBURG. — The former national chairman of the Freedom Party, Mr Russel Landsberg, has joined the Labour Party.

Mr J Douw, secretary of the party's Klerksdorp branch, said today that Mr Landsberg, who resigned from the Freedom Party last week, had signed a Labour Party membership form on Saturday.

Mr Douw said it was not planned to appoint Mr Landsberg to the regional executive of the party at present but he might be nominated for future elections.

HENDRICKSE

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said from his home in Uitenhage he believed Mr Landsberg had resigned from the Freedom Party because of dissapointment at the leadership of Mr Arthur Booysen, the FP head.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr Landsberg had approached him personally last week to ask whether he could join the Labour Party. The LP leader had told Mr Landsberg he was welcome "as soon as he signs on the dotted line."

Asked if he was pleased Mr Landsberg had joined his Party, Mr Hendrickse said: "The spirit of conversion would be lost if one was not prepared to accept people who once disagreed with you." — Sapa.

(Report by G G Smith, 627 Old Mutual Building, Harrison St, Johannesburg).

High number of independents — but are they really?

Labour Party is to contest all 80 seats in the election

By Gary van Staden, Political Staff

The Labour Party has kept its first election promise and nominated candidates for all 80 seats in the ballot next month for the House of Representatives.

Labour's only serious rival will be the People's Congress Party, which has put 58 candidates into the field. The election campaign will centre on contests between them.

After the nationwide sittings of nomination courts yesterday, the Labour Party already has four men in the new tricameral Parliament. No other candidates were nominated for the Pniel and Gendendal constituencies in the Cape and the Eastern and Southern Free State seats.

The Cape has 60 seats in total, the Transvaal 10, and Natal and the Orange Free State five each.

The Labour Party MP for Pniel is the former deputy leader of the party, Mr David Curry.

The PCP, led by Mr Peter Marais, will contest 47 seats in the Cape, six in the Transvaal, all five in Natal, and one in the Free State.

Mr Arthur Booysen's Freedom Party is next on the list with a total of 25 candidates, while the Reformed Freedom Party of Mr Charles Julies has put up 11 names.

Independent candidates make up a surprisingly large proportion of the field — 33 of the 207 nominations.

A fifth political party which registered for the elections, the New Convention People's Party, failed to put up a single candidate.

All four party leaders were nominated yesterday.

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, will contest the Cape constituency of Swartkops against Mr A W Tyrie of the PCP.

Mr Marais will contest another Cape seat, Bishop Lavis, against Mr Nic Isaacs of the Labour Party, while Mr Booysen takes on Labour Party candidate Mr Doods Nieuwenhoudt in the Transvaal constituency of Bosmont.

Mr Julies will fight a three-cornered contest for the Addo seat in the Cape against Mr P A Hendrickse, son of the Labour Party leader, and Mr I Daniels of the PCP.

The large number of independent candidates could cause problems. With generally low percentage polls expected, it is possible for a well-known local figure to muster enough support to upset candidates with formal party backing.

However, the People's Congress Party has claimed that many of the so-called independents are actually PCP supporters and intend to "cross the floor" should they win.

One "independent" is a former senior member of the Labour Party, Mr Trevor Potgieter, who left the party to contest the Natal seat of Greenwood Park. He is opposing the official Labour Party candidate, Mr Dennis Young, but has indicated that he will apply to rejoin the party should he win.

The following are the candidates nominated in the 80 constituencies, with their parties in brackets.

LP (Labour Party), FP (Freedom Party), PCP (People's Congress Party), RFP (Reformed Freedom Party).

CAPE PROVINCE

Addo: P A C Hendrickse (LP), I Daniels (PCP); C S Julies (RFP).
Belhar: A E Poole (LP); F J Sellidon (Independent); S E Wesso (Independent).
Berg River: G M E Carelse (LP); W E Soles (Independent); C D Scheepers (Independent).
Bethelsdorp: W J Dietrich (LP); S D Marongo (PCP).
Bishop Lavis: N M Isaacs (LP); P J Marais (PCP).
Bokkeveld: D Adams (LP); Y Rhoda (Independent).
Bontheuwel: P C McKenzie (LP); J H Delport (PCP)
Britstown: L J Hollander (LP); S Malgas (PCP).
Daljosaphat: J J Swartz (LP), L R Rudolph (PCP); J W Solomon (Independent).
Diamant: L C Abrahams (LP); J A Pinetown (PCP), L L Kenny (Independent)
Dias: E P C Buys (LP); P J Aarons (PCP).
Deysselsdorp: J D Swiegelaar (LP); J Prins (PCP)
Elsies River: P J Kleinsmidt (LP); L P Steyn (PCP)
Esselen Park: J D Johnson (LP), A Ismail (PCP), A G Bronn (Independent)
Gelvandale: F L Erasmus (LP); D Cairncross (PCP); C S Windvogel (FP).
Genadendal: N J Padiachy (LP) unopposed.
Grassy Park: J G van den Heever (LP); Y Deers (PCP); N A I Booysen (RFP).
Border: P A S Mopp (LP); D K Meintjies (PCP); W J George (FP).
Griqualand West: I Essop (LP); Bishop D J Kanyiles (PCP); K B Webb (Independent).
Haarlem: C A Green (LP); Paramount Chief A S le Fleur (PCP); G D Tee (FP)
Hanover Park: K H Lategan (LP); J Bennett (PCP).
Hantam: J D Krieger (LP); L Hartzenberg (PCP)
Hawston: A P Adriaanse (LP); P Carolous (Independent); C J C de Bruyn (Independent).
Heideveld: A F Johannes (LP); F M Adams (PCP).
Kalahari: Rev A A Julies (LP); J Daries (PCP); J Smith (FP).
Karee: Mrs C S M Sweetland (LP); J W Stevens (Independent).
Kasselsvlei: Mrs J Pilcher (LP); P Cloete (Independent), C Cupido (PCP), C I R Fortuin (RFP).
Liesbeek: A Stanley (LP); D E Williams (PCP).
Macassar: C B Herandien (LP); L Henderson (PCP); S Abels (Independent).
Mamre: A Williams (LP); A Croutz (PCP).
Manenberg: R J Lackay (LP); J Delport (PCP); J C Samuels (RFP).
Matroosfontein: V Sass (LP); A C de Bruyn (PCP), S J Jonker (RFP).
Mid-Karoo: R D Williams (LP); B Japhtas (PCP), D H van Staden (Independent).
Mitchells Plain: L T Landers (LP), J Kennedy (PCP); Mrs S Carolus (RFP).
Northern Cape: L J Jenneke (LP), A E Davids (PCP); D van Wyk (FP).
North-East Cape: C Hare (FP); R O'Reilly (LP); S P J Smith (PCP).
Nuweveld: S Essop (LP); P J Bowers (PCP)
Ottery: D T de la Cruz (PCP), W B Pieterse (LP)
Outeniqua: F G Herwels (LP); E Maxwell (PCP).
Paiel: D M Curry (LP) unopposed.
Ravensmead: J W Christian (LP); M Jacobs (PCP), G F Blouws (Independent), Rev E Malie (RFP).
Rawsonville: B J Andrews (LP), P A Carelse (Independent).
Retreat: G N Morkel (LP); Mrs L P Veldsman (PCP).
Rietvlei: H P Ross (LP); C Britain (Independent), S A W Fester (PCP); B J F Simons (Independent).
Riversdale: P J L Klink (LP); D W N Josephs (Independent)
Robertson: W J Meyer (LP); E F Jones (Independent)
Schauderville: C Redcliffe (LP); G Julies (PCP); W Africa (FP).
Silvertown: F E Peters (LP); K Khan (PCP).
Springbok: M Friedberg (LP); D Baard (RFP), J M Engelbrecht (FP).
Steinkopf: G A Links (LP), A Balie (Independent), C E Cloete (FP), J W H du Plessis (Independent)
Strandfontein: P C Harris (LP); Mrs S F Arendse (RFP); J E W Calvert (PCP)
South Cape: C H Ebrahim (LP); G A Bardien (PCP)
Suurbraak: P S Harmse (LP); J P King (Independent), C H Hartnick (FP)
Swartkops. Rev H J Hendrickse (LP), A W Tyrie (PCP)
Swartland: J C Oosthuizen (LP), G Leith (PCP)
Table Mountain: M D Arendse (LP); S Hoosen (PCP)
Upington: M H Swartz (LP), G le Fleur (PCP)
Fish River: C Koeberg (LP), P F Bosch (PCP); S R Jacobs (FP)
Vredendal: P Meyer (LP); C A le Fleur (PCP).
Wuppertal: C Wyngaardt (LP) J Dirkse (PCP), T S M de Leeuw (Independent)

TRANSVAAL

Alra Park. P S Jacobs (LP), P W Roman (PCP), I J Sampson (FP)
Bosmont: D D Nieuwenhoudt (LP); A P Booysen (FP)
Eersterus. L Dewrance (LP), W Campbell (PCP), P Damons (FP)
Eldorado Park: D Mateman (LP); C Jacobs (PCP), A A Hansrod (RFP), K M Alexander (FP)
Klipspruit West: J Reeves (LP), D Prinsloo (PCP), B Anthony (FP), C Seefort (Independent)
Newclare. G R Wessels (LP), L du Preez (PCP)
Northern Transvaal: J J A Smith (LP), A B Campbell (PCP), C O Abrahams (FP)
Reiger Park: J A Rabie (LP), H E Adolph (Independent), A D Jeftha (FP)
Rust Ter Vaal: S K Louw (LP); S Petersen (FP)
Toekomsrus. I Richards (LP), A McNellie (Independent), A Otto (FP)

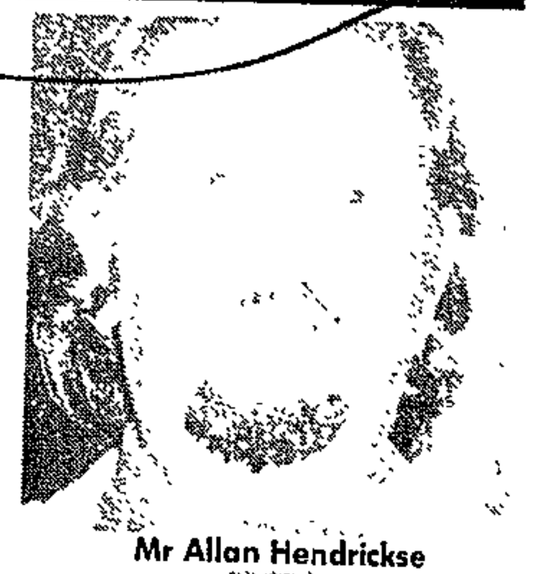
NATAL

Durban Suburbs: C J Kippen (LP); P A Marcus (PCP)
Greenwood Park. D C Young (LP), A Fynn (PCP), T Potgieter (Independent).
Natal Mid-East: M R Lewis (LP); H Baxter (PCP), M Hoskins (Independent), H Petersen (Independent)
Natal Interior: E D Dunn (LP); S Bond (PCP).
Wentworth: T Abrahams (LP), M Fynn (PCP).

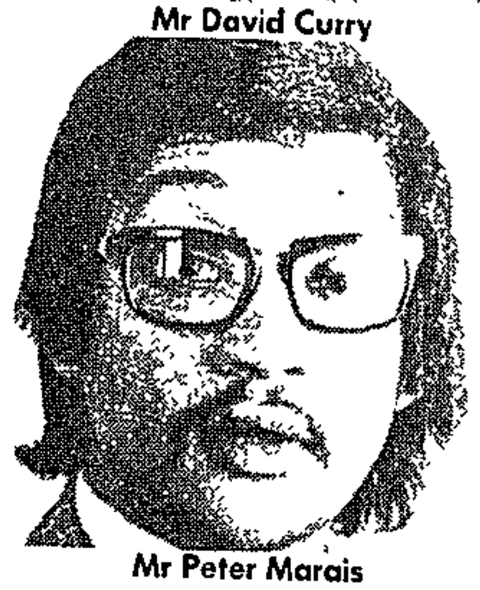
FREE STATE

Heidedal B Grobbler (LP); A G Beukes (FP); H C Titus (Independent).
Eastern Free State P T Saunders (LP) unopposed.
Opkoms G Macalagh (LP); A A Appies (RFP), A R Juhus (FP)
Southern Free State G L Leeuw (LP) unopposed
Western Free State G Rooskrans (LP); A G Hankan (PCP), J Sinnye (FP).

