

S.A. GOVT. AND POLITICS

1985

JANUARY — MARCH

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# Natal MP subject of R750 000 probe by Customs

By Devan Moodley

VERULAM garage owner Narantuk Jumuna, who is the North Coast MP in the House of Delegates, confirmed yesterday that he was the subject of a Customs and Excise investigation involving R750 000.

Mr Jumuna, who is also known as Shan Mohangi, said the Department of Customs and Excise was investigating alleged irregularities in the sale of diesel fuel.

"I have nothing to hide because I don't owe R750 000 claimed by Customs and Excise," said Mr Jumuna, adding that he was prepared to go to court to prove it.

He would be glad to pay

back any money, including the R750 000, if the department showed him how the amount or amounts had been arrived at.

He said this was the second time he had been involved with the department over alleged irregularities in the sale of diesel fuel.

Allegations were made against me in 1976, but nothing came of them," he said.

Mr Jumuna said he and his legal consultant had met the Minister of Finance in connection with the alleged violations.

He had written to the Department of Customs and Excise asking for details but had not received a reply.

He said it had been alleged that he had claimed rebates on the sale of diesel fuel and had kept them for himself, but he denied the allegations.

The Department of Customs and Excise declined to comment.



# Now the Labour Party gets to tell white teachers and students

The first post-election Labour Party congress held at Kimberley last weekend produced the predictable, the surprising and the amazing.

There were the predictable promises to attack and dismantle apartheid.

There was the surprising call for the nationalisation of the mining industry.

And there was the amazing threat to take action against students and teachers who did not support Labour Party policy.

Congress resolutions and speeches indicated the likely direction of the Labour Party in 1985 and included the following:

● Warnings to the Government that the bottom line for the first session of the tricameral Parliament was to rid the statute books of the Mixed Marriages Act, the Separate Amenities Act, and section 16 of the Immorality Act.

● Demands for a direct say in

By Gary van Staden  
Political Reporter

local government decisions and

criticism of those MPs who were not willing to resign.

management committee seats in line with a Labour Party executive decision.

● Attacks on the education system which prepared coloureds for menial tasks and meagre incomes only.

● Proposals for a federal system of government in South Africa.

Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education in the House of Representatives, warned coloured teachers and

University of the Western Cape

students that he would not hesitate to act against them if they opposed Labour Party policy.

He threatened to withhold bursaries from radical students

to suspend teachers who opposed party policy, to promote coloured over white

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applicants at top posts and to break the South African Council of Sport hold on the use of school sports facilities.

Mr Ebrahim said he had withdrawn from officials the power to grant bursaries to students taking teacher training courses at universities and would in future handle all applications himself.

"We as the governing party in the House of Representatives cannot allow the professional future of the overwhelming majority of our young people at the University of the Western Cape to be jeopardised by a small group of radicals bent on disruption and destruction," he said.

In his attack on coloured education, Mr Ebrahim said that the Government's system was deliberately to equip the majority of coloured people for the most menial tasks and

meagre incomes. He lashed out at the Government for what he called

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a deliberate policy to provide inferior education to the disfranchised groups as a means of maintaining their inferior status.

He said: "It is Labour Party policy that education in South Africa should be equal in all respects, free from racial restrictions and controlled by a single Ministry of Education."

"This is the ideal, the goal which the party has set itself."

It came as no surprise when the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, warned that the bottom line for the first session of Parliament was the abolition of the Mixed Marriages Act, the opening of all public amenities and an end to the prohibition against mixed political parties.

He also felt that the coloured people should have a greater say in the Cabinet, he is the only

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Cabinet member from the House of Representatives. Both the Acts which deal with

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sex across the colour line and the Political Interference Act formed a large slice of Labour Party arguments during the election campaign for participation in the new deal.

The resolution on mixed sport was also hardly a great surprise.

Sports groups in South Africa must not simply open their facilities to all but actively encourage mixed sport, the Labour Party said at its congress.

A Congress resolution passed without dissent, said sportsmen had to decide for themselves with whom and against whom they played.

It added: "The removal of discriminatory measures is not the whole story."

"The sincerity of such a removal of discriminatory measures can only be tested and proved by active participation and by the encouragement of participation."

The Labour Party disapproves the House of Representatives. Both the Acts which deal with

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reaction of any and all groups who by their constitutions and actions continue to apply discriminatory measures either to further apartheid or oppose apartheid."