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Mr Allan Hendrickse



Mr David Curry

Mr Peter Marais

Argus 24/7/84

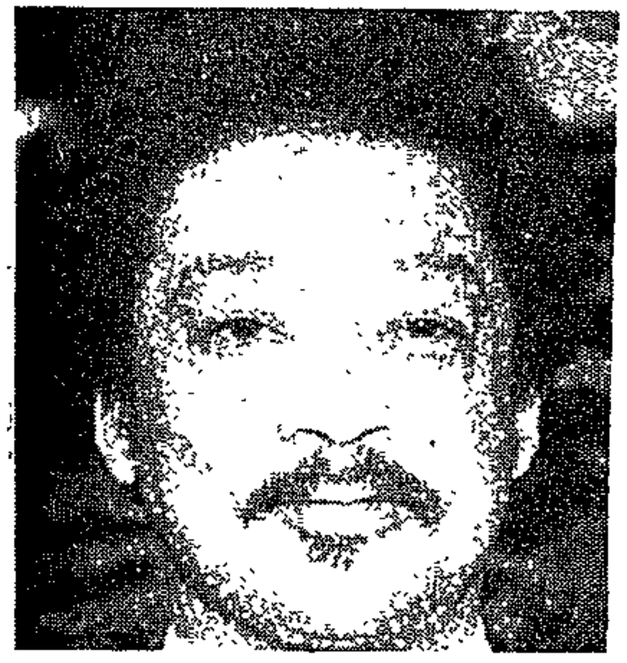
CANDIDATES

304A

80 Labour nominees

The Rev Allan Hendrickse

Mr Charles Julies



Mr Peter Marais

Mr Arthur Booysen

Argus Correspondent

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The Labour Party's only serious rival will be the People's Congress Party, which has put 58 candidates in the field and the election campaign will centre on contests between the two.

Following yesterday's nationwide sittings of nomination courts, the Labour Party already has four men in the new tricameral parliament.

No other candidates were nominated for the Pniel and Gendendal constituencies in the Cape and the Eastern and Southern Free State seats.

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The large number of independent candidates contesting the election could cause problems for the political parties. With generally low-percentage polls expected, it is possible for a well-known local figure to muster enough support to upset candidates with formal party backing.

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

Three minutes changed the election for Joey

Staff Reporter

THE hardest-luck story of parliamentary nomination day was that of the man who missed the deadline by three minutes after puffing his way around Paarl to sort out red tape.

He is Mr Joey Voss, 63, caretaker for the Paarl municipality, who was to have stood for the Reformed Freedom Party in Rawsonville.

Mr Voss, a former athletics and rugby administrator, said he arrived in good time at the magistrate's court where the nomination court was sitting.

R400 DEPOSIT

With him he had two witnesses to stand surety for his R400 deposit. But he was told a bank guarantee was necessary.

So he dashed out and caught a taxi to his bank in Paarl East. He was told to go to the main Paarl branch of the bank.

He caught another taxi to the bank, where he was immediately given the bank guarantee.

He then ran from the bank to the court.

"I am not a young many anymore, but I sprinted all the way," he said.

He arrived at the returning officer's office two minutes before the 11am deadline, only to realise that the court was sitting elsewhere in the building. As he reached the nomination court he saw people walking out. The court had risen.

Breathless, he told the returning officer, Mr S C Murphy, of his exertions. But nothing could be done. The court had adjourned and Mr Voss was not a candidate.

Rawsonville is to be contested by Mr B J Andrews of the Labour Party and Mr D A Carelse, an independent.

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

Nominations for the election for the House of Representatives

CAPE.

ADDO
Mr P Hendrickse (LP), Mr I Daniels (PCP), Mr C Julies (RFP).

BELHAR
Mr A E Poole (LP), Mr F J Sellidon (Ind), Mr S E Wesso (Ind).

BERG RIVER
Mr G M Carelse (LP), Mr W E Sauls (Ind), Mr C D Scheepers (Ind).

BETHELSDORP
Mr W J Dietrich (LP), Mr S D Marongo (PCP).

BISHOP LAVIS
Mr N M Isaacs (LP), Mr P J Marais (PCP).

BOKKEVELD
Mr Y Rhoda (Ind), Mr D Adams (LP).

BONTEHEUWEL
Mr P C McKenzie (LP), Mr J Delport (PCP).

BORDER
Mr W J George (FP), Mr D K Meintjies (PCP), Mr P S Mopp (LP).

BRITSTOWN
Mr L J Hollander (LP), Mr S Malgas (PCP).

DAL JOSAPHAT
Mr L R Rudolph (PCP), Mr J W Solomon (Ind), Mr J J Swartz (LP).

DIAMANT
Mr L L Kenney (Ind), Mr L A Abrahams (LP), Mr J Pinetown (PCP).

DIAZ
Mr P J Aarons, (PCP), Mr E P C Buis (LP).

DYSSELSDORP
Mr J Prins (PCP), Mr J D Swigelaar (LP).

ELSIES RIVER
Mr P J Kleinsmidt (LP), Mr L P Steyn (PCP).

ESSELEN PARK
Mr A G Bronn (Ind), Mr A Ismail (PCP), Mr J D Johnson (LP).

FISH RIVER
Mr P F Bosch (PCP), Mr S R Jacobs (FP), Mr C Koeberg (LP).

GELVANDALE
Mr F L Erasmus (LP), D Cairncross (PCP), C S Windvogel (FP).

GENADENDAL
Mr N J Padiachy (LP) unopposed.

GRASSY PARK
Mr N A I Booysen (RPF), Mr Y Deers (PCP), Mr J G van den Heever (LP).

GRIQUALAND WEST
Dr J Essop (LP), Bishop D J Kanyiles (PCP), Mr K B Webb (Ind).

HAARLEM
Mr C Green (LP), Mr A Le Fleur (PCP), Mr G Tee (RFP).

HANOVER PARK
Mr J Bennett (PCP), Mr K H Lategan (LP).

HANTAM
Mr L Hartzenberg (PCP), Mr J D Krieger (LP).

HAWSTON
Mr A D Adriaanse (LP), Mr P Carolus (Ind), Mr C J C de Bruin (Ind).

HEIDEVELD
Mr F M Adams (PCP), Mr A F Johannes (LP).

KALAHARI
Mr A A Julies (LP), Mr J Daries (PCP), Mr J F A Smith (FP).

KAREE
Mr C S M Sweetland (LP), Mr J W Stevens (Ind).

KASSELSVLEI
Mr P Cloete (Ind), Mr C Cupido (PCP), Mr C I R Fortuin (RFP), J Pilcher (LP).

LIESBEEK
Mr A Stanley (LP), Mr D Williams (PCP).

MACASSAR
Mr S Abels (Ind), Mr L M Henderson (PCP), Mr C B Herandien (LP).

MAMRE
Mr A J Croutz (PCP), Mr A Williams (LP).

MANENBERG
Mr J L Delport (PCP), Mr R J Lackay (LP), Mr J C Samuels (RFP).

MATROOSFONTEIN
Mr V Sass (LP), Mr A C de Bruyn (PCP), Mr S J Jonker (RFP).

MID KAROO
Mr R D Williams (LP), Mr D Japhtas (PCP), Mr D H van Staden (Ind).

MITCHELL'S PLEIN
Mr Luwellyn Landers (LP), Mr John Kennedy (PCP), Mrs Sheila Carolus (RFP).

NORTHERN CAPE
Mr A Botha (Ind), Mr A E Davids (PCP), Mr L J Jenneke (LP), Mr D J A van Wyk (FP).

NORTH EASTERN CAPE
Mr C Hare (FP), Mr R O'Reilly (LP), Mr S P Smith (PCP).

NUWEVELD
Mr S Essop (LP), Mr P J Bowers (PCP).

OTTERY
Mr D T de la Cruz (PCP), Mr W B Pieterse (LP)

OUTENIQUA
Mr F G Herwels (LP), Mr E Maxwell (PCP)

PNIEL
Mr D M G Curry (LP) unopposed

RAVENSMEAD
G F Blouws (Ind), Mr J W Christians (LP), Mr M P Jacobs (PCP), the Rev E Malie (RFP).

RAWSONVILLE
Mr B J Andrews (LP), Mr P A Carelse (Ind).

RETREAT
Mr G N Morkel (LP), Mrs L P Veldsman (PCP).

RIETVLEI
Mr H P Ross (LP), Mr S A W, Fester (PCP), Mr B J F Simons (Ind), Mr C Britain (Ind).

RIVERSDAL
Mr D W N Josephs (Ind), P J L Klink (LP).

ROBERTSON
Mr E F Jones (Ind), Mr W J Meyer (LP).

SCHAUDERVILLE
Mr W Africa (FP), Mr C Redcliffe (LP), Mr G I Julies (PCP).

SILVERTOWN
Mr F E Peters (LP), Mr K Kahn (PCP).

SPRINGBOK
Mr M Friedberg (LP), Mr D Baard (RFP), Mr J M Englebrecht (FP).

STEINKOPF
Mr A Balie (Ind), Mr C E Cloete (FP), Mr J W H du Plessis (Ind), Mr G A Links (LP).

STRANDFONTEIN
Mrs S F Arendse (RFP), Mr J E W Calvert (PCP), Mr P C Harris (LP).

SOUTHERN CAPE
Mr C H Ebrahim (LP), Mr G A Bardien (PCP).

SUURBRAAK
Mr J P King (Ind), Mr P S Harmse (LP), Mr C H Hartnick (FP).

SWARTKOPS
The Rev H J Hendrickse (LP), Mr A W Tiry (PCP).

SWARTLAND
Mr J C Oosthuizen (LP), Mr G M Leith (PCP).

TAFELBERG
Mr M D Arendse (LP), Mrs S Hoosen (PCP).

UPINGTON
Mr M H Swartz (LP), Mr G le Fleur (PCP).

VREDENDAL
Mr C A le Fleur (PCP), Mr P Meyer (LP).

WUPPERTAL
T S M de Leeuw (Ind), Mr J Dirkse (PCP), Mr C A Wyngaard (LP).

NATAL

DURBAN SUBURBS
Mr C J Kippen (LP), Mr P A Marcus (PCP).

GREENWOOD PARK
Mr D C Young (LP), Mr A Fynn (PCP), Mr T Potgieter (Ind).

NATAL MID-EAST
Mr M R Lewis (LP), Mr H Baxter (PCP), Mr M Hoskins (Ind), Mr H Peterson (Indep).

NATAL INTERIOR
Mr E D Dunn (LP), Mr S Bond (PCP).

WENTWORTH
Mr T Abrahams (LP), Mr M Fynn (PCP).

FREE STATE

BLOEMFONTEIN OPKOMS
Mr G Macalagh, Mr A R Julies (FP), Mr A A Appies (RFP).

HEIDEDAL
Mr B Grobbler (LP), Mr A G Beukes (FP), Mr H C Titus (Ind).

EASTERN FREE STATE
Mr P T Saunders (LP) unopposed.

SOUTHERN FREE STATE
Mr Godfrey Leeuw (LP) unopposed.

WESTERN FREE STATE
Mr G Rooskrans (LP), Mr A G Hankan (PCP), Mr J Sinnye (FP).

TRANSVAAL

ALRA PARK
Mr P S Jacobs (LP), Mr P W Roman (PCP), Mr T J Sampson (FP)

BOSMONT
Mr D D Nieuwenhoudt (LP), Mr A P Booyse (FP).

EERSTERUS
Mr L Dewrance (LP), Mr W Campbell (PCP), Mr P Damons (FP).

ELDORADO PARK
Mr D Mateman (LP), Mr C Jacobs (PCP), A A Hansrod (RFP), Mr K M Alexander (FP).

KLIPSPRUIT WEST
Mr J Reeves (LP), Mr D Prinsloo (PCP), Mr P Anthony (FP).

NEWCLARE
Mr G R Wessels (LP), Mr L P du Preez (PCP).

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
Mr J J A Smith (LP), Mr A B Campbell, Mr C O Abrahams (FP).

REIGER PARK
Mr J A Rabie (LP), Mr H F Adolph (Ind), Mr A Jeftha (FP)

RUST TER VAAL
Mr S K Louw (LP), Mr S Petersen (FP).

TOEKOMSRUS
Mr I Richards (LP), Mr A McNellie (Ind), Mr A Otto (FP).

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

UDF challenged to debate poll boycott

Staff Reporter

People's Congress Party (PCP) leader Mr Peter Marais has challenged the leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) to a public debate.

The PCP is one of the parties standing for election to the House of Representatives while the UDF is leading the election boycott campaign.

"If they do not accept my challenge they will be shown up as loudmouths with no case to put," he said.

Mr Marais challenged to debate with any one of the UDF presidents — Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mr Archie Gumede or Mrs Albertina Sisulu — or UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak.

He suggested the debate could be at any venue and time agreed on by the UDF with costs shared.

"A lightweight"

In reply to the challenge, Mr Mosiwa Lekota, the publicity secretary of the UDF, said: "The national presidents of the UDF have a very tight schedule, but because Mr Marais is such a lightweight, we would send one of our vice presidents or junior officials to represent the UDF.

"They will debate with him at any time he is ready. He can bring all the people he wants — we will be ready," he said.

And responding to this reply, Mr Marais said it would be an unequal contest for himself, as leader, to debate with a vice president or junior official. "I want the top men," he said.

He added that the UDF could not keep on saying its presidents were too busy.

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

'Boycott candidates' claim is denied

Political Staff

Suggestions that anti-participation groups proposed using "boycott candidates" in next month's elections for the Houses of Representatives and Delegates were "disinformation and devoid of truth", Mr Saths Cooper has told The Star.

Mr Cooper, national convener of the National Forum — an organisation opposed to the new constitution and its implementation — was reacting to weekend reports that "boycott candidates" were being considered.

A weekend report said the plan was for candidates to stand for Parliament but then refuse to take their seats if elected.

"The report is devoid of truth," said Mr Cooper, who added he believed the "disinformation" had originated in Cape Town, home of the Labour Party.

The United Democratic Front, the other major organisation campaigning against the new tricameral Parliament, has already rejected the idea of "boycott candidates".

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Seminars to explain voting procedure

304 Star 25/7/84

Political Staff

The Department of Internal Affairs is to hold a series of seminars on election procedures before the ballot next month for the coloured and Indian Houses of the tricameral Parliament.

The seminars, aimed mainly at candidates, returning officers and electoral officers, will take place at all the major voting centres.

A seminar for those concerned with the House of Representatives will be held in Johannesburg at 9 am tomorrow.

One for those involved in the House of Delegates election is scheduled for August 1.

Candidates and other interested parties can obtain further details from the regional representatives of the Department of Internal Affairs at 77 Harrison Street, Johannesburg.

The seminars will deal mainly with voting procedures at polling stations, voting by those who cannot get to a polling station, and procedures for counting votes.

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

N Tvl gets into top gear for elections

Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — Campaigning for the election of members for the coloured House of Representatives on August 22 gets into top gear in the Northern Transvaal this week, when the Labour Party's Transvaal leader addresses a meeting here.

Mr Jack Rabie travels north on Saturday to speak in support of the party's candidate, Mr J J A Smith.

Mr Smith, a company secretary, was nominated on Monday, along with Mr A B Campbell, a boilermaker representing the People's Congress Party, and businessman Mr C O Abrahams of the Freedom Party.

The electorial officer, Mr J J Hamman, said 1 263 voters had registered in the Northern Transvaal constituency.

Polling stations will be set up at: Mara Police Station, near Louis Trichardt; the Pietersburg coloured school; the Laudium civic centre, Pretoria; Brits Magistrate's Court.

(Report by D Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg.)

Rdm 25/7/84 (304A)

I was called Govt stooge Padayachee tells court

Mail Reporter

MR HENRY Padayachee, Transvaal chairman of the National People's Party, yesterday claimed he had been branded a "Government stooge" in a pamphlet calling a boycott of a pro-constitution election meeting.

Mr Padayachee was giving evidence in the first day of a counter-claim of assault he has in the Johannesburg District Court against the secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), Mr Ismail Momoniat.

Mr Momoniat, together with the Transvaal secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Feizel Mamdoo and Mr Mohamed Valli, a journalist, are the complainants in a case where Mr Padayachee is accused of assaulting them.

Mr Momoniat, 26, pleaded not guilty to assaulting Mr Padayachee.

Mr Padayachee, 35, yesterday described the differences between his and Mr Momoniat's political beliefs as a "minor drift".

When asked by defence counsel Mr H Borolsky what he meant, he said: "Well, he's anti-Government and they call me a pro-Government guy."

"I support the elections and he doesn't. I wouldn't say that is a very serious difference."

Mr Padayachee, also the chairman of the Western Transvaal Cultural Society (WCTS), said TIC members had "given their word" that they would not interfere with a meeting his party was to hold on April 8 this year.

Desite this, he said, the TIC had embarked on a door-to-door mission, distributing pamphlets urging people to boycott the meeting.

Mr Padaychee was called a "Government stooge" in the leaflet.

The meeting — to be held to honour the 10th anniversary of the WTCS — was to feature Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party, as the main speaker.

The pamphlets were issued on April 1. On the same day a story appeared in a Sunday newspaper quoting the president of the TIC, Dr Essop Jassat, who called for a boycott of the meeting.

"The article also referred to me as being a Government stooge," Mr Padayachee said.

He said he had tried all day to contact Dr Jassat, Dr R A M Saloojee, vice-president of the TIC, and Mr Momoniat.

"I wanted to put it to them that they had gone back on their word. They had promised not to interfere with our meeting.

"At about 7pm that night I went to Mr Momoniat's home in Lenasia. He opened the door a crack and, when he saw who it was, slammed the door in my face.

"I became annoyed. Somebody else came along then and he opened the door and I went inside.

"We spoke about the pamphlet and the newspaper article. I told him to stop distributing the pamphlet.

"I wouldn't say we were having a heated argument. But suddenly Mr Momoniat got up and punched me in my face. I retaliated with a smack on the side of his head.

"When I left the house, I went to the police station and laid a charge of assault."

Mr Momoniat has claimed that Mr Padayachee hit him three times on the head, and also that he insulted his sister, Ms Yasmin Momoniat.

A charge of crimen injuria has also been laid against Mr Padayachee.

The hearing was postponed to September 5.

Mr P J Smith was on the bench and Ms E Smith appeared for the State.

RAND DAILY MAIL, Wednesday, July 25, 1984

304A

I am being smeared, says Labour man

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

THE controversy surrounding the parliamentary election bid of the Labour Party's deputy leader, Mr Miley Richards, deepened yesterday when he claimed a person using a fictitious name was trying to smear him.

Mr Richards was nominated on Monday for the Toekomsrus constituency in the coming coloured election.

He is being opposed by a former LP chairman in the constituency, Mr Ali McNellie, and Mr A Otto of the Freedom Party.

Yesterday a Mr Eric Johnson, who claimed to be the vice-chairman of the LP in Toekomsrus, told the Rand Daily Mail that he and about 60 LP members in the Randfontein and Roodepoort branches had resigned and planned to back Mr McNellie.

He claimed Mr McNellie was the choice of the local LP supporters, but LP leaders had insisted that Mr Richards be the party's official candidate.

Mr McNellie then resigned from the party and was nominated as an independent.

But yesterday Mr Richards said he had never heard of Mr Johnson and denied he was the vice-chairman of the LP in the area.

"It is absolute rubbish. I do not know him and the branch does not know him.

"You (The Rand Daily Mail) are doing a tremendous amount of damage by reporting this type of thing," he said.

Mr Richards denied he was not wanted as a candidate by the LP's supporters in the constituency.

He said that as the party's deputy leader he would not have stood in a seat where he had no backing.

In an interview with the Mail on the same subject last week Mr Richards did not deny Mr Johnson was vice-chairman of the LP in Toekomsrus even though Mr Johnson's claims were put to him.

Mr Johnson claimed in a telephone interview yesterday that LP supporters resented the fact that Mr Richards was standing in their area because he did not live in the constituency and had shown no interest in the area's problems when he was the representative in the old Coloured Representative Council.

Mr Richards said yesterday that after the Mail's report last week he had tried to trace Mr Johnson, but claimed no-one in the Toekomsrus branch knew him.

He said he would be meeting with the Toekomsrus branch today "to try to sort out this thing".

Mr Richards said he could not deny that people were resigning from the LP, but the situation was not as had been portrayed by the person interviewed by the Mail.

News by Chris Freimond, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

C. Times 25/7/84 304A

'Firm action' pledged

Crime Reporter

DISTURBANCES such as that at the Bishop Lavis Community Hall on Monday night not only hindered the South African Police in their main task of preventing crime but were also a "blot on our community in the Cape as a whole", Brigadier J G Odendaal, Divisional Commissioner for the Western Cape, said yesterday.

Brigadier Odendaal issued the statement following violence during a Labour Party meeting.

He said the SAP would take "firm action" against any form of intimidation or violence aimed at disturbing any lawful political meeting.

Brigadier Odendaal said yesterday that he had made it "quite clear" that in the field of politics the SAP was impartial.

"This impartiality should not be interpreted as tolerance of the infringement of the democratic rights of citizens and any intentional transgression of the law."

He said that "pandemonium" had erupted at the meeting, and it had been absolutely necessary to immediately restore order to avoid serious damage to property.

"I reiterate my warning that the SAP would take firm action against any intimidation, violence or threats of violence aimed at disturbing the orderly course of any lawful political meetings held by any population group."

304A

Fighting at meeting: 30 treated, says Blac

C. Times 25/7/84

Staff Reporters

A BISHOP LAVIS Action Committee (Blac) spokesman said yesterday that more than 30 people were treated for injuries and fractures at Peninsula hospitals after police wielding sjamboks and demonstrators clashed at a Labour Party meeting in Bishop Lavis on Monday night.

A Blac spokesman, Mr Armien Abrahams, said several people also went to private practitioners for treatment.

He said a lawyer had interviewed those injured as part of an investigation to lay charges against the police for assault.

Captain Gerhard van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said last night that police had received no complaints from people claiming to have been injured as a result of police action at the hall on Monday night.

"The only injuries which could have occurred must have been from people in the audience attacking each other with chairs," he said.

Labour Party meeting violence: Man in court

Argus 25/7/84

(300A)

Staff Reporter

A MAN appeared in Goodwood Magistrate's Court today in connection with violence at a Labour Party election meeting in Bishop Lavis on Monday.

No charges were put to Mr Charles Phillips, 20, of Loquat Avenue, Belhar, and no evidence was led. He was released and warned to appear on August 3.

Mr L P le Roux was on the Bench. Mr L Miller appeared for the State and Mr Phillips was represented by Mr E Daniels.

Mercury 25/7/84 304A

Coloured party has Indian candidates

Mercury Reporter

THE Labour Party, leading the race for control of the coloured House of Representatives with four unopposed seats, plans to field several Indians as independent candidates for the House of Delegates.

Party leader Alan Hendrickse confirmed this yesterday, saying he hoped Labour's influence would also be felt in the new parliament's Indian chamber.

Elections for coloureds will take place on Augsut 22 and for Indians on August 28.

Labour-backed candidates, headed by President's Councillor Salaam Abram-Mayat, are expected to feature prominently in the Transvaal where they will contest most of the eight seats, and in the Cape where there are three seats.

The party is hoping also to have candidates for some of Natal's 29 seats; but how far it has succeeded in finding suitable candidates will become known only on Monday

The Labour Party has fielded candidates for all 80 House of Representatives seats. Its nearest rival, the People's Congress Party, has put up 59 official candidates.

Mr Hendrickse said from his Uitenhage home yesterday Labour would have had more unopposed seats, 'but some people with stupid dreams have also put in nominations thinking they can beat Labour candidates'.

(Report by N Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

304A

Chairs thrown all over as police charge

Demos break up LP meeting

POLICE stormed into the community hall at Bishop Lavis this week after hundreds of demonstrators broke up a Labour Party election meeting.

Wielding rubber batons, the special police reaction unit and uniformed police charged into the hall after pandemonium broke out in the hall and chairs had been thrown all over the place.

Shoes and spectacles were left strewn on the floor as police forcibly ejected the youthful crowd which had broken up the meeting. At least one person was arrested.

SOWETAN Correspondent

The floor was stained with blood after one audience member, Mr William Douglas (44) of Ottery, bled profusely from a blow to the head. He was treated in the hall and then went home. He said he belonged to no party and was an ordinary member of the audience.

Stones

After police had cleared the hall of anti-election groups, the meeting resumed. But outside, stones were thrown and police dispersed the crowds which regrouped some distance from the hall.

Demonstrators from the Bishop Lavis Action Committee, the Cape Action League, the United Democratic Front and the Federation of Cape Civics, then met in a nearby church hall, issuing a statement blaming police for starting the violence.

Several older audience members at the Labour Party meeting, who said they were not part of the demonstrating group, complained that they had been hit as the police had lashed out indiscriminately when clearing the hall.

Report by David Breier, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Sowetan 26/7/84

New Constitution 'foolish'

304A

THE new Constitution which comes into full force on September 5 this year with the first sitting of the Tricameral Parliament has been denounced by the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) as a "foolish scheme which is bound to be dumped on the ash heap of history."

A resolution taken by the 140 000 member federation states Cusa's complete and total rejection of the Constitution.

Not only does the Constitution "ignore the will of the majority of people for freedom and justice, liberation and peace," states Cusa, it also fails to abolish economic social and political exploitation.

The federation has called on all its members to lend support to all efforts of community organisations to end the Constitutional plan and pledges itself to work towards a common citizenship in an undivided, just and democratic society.

The resolution places Cusa among the growing ranks of union organisations opposed to the Constitution.

The Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), with nine union affiliates has called on members to unite and not vote in the elections next month, as has the Garment Workers' Union of the Western Province, with a membership of 56 000.

Report by T Mazwai of 61 Commando Road, Industria.

Low poll 'will help force more change'

Star 26/7/84 304A

By Gary van Staden, Political Staff

A low percentage poll in next month's elections for the Indian House of Delegates will weaken the new constitution and allow participating parties to exert greater pressure on the Government to alter it, according to the Progressive Independent Party.

The party, one of five which will contest next month's elections, said in a statement today that a low percentage poll would suit them well.

"That would allow us to put great pressure on the Government on issue after issue until we get the changes we want," said Mr Mohammed Ali Khan, a party spokesman.

He said the PIP endorsed neither apartheid nor racial domination. "We are going into the elections to ensure that the people who have been selling us out are stopped," he said.

"Ever since the Indian community was given official channels to talk to the Government, we have been stuck with collaborators and puppets who have sung the tune of Pretoria. We aim to stop that."

Mr Khan said that the PIP had no quarrel with those who have called for a boycott of the polls.