The reference to discrimination by those who oppose apartheid was seen as an attack on the South African Council of Sport.

The Congress was told of Labour Party plans for federal government in South Africa.

The Western Cape, with its long-standing tradition of co-operation and understanding between its peoples, would be a viable independent state within a federal system of government in South Africa, Mr Hendrickse said.

Discussing Labour proposals for a federation of non-racial independent states, he said later that each of these American-type states could have different constitutions, yet be united at the federal level in a single non-racial country. He named the Witwatersrand

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complex, Natal, KwaZulu and Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth as other examples of geographical areas which could form separate states within a geographical federation.

During a lively debate on the management committee system Mr Fred Peters, MP for Silverton and national secretary of the party, said some MPs were reluctant to quit their seats on management committees as proposed by the party's national executive committee.

Referring to the freezing of local government, including management committees, until 1988, Mr Peters said: "Some of these management committees members, knowing they cannot be removed until 1988, are adopting a defiant attitude."

The congress emphasised its commitment to abolish the system of management committees in demanding a direct say in local government.



# What's in store

**FOR** black politics 1984 was another year of the mailed fist.

## for blacks?

The only politics tolerated from the black community was politics within separate development — or the politics of operating within the system.

It is for this reason that while the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front got the jackboot from the Government, Inkatha could not have had a more pleasant relationship with the authorities.

The man behind the harassment of black political activists was Mr Louis Le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, and his counterparts in the various homeland parliaments — both independent and not.

Security forces in both South Africa and its homelands went about their business with undisguised enthusiasm. For the better part of the year there were at least 100 people in jail at any one time.

### Nets

Their nets spread far and wide, and victims

eza (Azapo publicity secretary) and other leading officials of the two organisations.

When black townships erupted into violence, the Government was in a state of siege. There was general panic evident as the police faced infuriated mobs of youths. At the end of October the toll stood at 131 dead and countless injured.

The Government virtually threw the book at the UDF, Azapo and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), whose members were questioned, raided by police and some detained. Many activists, particularly students, did not sleep at their homes. Police activity was at its peak.

With townships in the Vaal Triangle on fire magistrates banned meetings called in the area. Organisers would suddenly see notices go up at the doors of meeting venues, see a high police presence and would conclude that the meeting was

death, looting, police crackdowns, burnings and general disorder.

While Inkatha and the UDF were at the receiving end, Inkatha had a cosy relationship with the Government and its media.

Inkatha, one of the three main political organisations within the black community, opposes the Govt's Separate Development, but operates from within this system to oppose the Government.

Thus in terms of political strategies the UDF and Azapo op-

ate from outside and oppose Government institutions such as homeland governments and local authorities.

Inkatha, on the other hand, operates from within these structures and sees them as a means towards an end — total liberation.

Frequent attacks on Inkatha's policies, particularly that of operating within the system, resulted in little love lost between organisations.

Inkatha has retreated into itself and

**THE SOWETAN** news editor **THAMI MAZWAI** takes a look at black politics in 1984.

Last Sunday he looked at the struggle for the control of black masses by Inkatha, the UDF and Azapo.

Today he looks at the harassment of these organisations, and how Inkatha enjoys privileged status. The next article will deal with some highlights and questions for 1985.

reacted violently to the two organisations whenever there has been a confrontation at a common place. So far the death toll is about five people dead in Natal as a result of Inkatha-UDF confrontations.

This state of war between the UDF and Inkatha has resulted in Inkatha being seen to be on the same side with the Government, against the UDF, and other radical organisations.

On the other hand Inkatha claims that it only reacts violently to these organisations when attacked, or as a result of continuing Inkatha harassment by them.

While at first glance this could be the reason, my impression is that this state of war between Inkatha and the UDF does not only flow from attacks on Inkatha and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi by the UDF.

that Inkatha is seen to be Government inspired, and indeed, to a large extent is Government inspired.

One's analysis of the situation is that Inkatha is the KwaZulu Government. And the KwaZulu Government is part of the Homelands Governments' family. In other words KwaZulu can be uttered in the same breath with all other homeland Governments, whether independent or not.

Because these homeland Governments are a creation of Pretoria they must of necessity be one with their creator. They need Pretoria to continue existing (which is why Pretoria is funding them) and Pretoria needs them to exist.