● The PIP suffered a severe setback to its plan of becoming a third force in Natal when five candidates denied they would be contesting next month's elections under its banner.

Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

New deal is foolish scheme says Cusa

Star 26/2/84

By Carolyn Dempster, Labour Reporter

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304A

Election violence: LP silent

Cape Times 26/7/84

Staff Reporter

THE Labour Party will not divulge its strategy to prevent future election campaign meetings being broken up by violence.

The LP election campaign meeting on Monday night broke up in pandemonium when violence erupted and the police charged the crowd with sjamboks.

Asked yesterday what the LP proposed to do to allay supporters' fears of violence at future meetings, the national secretary, Mr Fred Peters, said: "Does a general divulge his plan of action for the enemy to find out?"

He said he could not divulge whether the LP would resort to only house meetings or also hold further public meetings.

Having violence at a public meeting was a risk which every political party had to take, and which party supporters would also have to share, Mr Peters said.

(Report by N Bruyns, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

POLITICS

Argus 26/7/84 (304A)

'Violence is not democratic'

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

A STRONG plea for more tolerance in black politics and recognition of the right of all groups to express their views freely was made today by Mr David Curry, the new member of the House of Representatives.

On Monday, nomination day for the new coloured chamber of Parliament, Mr Curry and three other candidates of the Labour Party were elected unopposed.

Mr Curry was speaking against the background of a stormy Labour Party meeting in Bishop Lavis this week and bombing incidents aimed at five candidates in the coloured and Indian elections.

He said that blacks would have to define for themselves the kind of democracy they were fighting for and political leaders had an obligation to speak out for the right of their opponents to speak their minds.

There were too many indications of attempts to stifle public debate.

The Government in turn must allow those who disagree with its policies to publicly state their case and to have the right to protest if they so wished.

In the past the Government had also stifled free expression of opinion.

"In a democratic society it is unthinkable that we can allow chaos at political meetings.

"The legitimate forces of order, such as the police, will look upon it as their duty to restore order.

"If we as blacks look upon violence as the solution to our differences then our own future societies will become more oppressive than the one we say we are now living in.

"We must make our own people used to democratic ideas and practises among ourselves even in an oppressed society.

" This is to ensure that, when real change takes place in this country, we will have a society in which people will freely express their political beliefs without fear of intimidation.

"We as blacks can hardly condemn intimidation by the white power structure when we ourselves are becoming guilty of the same sin by not stating what democratic ideals we are fighting for.

"One must be careful when the theory of violence starts taking root

"This can become so institutionalised that, when real freedom comes, groups could decide or try to use violence to settle differences.

"Any political group, whether it is the Labour Party or the United Democratic Front, has the right to state its views publicly. Even Dr A P Treurnicht has that right.

"Any group also has the right to call the police to protect their supporters when they try to state their case in public.

"The UDF must not use the term 'democratic' when its leaders will not say what their concept of democratic ideals is.

"In future the onus will be on us to use parliamentary democracy to its

highest ideals — public debate. All issues should be debated publicly and the public should be informed."

"We expect that some people will criticise us and this is their right because criticism is the crucible in which democracy is formed."

Mr Curry has in the past stated that the proposed new constitutional system has many flaws, especially the exclusion of the largest group of blacks, but that he is prepared to use the political tools available at present in order to bring about real change in the future.

"My personal view is that I must fight for the rights of all South Africans.All blacks must have the same rights I will have — political rights , the right to own property and the right to offer my labour on the open market.

"We must look at the example of the Afrikaners and other white groups who used the parliamentary system to attain political power and to fight for the rights of the groups they represented.

"We will have to use the instruments available in order to ensure that parliamentary democracy is extended to all groups," Mr Curry said.

Mr David Curry

Argus 26/7/84 (304A)

Apartheid heresy, says Hendrickse

Staff Reporter

APARTHEID is a "heresy" and is "evil", the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, writes in the party's first official election manifesto.

The manifesto includes a call by Mr Hendrickse on voters to vote for the Labour Party.

"Apartheid is a heresy. Apartheid is evil. The Labour Party is going into the system to dismantle and destroy apartheid, just as it entered and destroyed the Coloured Persons Representative Council.

Positive action

"This is positive action and not noise-making. Change has to start somewhere, sometime. Now is the place! Now is the time!" he states.

The manifesto states that the Labour Party is committed to:

- Advancing the rights of all South Africans through responsible negotiation with the Government;
- Opposing communism vigorously;
- Opposing all forms of racial discrimination;
- Ensuring the rights of the individual are paramount;
- Supporting the rule of just law;
- Opposing forced labour and the exploitation of cheap labour;
- Working to full employment, full production and equal opportunity for all;
- Seeking social security for all, especially the aged and infirm, regardless of income status;
- A free national education system to give all students of all races the opportunity of the highest specialised training;
- Raising the standards of workers through various means such as minimum wages at a civilised level, as well as other benefits;
- Striving for the effective participation of all people in government; and
- Eliminating race discrimination in legislation and practice.

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

Family is right behind Papa Khan

Mercury 26/7/84

304A

Mercury Reporter

IT WAS a case of all in the family when a Durban Justice of the Peace Abdulla Khan presented himself before Returning Officer Mr D V Nel for nomination as an independent candidate for a seat in the new House of Delegates.

His proposer was daughter-in-law Mehrunissa and seconder was niece Shireen, both registered voters in the Brickfield constituency which Papa Abdulla will contest in what promises to be a three-cornered fight.

Another independent who lodged his R400 deposit and nomination, Mr Dhanpal Naidoo, owner of a tote agency, was also backed by family members.

He was proposed as candidate for Bayview by son-in-law Moga and seconded by son Rabison.

Increasing

His eldest son Kiruban, who lives in London and has been a polling officer in two British general elections, is flying to Durban to assist in his father's campaign.

The number of independents is increasing as deposits are lodged and nominations made.

Businessman Aniff Manjoo is standing in the Stanger constituency, and retired insurance consultant Gilbert Peters is contesting the Tongaat seat. Retired headmaster Jogie Naidu is standing in Havenside.

Solidarity announced yesterday that Verulam estate agent Munsami Vengetsamy would be its candidate for the Natal North Coast seat.

(Report by N Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

RDM 26/7/84

304A

Alarm at govt power over local authorities

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — There is growing alarm about five pieces of legislation which recently came before Parliament, for they give the Government "a strong package of control" over local authorities.

Instead of the devolution of power promised for the new constitutional dispensation by the President's Council and the Prime Minister, the Government is increasing its control.

The provisions of the legislation include:

- A cabinet minister acquiring direct control of salaries and working conditions of local officials;
- The power to control services, change local authority boundaries and radically alter the municipal franchise. This will be vested in the cabinet;
- That no compensation will be paid to local authorities for assets or rights transferred to planned Regional Services Councils;
- That the Administrator will be able to appoint chairmen of these councils, considered a mayoral function;
- That the public could be barred from Regional Services Council meetings. If this includes the Press, the meetings will be held in secret.

An Opposition spokesman on local government, Mr Colin Eglin, MP, said the overall effect would be to entrench apartheid. Local authorities would be linked to the Group Areas Act, would be established on a racially compartmentalised basis and the franchise would be based on race, he said.

In a recent speech, the leader of the opposition in the Provincial Council, Mr Herbert Hirsch, said a major problem was the exclusion of all blacks from the new local government dispensation.

Authoritarian powers would be given to the minister concerned to do "virtually what he liked" and to "direct" the Administrator, who was himself being given greater powers, he said. References to consultation were almost meaningless, he said.

"Indications are that decision-making power is moving upwards rather than downwards to local authorities," he said.

A senior local official said that three of the five measures, of which four have already been approved by Parliament, allow a cabinet minister to interfere directly in local staff policy.

The fifth Bill has been referred to a select committee.

The measures of this are:

- That the Commission for Administration Act, which renames and increases the powers of the former Public Service Commission, allows the relevant cabinet minister, and through him the commission, to appoint senior local government staff and determine their salaries and conditions of service;
- The Remuneration of Town Clerks' Act, which grades local authorities and specifies that the salaries of town clerks will be decided by the minister;
- The Promotion of Local Government Affairs Amendment Act, which allows a minister to set criteria for establishing local authorities. It divests Administrators of their previous power to establish, dissolve or extend the boundaries of a local authority, and places this power in the hands of the relevant minister;
- The Local Government Bodies Franchise Act, which radically changes qualifications to vote in municipal elections — formerly this was decided by a Provincial Ordinance.

Whites retain their right to vote, but coloured and Indian people will have the franchise only if they live in areas with local authorities representing their race group.

The Act also provides for more than one municipal vote. Anyone over 18 registered as a voter will have a vote, but people owning fixed property in other wards will be able to vote there as well;

- The Regional Services Councils Bill, which has been referred to the Select Committee on the Constitution, empowers the minister to set up councils to provide and control services in any area.

Unless the Bill is amended, "black" local bodies will have no input into the councils.

Black local authorities will then only be able to get services from the councils on a contract basis.

Argus 27/7/84

Political move behind fire?

304A

Staff Reporters

POLICE are investigating a possible political motive for a fire at the Brückner de Villiers Primary School in Ida's Valley, Stellenbosch, last night.

Damage estimated at R10 000 was done to school after a fire started in a classroom in which Miss Marcia Meyer teaches.

She is the daughter of Mr Willie Meyer, the Labour Party candidate in Robertson in next month's parliamentary elections.

A arson docket had been opened and police were investigating, said Major Nic Slabber, Boland police liaison officer.

(Report by M Stansfield and D Breier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Coloured people must grab this opportunity — Booysen

(304A) Star 27/7/84

By Gary van Staden, Political Staff

The coloured population of South Africa was a playground for black and white leaders who used the community to further their own political ambitions, Mr Arthur Booysen, leader of the Freedom Party, told a meeting in Western Township last night.

Mr Booysen, House of Representatives candidate for the Bosmont constituency in next month's elections for the tricameral Parliament, opened his party's campaign at a public meeting attended by about 45 people, including 10 journalists and two policemen.

Included in the count were some 15 United Democratic Front and National Forum supporters — organisations advocating a boycott of the elections.

Mr Booysen said while blacks and Indians had made significant progress towards freedom and independence, coloured people were as oppressed as ever.

"The coloured still lives in disgusting poverty and without any freedom or representation whatsoever," Mr Booysen said.

He added that coloured people should stop being ashamed of what they were. "We have an opportunity now to improve our situation and we must take it," he said.

Mr Booysen said his party was the only one contesting the election which was concerned with the "plight of our own people".

Mr Booysen added that his party was not going to take part in the new system to break apartheid down or force changes from within.

"We are going into Parliament to give it a try," he said.

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

NGSK takes neutral stance on elections

By Eugene Saldanha, Religion Reporter

The coloured NG Sendingkerk (NGSK) has recommended that members be guided by their consciences and by prayer in deciding whether or not to vote in the elections for the House of Representatives on August 22.

The NGSK is a sister church of the white NG Kerk, and the recommendation to members comes despite a decision by the Church's General Synodical Commission in March last year to reject the proposed constitution.

The church's neutral position is seen as a compromise between two factions in the leadership, which is split down the middle on the new constitution.

The Moderator of the church, the Rev Isak Mentor, a conservative, has echoed the white NGK viewpoint — as demonstrated in the referendum last year — that the church should not give explicit guidance to its members on whether, or which way, to vote.

He is opposed by the assessor of the NGSK, Dr Alan Boesak, and the actuary of the church, the Rev N A Apolis, who believe church members should boycott the elections.

UDF plans mighty push before polls

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The United Democratic Front has scheduled a tight programme of meetings and mass rallies in rural and urban areas in a final run-up to the elections. "The meetings represent an intensification of our campaign against the new constitution," explained the front's publicity secretary, Mr Terror Lekota.

"In addition we are looking beyond the August elections. We want to give the national democratic movement a clear presence by then, to make it felt in every sphere of life."

This was why meetings had been aimed at a far wider audience than the coloured and Indian communities which the Government aimed to co-opt as voters, he said.

The series kicks off with two mass rallies this weekend. The UDF hopes to show its growth of support in the Northern Cape by scheduling a mass rally in Kimberley on Saturday afternoon.

UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu and treasurer Mr Mewa Ramgobin will be speaking.

At 2 pm on the same day its Transvaal region youth rally will take place at the Patidar Hall in Lenasia. Speakers will include the Soweto Youth Congress's Dan Montsisi and the president of the Congress of South African Students, Lulu Johnson.

A week later, on Sunday August 5, a Northern Transvaal rally will be staged at Naledi Hall, Seshego, Pietersburg.

Speakers will include Mr Abel Nkabinde, chairman of the Leandra Action Committee, which recently succeeded in its fight against the removal of hundreds of Leandra residents who lacked the usual qualifications for urban housing.

The period August 9 to 12 will be devoted to women activists who are to stage a prayer service, cultural gatherings and a mass rally to mark National Women's Day.

Argus CAPE 27/1/84 (304A)

Elections: Church calls for prayer

Staff Reporter

THE Moderamen of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk has called for a "day of humility and prayer" to enable members to seek divine guidance on whether to vote in next month's tricameral parliament elections.