It is the Broderbond's grand apartheid scheme. While P W Botha and his Ministers claim that the homelands were cre-



**THAMI MAZWAI**

KwaZulu, thus Inkatha, will be part of the Government strategy, whether by design or accidentally, to suppress all politics outside Government strategy. This also applies to other homeland Governments, both "free" and "unfree."

The UDF-Inkatha battle is not surprising. It is part of the situation.

Because of this situation the Transkei will ban the UDF and Cosas, the Ciskei ban the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu), Lebowa ban Azapo meetings and Bophuthatwana pass a labour law that virtually bans South Africa's black independent trade union movement.

All these Governments, including KwaZulu, perceive South Africa's political opponents as their enemies. Inkatha will thus not



It has been said recently that the South African Government is losing the propaganda battle notably in the United States.

This Sapa report from Jerusalem quotes a propagandist who believes the trend can be reversed.

# How SA can counter-attack in the propaganda battle

Half a century ago the Nazi chief propagandist Josef Goebbels coined the adage that it was sufficient to repeat a lie often enough so as to have it accepted as truth by the aimed-at public.

Dr. Baruch Gitlis, a communications expert belonging to the nation Goebbels chose to be his principal victim — the Jews — disagrees with this view.

While conceding that people are prone to brainwashing, he says this almost biological process can be foiled if conviction behind itself

instead of repetition, they are given the truth. In this respect, the situation can be compared with Western ver-

sus Soviet propaganda. The Soviets, brainwash radio listeners, for instance, via all available wavelengths, trying to appear in the role of the good guys as opposed to the (American and other Western) bad guys. In the West, the truth is exposed by force of fact and direct evidence in print and speech, and preferably by picture as well.

That exception is the propaganda of South Africa, says Dr. Gitlis, director of the Harry Karren Israeli Institute for Propaganda Analysis in Herzlia, near Tel Aviv.

“Not because South African propaganda has no convincing truth to fight with — on the contrary, it is, I think, a propagandist's paradise — but because the means employed are, I am sorry to say, outdated and psychologically falling off target,” he adds.

Dr. Gitlis has made a careful study of South African official reactions to tendentious smear campaigns initiated by the Soviets, their fellow-travellers and by Leftists and so-called liberals in the West. He has come to the conclusion that Pretoria's public relations effort is based on the naive misconception that calling a spade a spade is enough to make the other side accept this.

“What South Africa needs is letting blacks speak up for themselves, on television, on the air, on the cinema newsreel screen.

“Did you know that for a few hundred rands you can buy non-commercial entertainment time on many cable TV networks throughout the US? That thereby it is possible to reach millions of Americans currently reserved in their attitude towards South Africa and its white minority rule?”

There is perhaps only one exception to the superiority of Western propaganda, which has the advantage of truthfulness and sincerity of conviction behind itself.

Dr. Gitlis has made a careful study of South African official reactions to tendentious smear campaigns initiated by the Soviets, their fellow-travellers and by Leftists and so-called liberals in the West. He has come to the conclusion that Pretoria's public relations effort is based on the naive misconception that calling a spade a spade is enough to make the other side accept this.

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“Did you know that for a few hundred rands you can buy non-commercial entertainment time on many cable TV networks throughout the US? That thereby it is possible to reach millions of Americans currently reserved in their attitude towards South Africa and its white minority rule?”

“Have you any idea how many existing misconceptions can be dispelled in this manner?”

Originally, the Karren Institute specialised in research into methods

Also, he suggests that a co-ordinating effort be made in the Western world to combat any sort of anti-Western propaganda, whatever Western country it might be directed against, on a joint, collective basis, by warding off such attacks with the impact of truth, on a mutually working multi-governmental level. — Sapa



# 1984 a public relations disaster <sup>Western</sup> for South Africa, Guardian claims

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## London Bureau

LAST year was 'a public relations disaster' for President Botha's Government, just when it thought it was 'winning on all fronts', the Guardian claimed in an editorial yesterday.

The editorial took a more critical view of the situation in South Africa than the newspaper's staff writer Terry Coleman did in a series of five lengthy articles last month.

'There was a marked shift in Pretoria's relations with its neighbours which pointed up South Africa's military, economic and political dominance of the southern

African sub-continent, the paper said.

'For a while, Bismarck seemed to be alive and well and crowing in Afrikaans.

'Angola was forced by military action to join in monitoring a ceasefire on its border with Namibia, the territory South Africa continues to occupy and exploit in defiance of international opinion.

## Repression

'Mozambique was pressurised into signing a full-blown, non-aggression pact by South African destabilisation.

'But Pretoria has not kept its word to either country. Nine months

after they were supposed to have left, South African troops were still in Angola; and the South African cat's paw of a rebel movement in Mozambique is just as big a threat to its government.'

Referring to President Botha's visit to Europe last year, the Guardian commented: 'But shortly after his fêted return from what appeared to have been a triumph against isolation, South Africa spun into a prolonged cycle of riot and repression provoked by the implementation of the constitution.

'This has already claimed far more lives than Sharpeville and may

yet surpass Soweto, if over a longer period, because it is still going on.

'The grand tour proved to be the prelude to a new intensification of South Africa's pariah status. It will not be repeated, if only because presidents, but not premiers, make state visits and it does not seem likely that there is a room free for Mr Botha at Buckingham Palace.

'All this counter-productive bullying at home and abroad was based largely on confidence in the continued benevolence of the United States with its unsuccessful regional policy of "constructive engagement".'

'But what this policy

helped to make possible set off a sustained bout of revulsion against apartheid in America which swept through the White House itself.

## Unfettered

'That could prove to be the worst news of all for Mr Botha from a disastrously triumphant year in which the economy, the Achilles heel of apartheid, also showed ominous signs of strain. South Africa therefore gained protracted and unfavourable attention in the West on a scale and at a pitch not experienced for many years.

'Western correspondents with their access to

media unfettered by the more than 100 laws restraining the South African Press have seldom been so busy in South Africa for so long. Neither they nor their often morally courageous South African colleagues (especially on certain Anglophobe papers) can be held responsible for the unremitting public relations disaster of 1984.

'Despots are wont to punish the bearers of bad news, but like the terrorist with the smoking gun in his hand and the dead hostage at his feet, they cannot expect to get away with "blaming the media" or anyone else for their own acts.'



# SA and ANC did have talks

THE South African Government and the African National Congress met in Lusaka three weeks ago for "informal exploratory talks".

Although the Government has repeated an earlier denial that talks have taken place, reliable sources close to the ANC, the Zambian and Mozambique governments are adamant that they have, and that they are the beginning of negotiations for the release of Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders imprisoned for life — this being the chief reason why the ANC agreed to the meeting.

The Mandela issue was not raised at the meeting which was described "as exploratory, and talks about talks".

Commenting yesterday, President P W Botha reiterated a statement made in December that no member of the ruling National Party would be allowed to speak to the ANC. A government spokesman dismissed the report as "ANC propaganda".

The ANC refused to comment.

The Zambian Government was responsible for the meeting which took place on Wednesday December 19.

This is probably the first time since the ANC was banned in 1960 that there has been contact between Pretoria and the ANC. Both had adopted an uncompromising stand, refusing to talk to each other.

The meeting followed an interview granted by the ANC, which had previously refused to speak to pro-Government Afrikaans newspapers, to the assistant editor of Beeld, Dr Piet Muller.

"This pre-Christmas Lusaka meeting was actually a discussion between official ANC and South African Government representatives. It did not involve go betweens or people such as journalists, academics or business-

men," the sources said.

Since South Africa and Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord, the ANC leadership has been locked in debate over the issue of contact with Pretoria.

Most of the top ANC leaders are believed to be in favour of negotiations on some issues. They include ANC president Oliver Tambo, Alfred Nzo, the veteran general secretary who is to retire soon, and Tabo Mbeki, the director of publicity and information.

## Military

A smaller faction led by senior Communist Party member and head of the ANC military forces, Joe Slovo, is strictly opposed to talks.

The Zambian Government has been urging the ANC to make contact with Pretoria.

Zambia told the ANC that Pretoria would not discuss the political future of South Africa. But, Zambia argued, the ANC could achieve limited goals, such as the release of Mandela and others.

President Kenneth Kuanda was the middleman in the Namibian talks and there is a bond of trust between Pretoria and Lusaka.

The pro-contact group in the ANC has apparently no illusions about how far discussions with Pretoria can go. They advocate talks to gain the release of prisoners, something they could present as a victory for their strategy.

As a precedent they point to the unconditional release in March last year of Swapo leader Herman Toivo Ja Toivo; and to the 1975 release of Zimbabwean political prisoners such as Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole.

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# Viljoen, Heunis knock Kennedy

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Staff

THE Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, today accused Senator Edward Kennedy of openly associating himself with a "protest group" against the Government.