The Rev Izak Mentor, Moderator of the church, today announced that a notice to this effect would be placed in next month's edition of Die Ligdraer, the organ of the Sendingkerk.

RECONCILIATION

The announcement requests church members to exercise their own choice on whether to vote while noting the church's decision declaring the new constitution inadequate.

Mr Mentor said in an interview that the purpose of holding the day of humility and prayer before the August 22 elections was to help bring about peace and reconciliation in the church as well as for members to seek divine guidance.

FREE CHOICE

"Various people are telling them what to do. But on that day they should ask God what He wants them to do," he said.

He said the official policy of the Moderamen was that the decision of whether or not to take part in the new constitution be left to members to choose.

Mr Mentor's view is that people should take part as a first step in an evolutionary process of change which would be better than violence.

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

The man who upstaged the stage at the election bash

● The flamboyant man in the baggy overcoat who stole the limelight at the Freedom Party meeting on Thursday night

Enjoy your Mercedes, he said and walked out

Story: GRAHAM WATTS Pictures: DENIS FARRELL

THE MAN with the flamboyant bearing and baggy overcoat could be forgiven if he didn't know he was interrupting the launch of the coloured Freedom Party's campaign in Johannesburg's Western Township this week.

After all, when he walked in there were just a handful of people sitting around in the recreation hall listening to a man in a suit.

"I'm sure I know you," said the man in the overcoat as he drifted up to the speaker, Mr Arthur Booysen, national leader of the party. "What is the name again?" he asked, shaking a dumbfounded Mr Booysen's hand.

With sublime disregard for procedure, he then began, in the politest way, to address the people in the of Representatives election on August 22. There were 18 people in the audience, 10 journalists, a uniformed major and a warrant officer at the door, and a riot van and possibly 20 policemen outside.

Four women — tight clothes and loose eyes — puffed on cigarettes as they patrolled the street that runs past the hall and through the squalid shacks that make up one of Johannesburg's least attractive neighbourhoods.

"This is Labour country," the women said. As loyal Labour Party workers they had canvassed the area twice already, they said Now they'd come by to smirk at the losers.

A young man called Jerry bummed a smoke and explained: "That's how we live launched to political stardom.

He remained silent as his brother parried one blow after another from members of an audience that made up in enthusiasm for what they lacked in numbers.

There were those who were appalled and others who were delighted at Mr Booysen's cutting remarks about coloured people who called themselves black.

The coloureds, he said, were a minority and what they needed was a political system that sought consensus between minority groups. He rejected rule by one group, whether black or white.

As a TV cameraman scurried around trying to record the lively goings-on in the hall, the man in the overcoat took the floor again.

"Hoe kan julle hierie trein laat ry sonder die enjin (how can you make this train go without the engine)?" he said when Mr Booysen ruled out a partnership in struggle with black people.

He had made his point, politely greeted the chair and the audience and drifted towards the door. There he turned and raised his right hand in the direction of the candidates' table.

"Enjoy your Mercedes Benz," he said and swept out.

(Report by Graham Watts, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg).

YOU'VE SEEN THE REST

Enjoy your Mercedes, he sa

Story: GRAHAM WATTS

● Capturing some — but not everybody's — attention

THE MAN with the flamboyant bearing and baggy overcoat could be forgiven if he didn't know he was interrupting the launch of the coloured Freedom Party's campaign in Johannesburg's Western Township this week.

After all, when he walked in there were just a handful of people sitting around in the recreation hall listening to a man in a suit.

"I'm sure I know you," said the man in the overcoat as he drifted up to the speaker, Mr Arthur Booysen, national leader of the party. "What is the name again?" he asked, shaking a dumbfounded Mr Booysen's hand.

With sublime disregard for procedure, he then began, in the politest way, to address the people in the hall.

There was as much of an uproar as 30 people could muster.

The *nuwe diespensation* had come to town.

Western Township recreation hall was a pitiful sight at starting time on Thursday, the Freedom Party's big night in its quest for votes in the coloured House of Representatives election on August 22. There were 18 people in the audience, 10 journalists, a uniformed major and a warrant officer at the door, and a riot van and possibly 20 policemen outside.

Four women — tight clothes and loose eyes — puffed on cigarettes as they patrolled the street that runs past the hall and through the squalid shacks that make up one of Johannesburg's least attractive neighbourhoods.

"This is Labour country," the women said As loyal Labour Party workers they had canvassed the area twice already, they said. Now they'd come by to smirk at the losers.

A young man called Jerry bummed a smoke and explained: "That's how we live here: give unto others . . . except we steal from others mostly."

Jerry was in no mood for politics.

"Whenever there is no trouble," he said mischievously loud enough for the policemen at the riot van to hear, "the cops come here but they never come when there is real trouble."

Morgues

Jerry's street sociology was to the point. The township's *lighties* got up to no good because the houses were so overcrowded and cold they were like morgues and there was nothing else to do anyway.

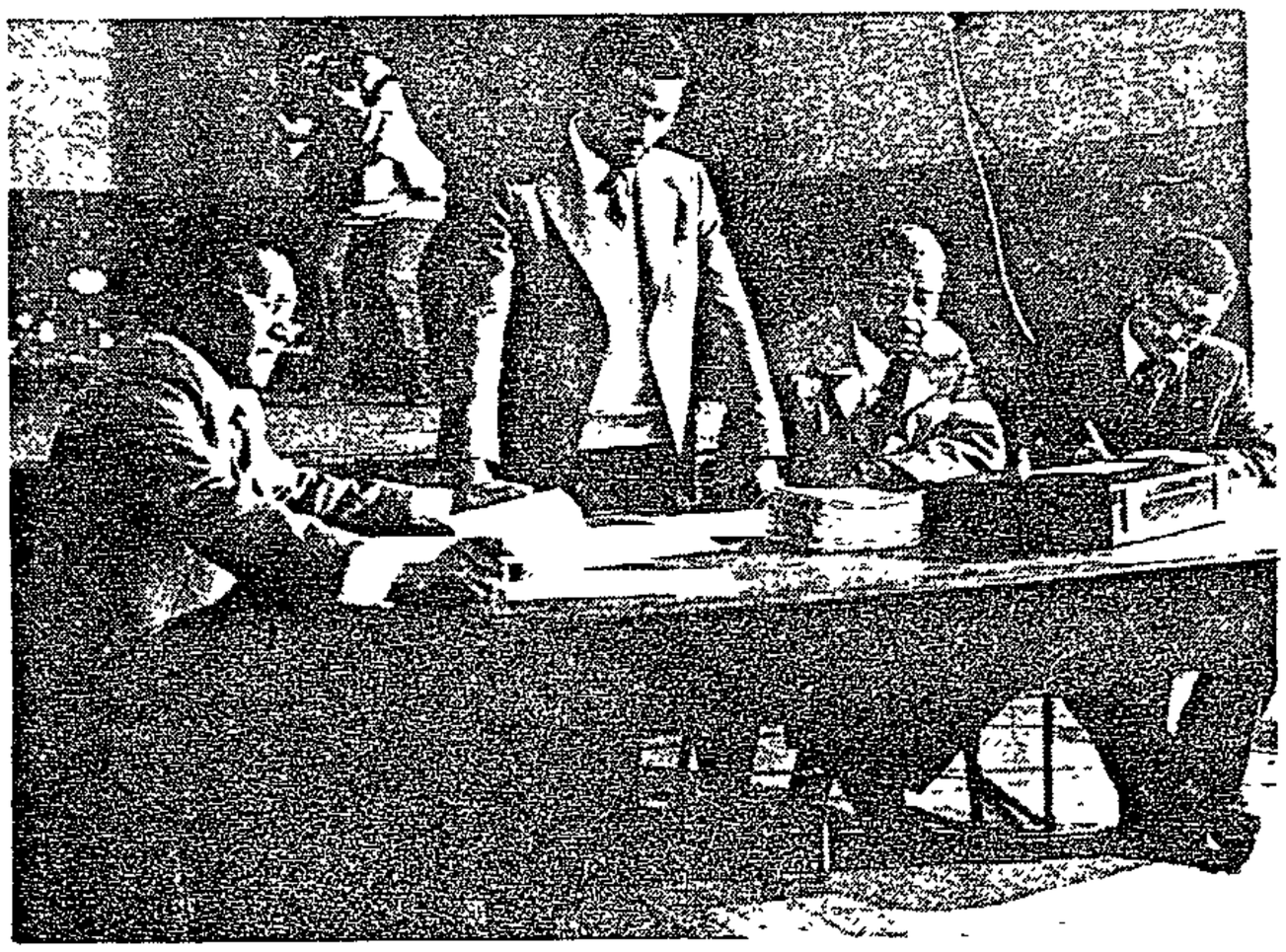
"Do you call that thing a recreation hall? What the hell can you recreate in there?"

Inside the hall — as dismal as Jerry had suggested — Mr Booysen was telling the audience, which had grown to about 30 with the arrival of what turned out to be earnest youngsters opposed to the election itself, that it was time coloureds realised their identity and showed some pride in it.

His brother, Mr Peter Booysen, who is the Freedom Party's candidate for the constituency of Newclare in which Western Township falls, did not wear the face of a man about to be launched to political stardom.

He remained silent as his brother parried one blow after another from members of an audience that made up in enthusiasm for what they lacked in numbers.

There were those who were appalled and others who were delighted at Mr Booysen's cutting remarks about coloured people who called themselves black.



● Leaders Mr Arthur Booysen (left) and his brother Mr Peter Booysen (standing)

Housing tops the list of issues

FOR the most part, both in the Western Township's recreation hall and outside, it was not the niceties of constitutional policy that mattered as much as the conditions that united all coloured people: housing, education and the Group Areas Act.

In interviews in their homes in Newclare, on the streets of Western Township and on the party political platforms from Krugersdorp to Reiger Park, the issues are the same. And housing tops the list.

If the democratic or anti-democratic principles contained in the new constitution and the exclusion of black people figured at all, they tended to do so in the vaguest of terms.

"I must confess I'm afraid of being overrun by the blacks," said Mr Louis Bhikha, a cabinet maker who lives in a flat in Newclare.

He was quick to point out, however, that he felt a great sympathy for the plight of blacks, having been a fellow victim of so many of the same discriminatory measures.

Another woman, who did not want to be named, said she too was afraid of being "swamped by the blacks".

But, she said "we have gone around for so long saying *ja baas, dankie baas*, and where has it got us? Perhaps we could get more if we throw our lot in with the blacks."

"In any case, my son's not going to die defending some white man's swimming pool," she said, referring to another sensitive issue in the community that coloured youngsters might have to do compulsory military training after the new constitution comes into force in September.

Mrs H Kydt, a widow, was bitter: "To hell with their elections," she said. Her whole life had been one brutal experience of the unwillingness of the white man to give the coloured people anything.

She had no basis to believe things would change. And certainly she was not about to contemplate any alliance with black people, her terminology for whom was indelicate to say the least.

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month's fight test against two international

Call to boycott elections

By SOPHIE TEMA

BLACK theologians have called on the community to boycott the forthcoming Indian and coloured elections.

A statement released by the Ecumenical Association of African Theologians in Southern Africa at their annual conference in Maritzburg recently, stated the new constitution was "a way of co-opting Indians and coloureds as junior partners in the oppression of the majority of the people of South Africa".

The statement said: "The new constitution of South Africa, drawn and adopted by the white electorate in the November 2, 1983 white referendum without the participation of the majority of the oppressed masses in South Africa:

"(1) Institutionalises and perpetrates the apartheid policy under the guise of including the so-called Indians and coloureds in the so-called Tricameral Parliament, co-opting them as junior partners in the oppression of the majority of the oppressed in South Africa.

"(2) Is based on the oppressive Bantustan system which has dispossessed the black majority of their land, resulting in the unjust and inhuman mass relocation of our people, causing untold suffering and creating perpetual poverty.

"(3) Is a recipe for the escalation of violence by the State and a consequential counter-violence by the oppressed in the country, thus placing the church in a very difficult situation in terms of its pastoral-ministry, especially to those who are victims of oppression in South Africa.

"We therefore resolve to reject this constitution as it is contrary to and militates against the basic teachings of the Gospel, the nature of human community and the challenge of humankind.

"We also call upon all Christian communitites in South Africa to boycott the Indian and coloured elections as part of their Christian witness in the ongoing struggle for liberation in Southern Africa."

N. Mercury 30/7/84 (304A)

House of Delegates candidates get death and kidnap threats

Mercury Reporter

DEATH and kidnap threats have been received by several candidates in the coming Indian House of Delegates elections — and at least one of the candidates is taking them seriously.

Chatsworth businessman Dhanpal Naidoo, who is standing as an independent in the Bayview constituency, said yesterday he had received several threats by telephone with warnings to withdraw from the elections, but he had ignored them.

'Now my children have been telephoned, harassed and threatened,' he said

Mr Naidoo said the caller had threatened to kidnap one of his grandchildren and he had reported the matter to the police.