At a Press conference immediately after a meeting with Senator Kennedy in the H F Verwoerd Building, Dr Viljoen said he was surprised that Senator Kennedy as a visiting politician had involved himself in political controversy between the citizens of this country.

Asked which "protest group" he was referring to — the ANC, UDF or any other — Dr Viljoen reworded his remark.

## SURPRISING

He said what he meant was that he found it surprising and unusual that Senator Kennedy should enter into the internal political dialogue between citizens of South Africa.

Dr Viljoen referred specifically to Senator Kennedy's visit to the Crossroads squatter settlement yesterday where Senator Kennedy spoke about conditions and about the viewpoints of certain residents.

Asked how he felt about the Kennedy trip, Dr Viljoen said: "I have very strong feelings about it but would not like to express them."

## "DISGUST"

Leading South Africans had expressed "amusement and disgust" at Senator Kennedy's style.

Dr Viljoen said he had asked Senator Kennedy whether he had taken the trouble, after visiting Crossroads, to visit Cape Town's new town for black people, Khayelitsha.

"I invited him to do this and offered the assistance of my staff," Dr Viljoen said.

## "REASONABLE"

He added that Senator Kennedy "did not seem very keen to be confused by the fact of Khayelitsha".

Dr Viljoen said Senator Kennedy was "very reasonable" and they had an open discussion.

Dr Viljoen said he had told Senator Kennedy of the Government's viewpoint on reform.

He had emphasized that reform was an on-going process and that a prerequisite for reform was acknowledgment of the population diversity in South Africa.

(Cont on Page 2, col 7)





The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and Senator Edward Kennedy, after their meeting today.

## Ministers knock Kennedy

(Cont from Page 1)

Dr Viljoen said he thought Senator Kennedy was "badly served" by distorted viewpoints.

Senator Kennedy met the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, after his discussion with Dr Viljoen.

Mr Heunis said he believed Senator Kennedy's visit had been stage-managed and his exposure to South African conditions had been too limited to come to any real conclusion.

At a Press conference after his meeting with Senator Kennedy, Mr Heunis said nobody qualified to make moral judgments on other countries, especially when there were injustices in their own.

Questioned about his impressions of the Kennedy tour, Mr Heunis said Senator Kennedy could have seen

more South African leaders. He could have seen such people as the coloured leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Indian leaders and elected leaders in African townships.

By seeing such people Senator Kennedy could at least have obtained a representative view.

Mr Heunis said he had discussed with Senator Kennedy the situation in South Africa in the regional and the international context.

He had put the Government's viewpoint and had told him of the Government's commitment to change.

He had explained to Mr Kennedy the extent to which constitutional changes had already taken place.

● Kennedy hears squatters' message

— Page 4.

● The Cape Doctor says "Hello, Ted"

— Page 11.



2 Cape Times, Saturday, January 12, 1985

# Eglin letter to Kennedy

Staff Reporter

IN a letter to Senator Edward Kennedy, Mr Colin Eglin has expressed his conviction that the route most likely to produce the earliest and most fundamental change away from apartheid in South Africa is that of accelerated economic development.

Mr Eglin, national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, said in the letter dated January 10 that economic forces were undoubtedly the most potent of the forces operating for change in South African society.

He said these forces

had accelerated the process of urbanization, founded a new stable black urban community, forced a new upward mobility for blacks in education, in skills and in employment, and led to the establishment of black trade unions.

Mr Eglin said these forces had not yet persuaded the Nationalist government to dismantle the structure of apartheid, but they were starting to have an eroding effect on the Nationalists' confidence in the efficacy and viability of these structures in a modern industrial South Africa.

"It is these forces that increase the economic

muscle of black South Africans so that they are in a stronger position to bargain for their rights and fight for their liberation. It is these forces that promote peaceful change from within South Africa that must be strengthened and encouraged," he said.

Mr Eglin also said: "Attempts to impose change from outside — as opposed to attempts to strengthening the forces working for peaceful fundamental change within South Africa — will not accelerate the process of change but increase the temper of conflict and the level of violence in South Africa."



# Talk with the ANC, says Boraine

## Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha should initiate talks with the African National Congress if genuine peace is to be achieved in South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the Progressive Federal Party federal executive, said today.

Dr Boraine was reacting to President Botha's denial that meetings have taken place between South African officials or National Party public representatives and the ANC recently.

But Mr Botha said for the first time he would be prepared to talk

to the ANC if it renounced violence as a means of achieving constitutional change.