'In the light of the several recent kidnappings of Indian children I have decided to let my grandchildren stay away from school until the elections are over,' he said.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party, and candidate for the Arena Park (Chatsworth) seat, said he had received threatening calls about the coming elections.

Suspects

'I have a list of suspects which I am giving to the police,' he said.

More than 100 candidates are expected to be nominated today when nominations close at 11 am for the 40 seats in the House of Delegates.

The NPP is fielding official candidates for 38 seats and backing two independents, Mr S Jogi Naidu, a retired headmaster of Mobeni Heights, for the Havenside seat, and Mr P C Nadasen, of Pietermaritzburg, for the Allandale seat, says Mr Rajbansi.

Both seats had NPP candidates who have since defected to the rival Solidarity Party which is now fielding candidates for all 40 seats.

A number of independents, mostly retired schoolteachers, have already lodged their deposits and nominations as candidates and expect to be declared nominated today.

(Report by N Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

NPP may act on teacher's election plan

Mercury Reporter

DURBAN headmaster Arumagam 'A K' Pillay yesterday became the centre of a blazing House of Delegates candidates row.

Mr Pillay, 54, has been selected by Solidarity as its official candidate for the Merebank seat and is expected to lodge his R400 deposit and nomination today before nominations close at 11 am.

But the rival National People's Party warned yesterday it would seek to have him — or any other teacher in similar position seeking nomination — disqualified.

He said he was aware of the chances he was taking as a candidate in a four-way contest, and that if he lost the election on August 28, and decided to go back to teaching, he would have to start as a junior teacher at a pay nowhere near his present principal's salary.

Pension

He said he was aware of the chances he was taking as a candidate in a four-way contest and that if he lost the election on August 28 and decided to go back to teaching he would have to start as a junior teacher at a pay nowhere near his present principal's salary.

He was also aware, he said, he would qualify for pension and other benefits from the Education Department amounting only to about R30 000 if he were to quit teaching today.

On the other hand, he said, if he stayed on and retired six years from now at the normal retiring age of 60 he could expect about R100 000 in gratuities and pension.

Mr Pillay said he had been given to understand he could resign from the teaching profession before today's nomination deadline in terms of the Indian Education Act.

NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi, who is also executive chairman of the South African Indian Council which controls education, said yesterday in terms of the Act a teacher would have to give three months' notice to quit.

'We have reason to believe Mr Pillay's nomination would be out of order and we will not hesitate to take legal action to have him disqualified if he proceeds with his election plans,' he said.

Referring specifically to SAIC elections, the Education Act allowed a teacher contesting an SAIC election to resign on nomination day, thus dispensing with the need for the three months' notice.

But as the Act had not been amended to cover the new tricameral dispensation, the position now was different, he said, adding that senior counsel's opinion was quite clear on this.

(Report by Nagoor Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

N. Mercury 30/7/84

304A

UDF supporters take speaker to task

Mercury Reporter

UNITED Democratic Front supporters predominated at a meeting called by the People's Congress Party at Durban's Newlands East yesterday — and they condemned participation by some coloureds and Indians in the new parliament.

About 100 people attended the meeting at the local community centre, and at question time it became obvious the majority of them were from the UDF-affiliated United Committee of Concern.

The meeting was addressed by the PCP's national leader from the Cape, Mr Peter Marais, who said the party would use the coloured House of Representatives to fight to dismantle apartheid.

Hovels

Like blacks, many coloureds were living in poverty in hovels with sheets of plastic for roofs, but while for the UDF the plight of blacks was the 'in thing', the PCP was concerned with uplifting coloureds.

At question time, tempers rose.

Mr Trevor Bonnhomme, executive member of the United Committee of Concern, challenged Mr Marais and the PCP to spell out out how they hoped to dismantle apartheid when the Government had made it clear many racial laws were not negotiable.

He said the UDF was concerned that apartheid was being entrenched 'by the Hendrickses, Maraises, Rajbansis and Reddys — all leaders of parties seeking participation in the new dispensation.

Challenged by a UDF woman questioner about his objection to scrapping of the Mixed Marriages and Immorality acts, Mr Marais said it was foolish to scrap these laws without also first scrapping the Group Areas Act.

He said if a white man wanted to marry a consenting coloured woman or have a relationship with her, group-area restrictions must not be in their way.

Affront

'Imagine the situation where the white man still enjoys his group-area privileges such as eating or swimming in a white area while his coloured woman will have to sit in the car and wait because she is barred by law from joining him.

'Is this what we would like for our women?' he asked angrily.

Earlier, the woman who questioned him — she would not give her name apart from saying she was from the UDF — said to a loud roar of approval from many in the audience that Mr Marais's reason for objecting to the scrapping of the two laws was an affront to women all over the country.

(Report by N Bissetty, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

Indian House nominations set for today

RDM 30/7/84

304A

Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH. — Nominations for the (Indian) House of Delegates — take place today, setting in motion an election with up to 10 candidates contesting some seats.

The battle which is for 40 seats — 29 in Natal, eight in the Transvaal and three in the Cape — could see as many as 20 candidates line up to contest the three Transvaal seats in Lenasia.

Five Parties have registered for the election. They are:

- The National Peoples Party (NPP) under Mr Amichand Rajbansi;
- Solidarity which is headed by Dr J N Reddy;
- The Progressive Independent Party (PIP) under the leadership of Mr Faiz Khan;
- The National Federal Party (NFR) led by Mr M A Begg; and
- The National Democratic Party (NDP) under Mr M I Khan.

In addition, The Labour Party will be putting up about 11 candidates as independents and it is possible that the Peoples Congress Party will do the same. There are a host of non-aligned independents as well.

Just how well the Labour Party-backed candidates fare — they are mainly in the Transvaal and Cape — will be particularly interesting as the Party will be hoping to achieve a significant number of victories, perhaps even holding the balance of power in the 40-seat House.

The PIP is the only non-Natal based party with its headquarters in Lenasia. The NDP is based in the Natal hinterland town of Harding and the other three in Durban.

Altogether more than 150 candidates are expected to deposit their R400 at Nomination Courts between 10 and 11 this morning and if this does happen there are going to be no candidates returned unopposed as was the case last week when four Labour Party men won seats in the House of Representatives without a fight.

An indication of just how many mulit-cornered contests there are likely to be, is born out by the fact that eight candidates have indicated they will fight the Durban seat of Springfield — many of the independents have already lodged their deposits — and six will fight the Natal North Coast seat of Tongaat.

A total of 411 645 voters — more than 80% of those eligible — registered for the elections.

(News by P Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth)

Violence causing parties to tone down approach

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

CAMPAIGNERS in the coloured and Indian election battles are expected to concentrate on door-to-door canvassing and small house meetings, rather than large public rallies, in the wake of last week's developments.

Early in the week, the houses of three prominent candidates were petrol bombed.

This has brought fear to many candidates, some of whom are keeping all-night vigils at their houses and many of whom are under police protection.

There was also poor attendance at most of last week's meetings, making the value of such campaigning negligible for these parties.

Following the violence at some of the LP meetings, police are now maintaining a strong and visible presence at all meetings.

The United Democratic Front and its affiliates, campaigning for a total boycott of the elections, have up to now been doing door-to-door work as well as arranging a number of large-scale public rallies.

However, the banning of all their meetings in East London this weekend means they will be concentrating on door-to-door work in case of further bannings.

The Border regional UDF responded to the banning order on Friday by saying that, whether or not the Government liked it, they would evolve programmes to reach the people to show them "the fallacy of reform".

(News by A Harber, 171 Main St, Johannesburg).

UDF urges election boycott

Political Reporter

ABOUT 500 people who attended the United Democratic Front's youth rally in Lenasia on Saturday heard seven speakers call on young South Africans of all races to unite against the new constitution and to boycott the coming coloured and Indian elections.

Plainclothes police kept a watch on the meeting.

Mr Murphy Morabi, local convener of the UDF's Million Signature Campaign, warned people to resist attempts to co-opt them "as the service and maintenance units of apartheid".

Mr Feroze Cachalia, a student leader and member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, emphatically rejected suggestions that South Africans were fighting a civil rights struggle.

"Ours is a struggle for national self-determination and freedom," he said.

Recent changes were only attempts to deceive the people. The State remained "a hostile entity, a monstrous machine," he said.

Mr Cedric Kekane, of the Saulsville/Attredgeville Youth Organisation, called on people to make themselves "ungovernable."

"We must be difficult to control. We must render the instruments of oppression difficult to work. We must escalate all forms of resistance," he said.

(Report by A Harber, 171 Main St, Johannesburg)

304A

C-Times 30/7/84

Voters support reform — poll

Political Correspondent

A MAJORITY of white voters would support a single parliamentary body including black people, according to an opinion poll published yesterday.

The poll, in the Nationalist newspaper Rapport, also showed strong support for a reform of black policy but noted resistance among young people to change.

The poll found a swing to Mr P W Botha's National Party among both English and Afrikaans-speaking voters while right-wing support had declined.

It said Mr Botha, who had the support of only 43 percent of white voters two years ago, was now backed by 55,8 percent of whites, including 69,1 percent of Afrikaners and 35,2 percent of English-speakers.

Of the sample of 2 000 voters, 41 percent favoured and 34 percent rejected a single decision-making body which included black representatives. The idea had most support from English-speakers.

However 60 percent of all voters — and a majority of Nationalists — wanted "moderate changes" to government policy on blacks.

The poll, which has a record of accuracy, noted strong opposition among people in the 16-24 age group to the inclusion of blacks in government and to change in black policy.

On the other hand, it showed declining white support for right-wing parties. Conservative Party backing is down to 9,8 percent from 20 percent two years ago while the Herstigte Nasionale Party has dropped from 2,4 percent two years ago to 1,9 percent now.

The Progressive Federal Party, which also had 20 percent support two years ago, is now given 17 percent. The fourth white party, the New Republic Party, is down from 7,1 percent two years ago to 4,9 percent at the moment.

● Rapport said in an editorial yesterday that it had refused to publish a United Democratic Front advertisement on its stand on violence, as the paper would only publish advertisements from parties registered as participants in the coming coloured and Indian elections.

However, the editorial also said the advertisement's wording was "unacceptably sharp and libellous".

Condemning the decision last night, Mr Jonathan de Vries, the UDF's Western Cape publicity secretary, said the organization was being refused the democratic right to correct "distorted reports" which he claimed formed part of a deliberate disinformation campaign aimed against it by government supporters.

Argus 30/7/84

304A

Special voting for House of Representatives

Staff Reporter

THE first votes for the House of Representatives elections were being cast today as special voting facilities opened for coloured voters.

While the elections are being held on August 22, special voting opened today for people who cannot attend the polls on that day.

A spokesman for the Department of Internal Affairs said today any voter in such a position could approach the department's regional office, the nearest magistrate's court or the local returning officer.

To cast a special vote, the voter must fill in an application form in front of a qualified official who will then issue a ballot paper bearing the names of the candidates in the constituency.

The voter then votes in the usual way in private. The completed ballot is placed in an envelope and sealed.

Special voting closes on August 20 after which all special ballots are sent to the relevant contituencies for counting with ordinary votes when the polls close at 9pm on August 22.

The political parties hope to build an early lead in the elections by ensuring that supporters entitled to cast special votes do so.

The Labour Party has indicated that it will approach old age homes to enable elderly people to cast special votes.

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

1984

RDM 31/7/84 (304A)

Outcry over pair's validity

Political Reporter

MR BOETIE ABRAMJEE, the National People's Party candidate in Laudium, is seeking legal advice on whether he can contest the nomination of two of his opposition candidates.

Five people, including three independents, were nominated yesterday for the August 28 election to the House of Delegates in this Pretoria constituency.

The Solidarity party nominated the Rev Chin Reddy and the independents were Mr Ismael Mohammed, Mr Billy Padayachy and Mr Ahmed Ismail.

According to eye-witness reports, there was an outcry at the Laudium nomination court when supporters of Mr Abramjee stormed into the court and loudly claimed that two of the nominations were invalid.