Dr Boraine said in an interview that he was disappointed that Mr Botha had taken such pains to deny any meeting with the ANC.

"It would have been much more hopeful and encouraging if he were to announce such talks were going to take place.

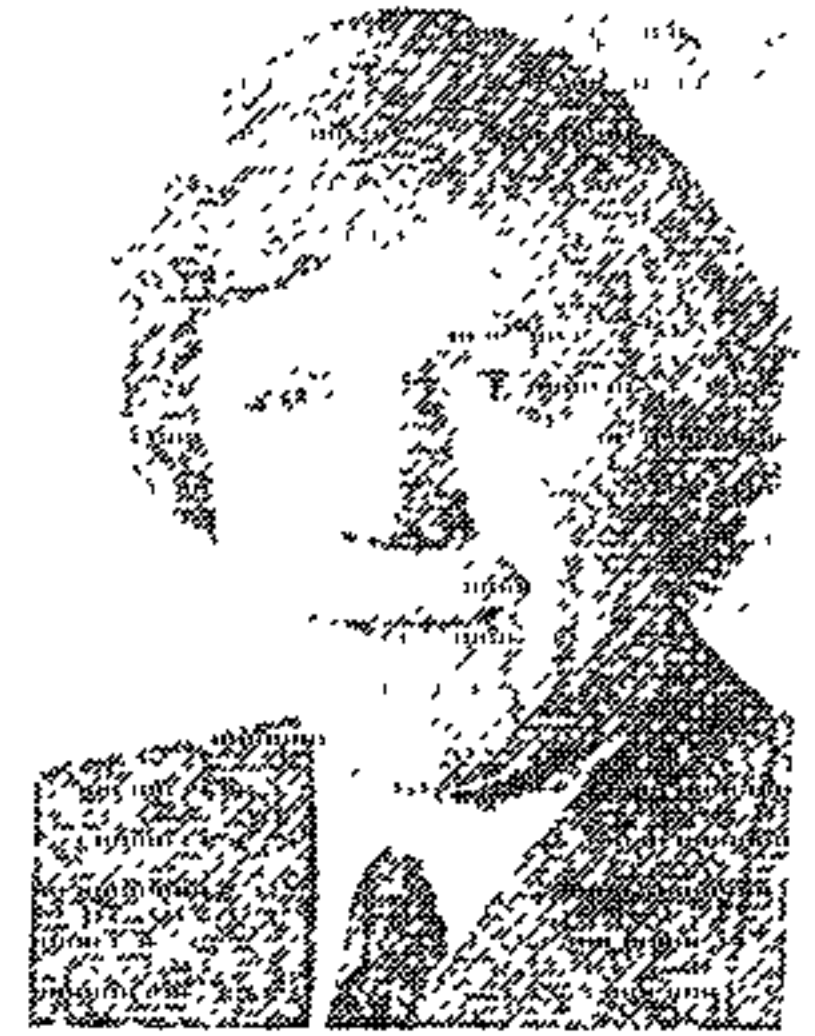
"There will be no genuine peace in South Africa until negotiations take place between those who govern and the voteless.

"I have persistently called for

such talks over several years and it is interesting to note that the President has stated that if the ANC were to move away from its commitment to armed struggle he would be prepared to talk to them.

"Surely if the ANC were to accept an overture from the Government to talk that would mean a commitment to change through negotiation rather than through the barrel of a gun.

"In any event what is the difference between Swapo, with which the Government has held talks, and the ANC."



Dr Alex Boraine



6.32: Women's Program  
of the pleasure cruiser Clice

CALL Tents 7/1/88  
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# UCI man set up ANC talk

Staff Reporter

THE Director of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies, Professor H W van der Merwe, disclosed last night that he had arranged a recent interview between Dr Piet Muller, assistant editor of the Johannesburg daily Beeld, and executive members of the African National Congress

He added that the interview — believed to be the first granted by the ANC to a newspaper supporting the South African Government for the past 24 years — had been arranged "at the request of both parties".

However, he said he had not been involved in talks between South African government officials and ANC representatives which took place in Lusaka three weeks ago, according to a report in the Sunday newspaper Rapport yesterday.

The report said the talks were "probably the beginning" of negotiations over the release of Nelson Mandela, serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor Prison, and other ANC leaders.

However Sapa reports that a government spokesman said in Cape Town yesterday that the State President, Mr P W Botha, denied "in no uncertain terms" that the meeting in Lusaka had taken place.

Mr Botha was adamant that "no contact with the ANC would be established until after they have turned their backs on a policy of violence against the people of this country", the spokesman added.

Professor van der Merwe said: "I am very pleased that talks have reportedly taken place — but I had nothing to do with them. Dr Muller did what I hoped he would — he called publicly for official talks with the ANC. I hope that kind of publicity makes it easier for the government to consider such talks."

He would not comment on the truth of a report that Mr Joe Slovo, a prominent figure in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC military wing, was against talks with South Africa, while the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, the general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the publicity secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki, were in favour.



# Boraine ~~HEA~~ urges Govt <sup>304A</sup> to hold talks <sup>Stan</sup> with ANC

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President Botha should initiate talks with the African National Congress if genuine peace was to be achieved in South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's federal executive, said today.

Dr Boraine was reacting to the denial by President Botha of reports of meetings between South African officials or National Party public representatives and the ANC recently.

Mr Botha, however, for the first time said that he would be prepared to talk to the ANC if it renounced violence as a means of achieving constitutional change.

Dr Boraine said in an interview that he was disappointed that Mr Botha had taken such pains to deny any meeting with the ANC.

"It would have been much more hopeful and encouraging if he were to announce such talks were going to take place.

"There will be no genuine peace in South Africa until negotiations take place between those who govern and the voteless.

"I have persistently called for such talks over several years and it is interesting to note that the president has stated that if the ANC were to move away from its commitment to armed struggle he would be prepared to talk to them,

"Surely if the ANC were to accept an overture from the Government to talk that would mean a commitment to change through negotiation rather than through the barrel of a gun.

"In any event what is the difference between Swapo, with which the Government has held talks, and the ANC?"



# PFP and Swapo <sup>81/1/81</sup> member meet

CAPE TOWN — Swapo and the Progressive Federal Party have stressed the need for a speedy end to the Namibian independence impasse following what is believed to be the first public get-together in South Africa of the two parties.

The informal meeting at a Cape Town hotel yesterday was attended by Mr Colin Eglin, the PFP's senior spokesman on foreign affairs; Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the party's federal executive; and Mr Anton Lubowski, one of the first whites to publicly declare his membership of Swapo.

## DELAYS

Describing the talks as a PFP "information-gathering exercise", Mr Eglin said they had served to reinforce a view obtained from a variety of Namibians that there were mounting frustrations over delays in independence.

Mr Lubowski, a Windhoek advocate, said the meeting had produced a number of points of agreement between the PFP and Swapo. Among these were that:

- To continue the war in Namibia would be "senseless".
- The war effort resulted in an unacceptable drain on the South African economy.
- Swapo had "for a long time" offered the South African Government a ceasefire, but this had been refused. — Sapa.



# Govt mouthpiece denies talks with ANC

The SABC's Current Affairs, a thinly disguised voice of the South African Government, stated today that reports of an African National Congress and National Party get together were way out of line.

## DENIAL

Current Affairs said that any negotiation with the ANC was out of the question, while the banned organisation itself denied that it had spoken to any official of Pretoria.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka did, however, tell the Reuter news agency that four National Party MPs had requested a meeting with

By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

the organisation but that the ANC did not even reply to the request.

Both the South African Government and the ANC were reacting to weekend reports that talks between the two had already taken place in Lusaka on December 26.

Observers, however, point out that at the time the ANC were supposed to be negotiating with South African officials, Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, and most of his senior officials were on an official visit to Moscow.

The SABC said today that the ideology of the

ANC was the antithesis of democracy, and its methods made a mockery of negotiation as a democratic concept.

## TERROR

"As long as the organisation continues to regard violence and terror as valid means of political persuasion, to talk of negotiation with it is a contradiction in terms," the commentator added.

Reuter reported yesterday that the ANC had denied that its officials met the South African Government last month.

A spokesman in Lusaka said that three weeks ago ANC officials unofficially met an Afrikaner university profes-

sor and member of the National Party who was accompanied by a journalist from the Afrikaans-language newspaper *Beeld*. The meeting took place in Lusaka.

President Botha, reacting to speculation about past or impending contacts with the ANC, told Reuter: "We will hold no talks with the ANC until after they have turned their backs on their policies of spreading violence."

He described the reports of a recent meeting as "a lot of unadulterated rubbish".