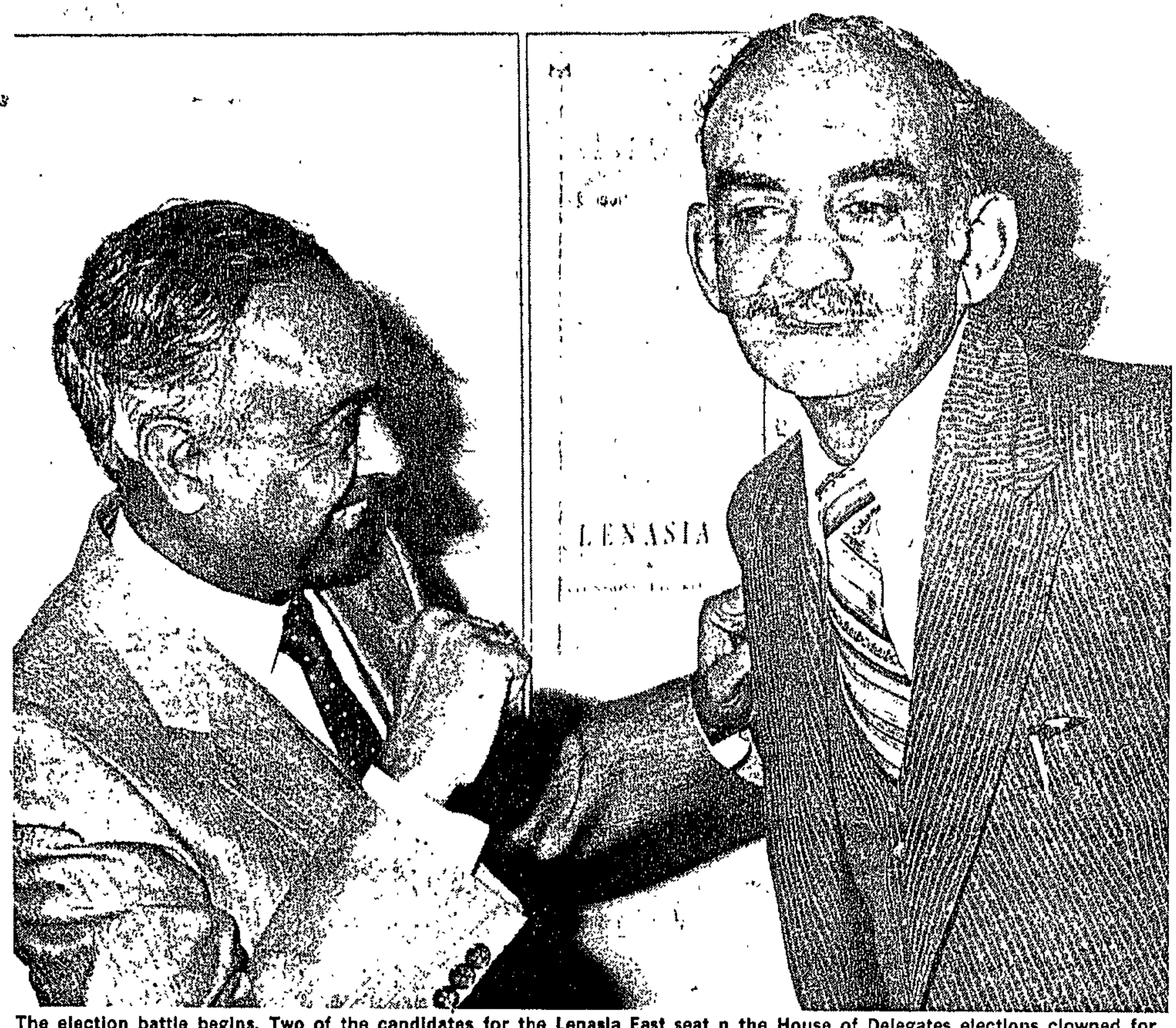
However, the electoral officer ruled that the nominations were valid.

Mr Abramjee said last night that he had arranged a meeting with a senior advocate to see if the matter could be taken to the Supreme Court.

He claims that the two candidates had failed to fill in their nomination forms properly.

In Durban, the leader of the NPP, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, lodged a last-minute objection to the nomination of his opponent Mr T V Padayachee, of Solidarity. But the objection was overruled.

(Report by Anton Harber 171 Main Street Johannesburg)



The election battle begins. Two of the candidates for the Lenasia East seat n the House of Delegates elections clowned for photographers outside the nomination court in Lenasia yesterday. Mr Dinkie Pillay, Transvaal leader of the Solidarity party, threw the punch while Mr Faiz Khan, national leader of the Progressive Indian Party, turned the other cheek. Picture: TONY NAIDOO

They're collabora says the

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

YESTERDAY's nominations for the election to the House of Delegates set the stage for a showdown on August 28 between the National People's Party (NPP) and Solidarity.

When nomination courts sat around the country yesterday, a total of 166 candidates were named for the 40 constituencies, with as many as nine people contesting some of the Natal seats.

There were no unopposed candidates and a total of 77 were nominated as independents.

The Transvaal Indian Congress, which is campaigning for a boycott of the elections, hailed the nominations as a "great victory for the TIC".

In a statement issued last night, the TIC said that all the candidates "have a long history of collaboration with apartheid and none have influence in our community".

They were confident that these candidates would attract few people to the polls in the Transvaal.

The NPP, the ruling party in the South African Indian Council, and Solidarity, a new party, are the only two parties contesting a significant number of the 40 seats.

Solidarity, led by Dr J N Reddy, is contesting all 40, while the NPP, is contesting 38.

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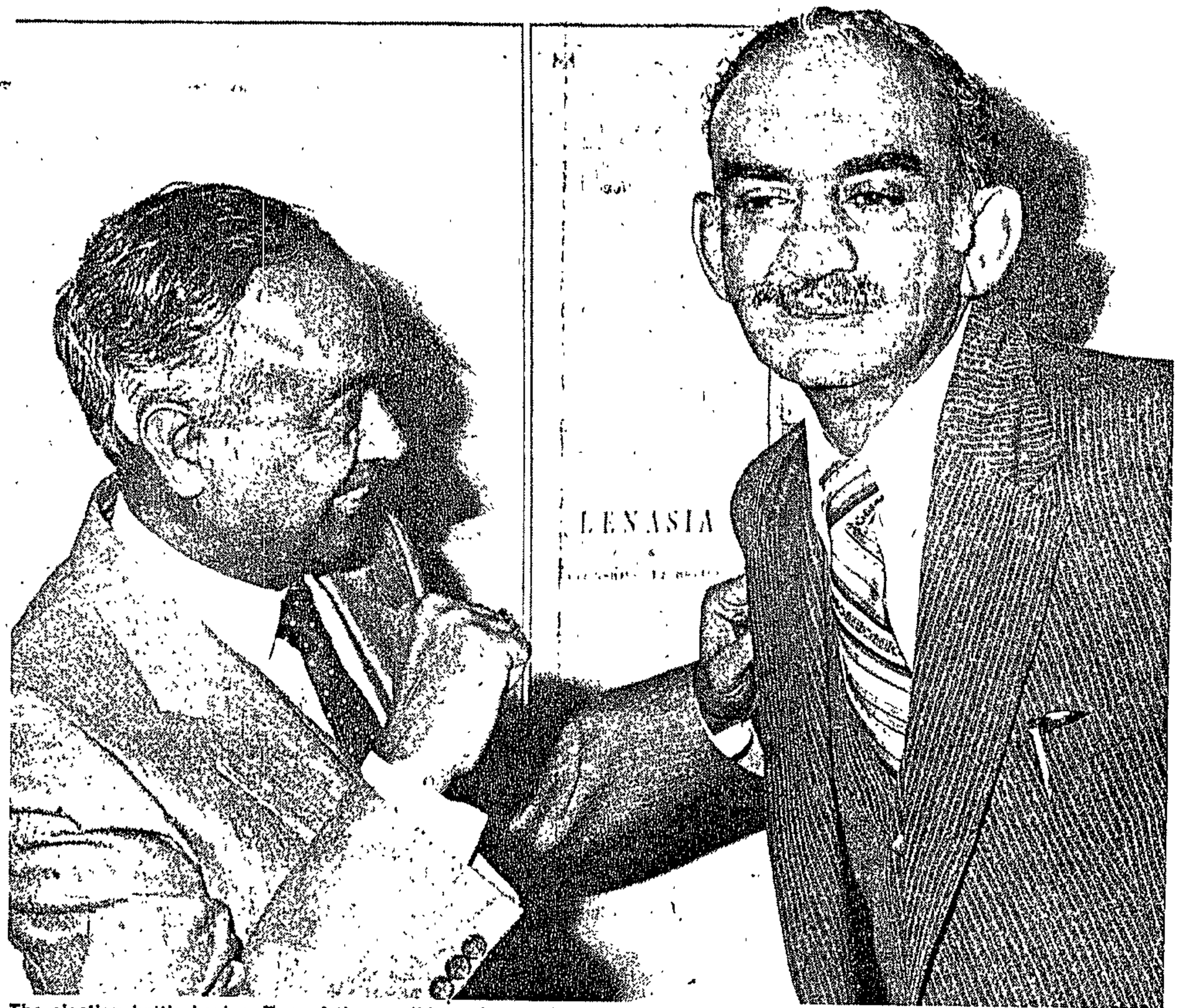

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The NPP is not contesting two of the Natal seats because their candidates last week crossed to Solidarity, according to Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the party.

However, they have thrown their support behind two independent candidates to fill the gap.

The independents are Mr S J Naidu in Havenside and Mr P C Nadasen in Allandale.

The Progressive Independent Party nominated seven candidates, the National Federal Party nominated two and the National Democratic Party nominated two.

The Natal constituencies of Phoenix and Springfield have nine candidates each, including seven and six independents respectively.

A number of the independent candidates have been nominated by the Labour Party, which is contesting the coloured elections on August 22, but it is not clear exactly how many.

In the Transvaal, all eight seats will be contested by three or more candidates.

A jovial and friendly atmosphere prevailed at the Lenasia Civic Centre, where nomination courts sat for all three Lenasia constituencies.

One surprise came in Lenasia West, where Mr Henry Padayachee, former Transvaal leader of the NPP, registered as an independent candidate.

He said he had recently resigned from the NPP and was being supported by the Western Transvaal Cultural Society.

Indian House: 167 candidates

(304A) C. Times 31/7/84

W Cape candidates

Staff Reporter

FIVE of the nine candidates nominated for election to the Indian House of Delegates in the Western Cape are standing as independents.

At the close of nominations yesterday morning, five candidates were announced for the north-western Cape constituency and four for Rylands.

The North-Western Cape nominees are: Mr Abdul Baasiet Kader (Independent), Mr Anand Naidoo (Independent), Mr Murugasen Sammy Padayachy (National People's Party), Mr Sunthar Rajh (Independent) and Mr Basil Devadasen Sacathevan (Solidarity).

The candidates for Rylands are: Mr Abdul Gaffoor Ebrahim (Independent), Mr Abdool Hak Mahomed (Independent), Mr Edward Jacannathan Mannikam (Solidarity) and Mr Hassan Osman (National People's Party).

● Special voting for the coloured House of Representatives opened yesterday. Special votes may be cast at all magistrate's offices, certain police stations and the offices of all returning officers until August 20.

Special voting for the House of Delegates will be open from August 7 until August 27.

(Report by Hilary Venables, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A total of 167 candidates — 76 of them independents — were nominated yesterday for the first election for the 40 seats in the Indian House of Delegates on August 28.

Two of the 29 seats in Natal attracted as many as nine candidates, while many other Natal seats and most of those in the Transvaal will also be multi-cornered.

No candidates were returned unopposed as was the case with House of Representative nominations last week when four Labour Party candidates won seats without a fight.

Only Solidarity, under Mr J N Reddy, will contest all 40 seats, with the National People's Party (NPP) led by Mr Amichand Rajbansi fighting 36, of which 26 are in Natal, seven in the Transvaal and three in the Cape.

The Progressive Independent Party of Mr Faiz Khan will fight eight seats, four each in Natal and Transvaal, the National Federal Party led by Mr M A Begg five, all but one in Natal. The National Democratic Party under Mr M I Khan will fight two in Natal.

In the Natal seat of Phoenix — the largest of the 40 constituencies — no fewer than seven independents will do battle with Solidarity and NPP candidates, while another Natal seat, Springfield, has six independents in the nine-man field.

About a dozen of the independents will be backed either by the Labour Party or the People's Congress Party (PCP). An independent Labour candidate was nominated in Malabar, while two PCP-backed men will fight the other two seats in the Cape.

It is understood that another eight independent Labour candidates, including a member of the Transvaal executive of the party, Mr S Abram-Mayet, will contest seats.

Independent candidates backed by Labour and the PCP will participate in joint election meetings.

Once again the claims of the smaller parties failed to live up to expectation, with the three minor parties fielding only 15 candidates between them.

And the August 28 election is likely to be the first — and last — chance for the independent candidates, as the new Population Register and Electoral Amendment Act will make it extremely difficult for independents to muster support for nominations.

(Report by P Cull, 19 Baaken Street, Port Elizabeth.)

(304A) Star 31/7/84

'No respected candidates attracted'

Political Staff

The "low calibre" of the House of Delegates candidates standing for election to the tricameral Parliament was a victory for the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and its fight against the new constitution, Mr Cassim Saloojee said last night.

Mr Saloojee, TIC publicity secretary, said most of the candidates had a history of working with Government "sell-out" bodies, such as the South African Indian Council.

"There are no candidates with a history of community service," he added.

"The Government has not attracted any people highly regarded by their communities to come foward and stand for election.

"Those who have done most have stayed out and that is our first victory in the battle against Mr P W Botha's new Parliament," he said.

"It signals a massive stay-away from the polls on August 28," Mr Salojee added.

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Independents could have the final say in Indian elections

By Gary van Staden, Political Staff

Independent candidates flocked to nomination courts throughout the country yesterday and when returning officers closed their books 74 non-party candidates had paid almost R30 000 in deposits for the chance of a seat in the new tricameral Parliament.

Independent candidates make up almost 47 percent of the total field for the House of Delegates elections next month and only one party — Solidarity — is contesting all 40 seats.

Numbered among the independents is a handful of Labour Party members and some with Progressive Independent Party leanings.

The Labour Party candidates have been forced to stand as independents to avoid the letter of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

Of the total 164 candidates who registered for the 40 seats, 74 were independents, the remaining 90 belonging to one of five political parties.

Dr J N Reddy's Solidarity party will contest all constituencies, with the National People's Party under the leadership of Mr Amichand Rajbansi next best with 38.

The NPP will contest all three Cape and all eight Transvaal seats but only 27 of the 29 in Natal.

The Progressive Independent Party of Mr Faiz Khan is fighting seven seats, four in Natal and all three Lenasia constituencies. The PIP is the only party based outside Natal.

The National Federal Party of Mr M A Begg and the National Democratic Party of Mr M I Kahn bring up the rear with three and two candidates respectively.

But it is the staggering number of independent candidates that makes the most interesting reading. They average out at almost two per constituency and in some cases number as many as five per seat.

When nomination courts were held last week for the House of Representatives (the coloured Chamber) independents numbered only 28 out of a total field of 207.

There are no uncontested constituencies for the House of Delegates.

With only the NPP and Solidarity fielding sufficient candidates to ensure a majority in the House, the large body of independents could find itself with enough seats to hold the balance of power.

The following are the candidates nominated, with their parties in brackets:

PIP — Progressive Independent Party; NPP — National People's Party of SA; S — Solidarity; NDP — National Democratic Party; NFP — National Federal Party of SA.

TRANSVAAL:

Actonville: D Chengelryen (Independent); A E Lambat (Independent); G Naidoo (S); I Teladia (NPP).

Central Rand: S Collakoppen (S); N Desai (Independent); R Ebrahim (NPP), M A Khan (PIP); Y M Makda (Independent); F H Mayet (Independent).

Eastern Transvaal. A E Arbee (S); S M K Pillay (NPP), S A Abram (Independent).

Laudium: E Abramjee (NPP); H G Ismail (Independent); I Mohamed (Independent); S Padayachy (Independent); K Reddy (S).

Lenasia Central: S M Chetty (Independent); A H Choonara (NPP); R Daya (PIP); Y Mia (S).

Lenasia East: F M Khan (Independent); A R Omar (NPP); W Pillay (S); R Thomas (Independent).

Lenasia West: S A Hafizulla (PIP); H Padayachi (Independent); Dennis Pillay (NPP), D Sakalingum (S).

North-Western Transvaal: A S Akoob (Independent), I Cassim (Independent); I C Dasoo (NPP), M A Nanabhai (Independent); M S Shah (S).

NATAL:

Allandale: E V Mahomed (S); P C Nadasen (Independent).

Arena Park: A Rajbansi (NPP); T V Padayachee (S).

Bayview: M Thaver (NPP); T Palan (S); D Naidoo (Independent).

Brickfield: A G Joosab (NPP); D Nair (S); A Khan (Independent).

Camperdown: T L Gounden (NPP); J V Iyman (S), S S R Singh (Independent).

Cavendish: M F Adam (Independent); P I Devan (S), D Gangiah (Independent); K Lenny-Mannie (Independent); N Rajaram (NPP); R Reddy (NFP).

Chatsworth Central: S Pillay (NPP); K Chetty (S); S V Pillay (NFP).

Clare Estate: R Sitharam (NPP); M S Naidoo (S); K Ramduth (Independent); H Maharaj (Independent).

Durban Bay: P Durgapersadh (S); E Essp (Independent); K S Govender (Independent); A B Ismail (NPP); M Khan (Independent); A H Seedat (Independent).

Glenview: R Panday (NPP); J N Reddy (S).

Havenside. M Bandulalla (S); D Munsamy (Independent); S Naidu (Independent).

Isipingo N E Khan (NPP); S E Mansoor (S); C Reddy (Independent).

Mariannhill: M Naranjee (NPP); G L Pillay (S); P Thambiran (Independent).

Merebank: K Lalloo (NPP); A K Pillay (S); M Singh (Independent); G M Ebraihim (Independent); Rev D Isaacs (Independent).

Montford. Dr D Cader (S); M S Limalia (NPP); B Rathor (Independent); M Ranjit (Independent).

Moorcross: M Y Baig (NPP); D Naidoo (S); C Naidoo (Independent).

Natal Midlands: R Bheekie (Independent); N M Khan (S); S Pachai (NPP); S R Ramiah (Independent).

Newholme: H Rampersadh (NPP); L S Moodley (S); S N Naidoo (Independent); M Ramjathan (Independent).

North Coast: N Jamuna (NPP); M Vengasamy (S).

Northern Natal: S V Naicker (NPP); H Cassim (S); K G Nair (PIP); R Bhagwaandeen (Independent), G S Maistry (Independent).

Phoenix: D Ramckurran (NPP); C N Moodliar (S); R Bhana (Independent); T Jumuna (Independent); M Karandin (Independent); H N M Khan (Independent); H V Maharajh (Independent), C Murugan (Independent); B R Singh (Independent)

Red Hill. B Dookie (NPP), B S Moodley (S); H Nankoo (Independent)

Reservoir Hills A A Koobair (NPP), P Poovalingham (S), R R Maharaj (NFP)

Springfield A Mohanlall (NPP), M Rajab (S); B Maharaj (PIP), M Varma (Independent); V Koobair (Independent), P Murugan (Independent), H Omar (Independent); P A Govinthu (Independent), M Akoob (Independent)

Southern Natal M M Desai (NPP); K Moodley (S), M I Khan (NDP), M Nanack (PIP); G H Cassimjee (Independent), A Kallicharan (Independent), E Mahomed (Independent)

Stanger S Naidoo (NPP), Y Moolla (S), M H A Manjoo (Independent)

Tongaat K P Govender (NPP), V Govender (Independent), A G Hurbans (S), I A Khan (PIP)

Umzinto M K Govender (NPP), S Ramphal (S); G H Kadwa (Independent), M S Khan (NDP), B Pillay (Independent)

Verulam R Bangtu (NPP), I Kathrada (S), I Osman Shaik (Independent), P Lawrence (Independent)

CAPE PROVINCE:

Malabar R Bhana (NPP), G Habib (S), H Noorshib (Independent)

North-Western Cape A B Kader (Independent); A Naidoo (Independent), M S Padayachy (NPP); S Rajh (Independent); B D Sagathevan (S)

Rylands Rev E J Manikkam (S); H Osman (NPP), A H Mahomed (Independent), A G Ebrahim (Independent)

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

NPP nomination row erupts into chaos

Political Staff

There was chaos at the Laudium nomination court yesterday when supporters of National People's Party candidate, Mr Boetie Abrahmjee, including his sons, jumped on to the stage and claimed the nominations of two opposition candidates were invalid.

Mr Abramjee was nominated as the NPP candidate for the forthcoming House of Delegates elections.

The scuffle began shortly after the closure of the nomination court.

Mr Ismail Abramjee and a group of supporters jumped up and declared two nominations null and void.

They then started cheering and shouting that they had won the election.

But the electoral officer, Mr Dirk Vermeulen, said the nominations would stand.

The contested nominations were those of Mr Ismail Mohammed, who replaced Mr Abo Ebrahim as independent Labour Party candidate literally at the 11th hour, and Mr Ahmed Ismail.

Another last-minute objection, this time by NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi, against the nomination of his Solidarity opponent, Mr T V Padayachee, also failed.

The returning officer, Mr F M Foster, said Mr Rajbansi had objected because one of Mr Padayachee's seconds had recorded the wrong voters number — 6 061 instead of 6 060.

He said he had called in Mr Padayachee and sorted the matter out before allowing the nomination to stand.

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Sowetan 31/7/84 (304A)

Special voting for coloureds begins

THE FIRST votes for the House of Representatives elections were cast yesterday as special voting facilities opened for coloured voters.

While the elections are being held on August 22, special voting opened yesterday for people who cannot attend the polls on that day.

A spokesman for the Department of Internal Affairs said yesterday any voter in such a position could approach the department's regional office, the nearest magistrate's court or the local returning officer.

To cast a special vote, the voter must fill in an application form in front of a qualified official who will then issue a ballot paper bearing the names of the candidates in the constituency.

The voter then votes in the usual way in private. The completed ballot is placed in an envelope and sealed.

Special voting closes on August 20 after which all special ballots are sent to the relevant constituencies for counting with ordinary votes when the polls close at 9 pm on August 22.

The political parties hope to build an early lead in the elections by ensuring that supporters entitled to cast special votes, do so.

The Labour Party has indicated that it will approach old age homes to enable aged people to cast special votes.

Among those who are entitled to cast special votes are people who cannot attend the polls because of illness or age or who are employed in essential duties during polling hours.

Political scientists believe a large number of special votes could create a bandwagon effect, encouraging more people to vote on August 22.

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

UDF hit

31/7/84 (Sowetan)

THE United Democratic Front was so busy fighting the Labour Party that it was making no contribution towards changing the present system in South Africa, a coloured audience was told in Pietersburg at the weekend.

Addressing a rally held in the Nirvana Community Hall in the local Indian township, the Labour Party's Transvaal leader, Mr Jack Rabie, also attacked the Freedom and People's Congress parties, saying they supported apartheid.

The meeting was transferred to Nirvana after organisers were unable to secure the use of the coloured school hall. Last week the PCP was also refused permission to use the school hall.

Policy

Three candidates are contesting the northern Transvaal constituency in the House of Representatives election on August 22. They are Mr J J A Smith of the Labour Party, Mr A B Campbell of the People's Congress Party, and Mr C O Abrahams of the Freedom Party.

Most voters in the constituency have registered in Pietersburg, where there appears to be little opposition to the new constitution and next month's poll.

All three candidates have been holding house meetings throughout the area, and are also vieing enthusiastically for the support of 160 voters in the remote Buysdorp district, West of Louis Trichardt, home of one of the country's most isolated coloured communities.

(Report by Dirk Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg).

N. Mercury 30/7/84 (304A)

Warning over ethnic boards

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

COLOURED and Indian communities would face an increase in rates or a cutback in community services if 'ethnic town boards' came into operation after the elections this month, Mr D K Singh said at the weekend.

Mr Singh, chairman of the Durban Housing Action Committee and excutive member of the Natal Indian Congress, said this at a meeting of 400 people in Northdale opposed to the coloured and Indian elections.

Giving autonomy by setting up 'town boards' would not work for the benefit of the people as the boards were expected to be 'self-contained'.

Indian and coloured communities did not have big businesses and industries in their areas to provide enough revenue for the efficient running of the community, Mr Singh said.

'We should boycott these elections to stay out of the laager to keep our honour and save our future for a democratic society.'

The new constitution was a plan to 'hoodwink us and the world' that coloured and Indian people were being given a chance to run their own affairs.

Mr Virgil Bonhomme, chairman of Durban's United Committee of Concern, said the new constitution did not meet the 'minimum demands of providing for security and comfort'.

'To vote in the election will be voting for violence as the new constitution is a recipe for violence in excluding more than 20 million African people in South Africa.'

He said the Government plan was to make apartheid part of South Africa's constitution so that its discriminatory laws could not be changed.

'How can we be secure in the thought that we will have to serve on the border in defending apartheid and one day turn our guns at our own people protesting against issues such as rent increases,' he said.

Argus 30/7/94 (304A)

Minister is surprise nomination for Rylands

Staff Reporter

IN an unexpected move today, a prominent figure in the Reformed Church in Africa (RCA), the Rev Edward Manikkam, was nominated as a candidate for the Rylands seat in the Indian House of Delegates election.

Mr Manikkam, 53, an outspoken opponent of apartheid, will stand for Solidarity against three candidates.

He is a minister of the RCA, the Indian-based sister church of the Ned Geref Kerk.

(Turn to Page 8, col 8)

Surprise nomination

(Continued from Pg 1)

Mr Manikkam is also chairman of the Rylands Estate Management Committee and deputy president of the Association of Management Committees.

His opponents include Mr Hassan Osman, 52, of the National People's Party, the SA Indian Council representative for Rylands.

Another is Mr Abdool Mahomed, standing as an independent, who is a member of the Independents' Alliance which has not registered as a political party but is linked with the coloured People's Congress Party.

FOURTH CANDIDATE

The fourth candidate is Mr Abdul Ebrahim, 40, an independent, who had some difficulty with his nomination because his identity book stated he was not a South African citizen.

He told the nomination court that the book contained an error and that he was a citizen. He is a member of the Rylands Estate Management Committee.

The returning officer, Mr H J Brand, said the court accepted the nomination as it lacked the machinery to investigate the matter. Anyone objecting could apply to the Supreme Court, he said.

In the seat of North Western Cape, which includes some parts of Cape Town including Cravenby Estate, five candidates were nominated after a sixth, Mr M E Camroodien, an independent, withdrew minutes before nominations closed.

The candidates are: Mr Abdul Kader, 25, an independent, who is a member of the Independents' Alliance; Mr Basil Sagathevan, 52, SA Indian Council member for North Western Cape, standing for Solidarity; Mr Murugasen Padayachy for the NPP; Mr Sunthar Rajh, 44, an independent, and Mr Anand Naidoo, 75, also an independent.

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