The SABC commentary today said that in a state professing democratic ideals, negotiation

is by definition the characteristic means of resolving political disputes

"Conversely, the democratic principle excludes from participation in negotiations those groups which reject the peace consensus and espouse violence as a means for achieving political ends."

## GROUPS

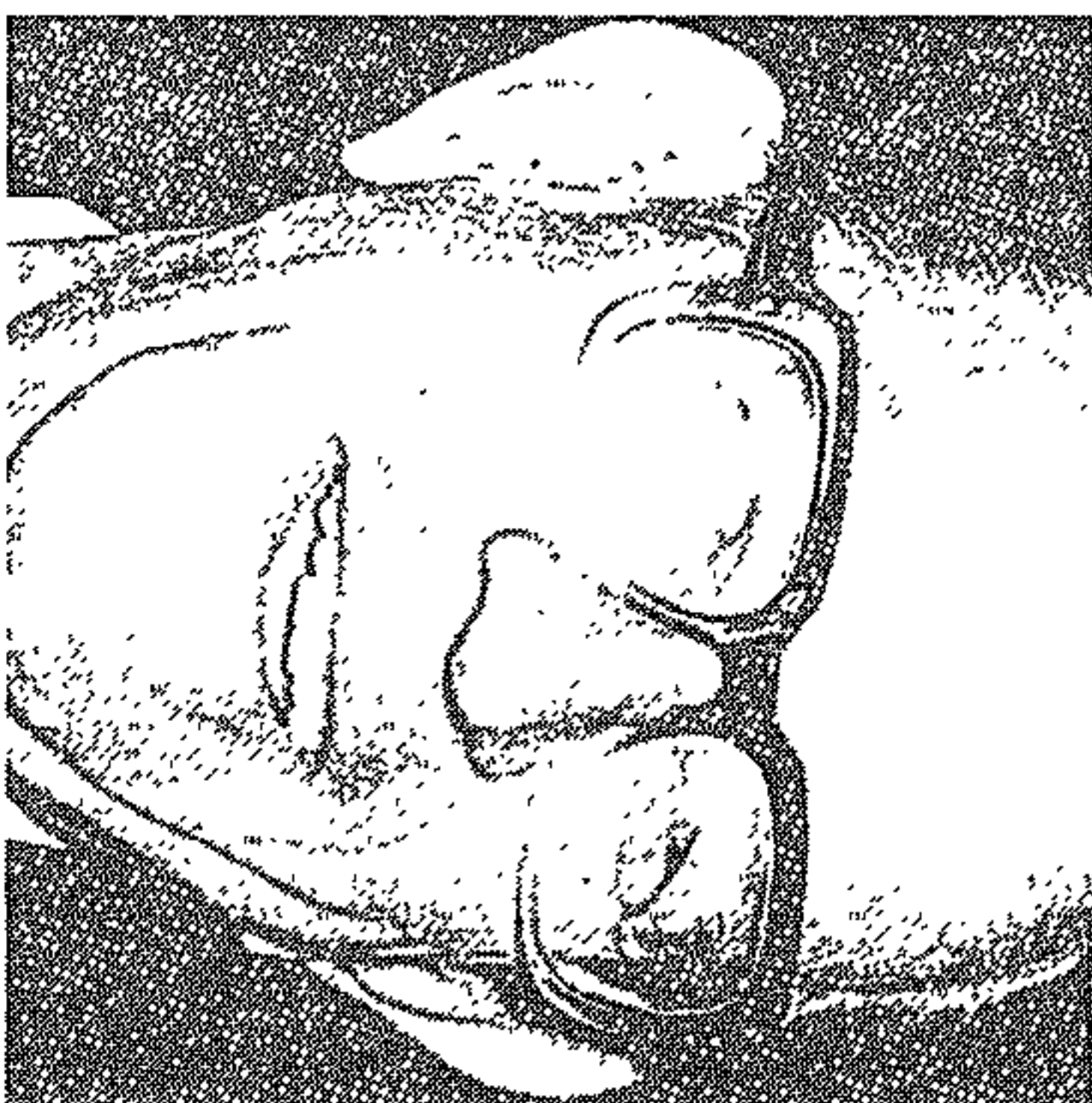
The SABC commentary added that there had been many calls by leading politicians and other interest groups lately to open negotiations with the ANC.

"In fact, such calls ignore the democratic imperatives with which they are concerned."



## Politicians praise the new constitution or criticise it... few are lukewarm about it

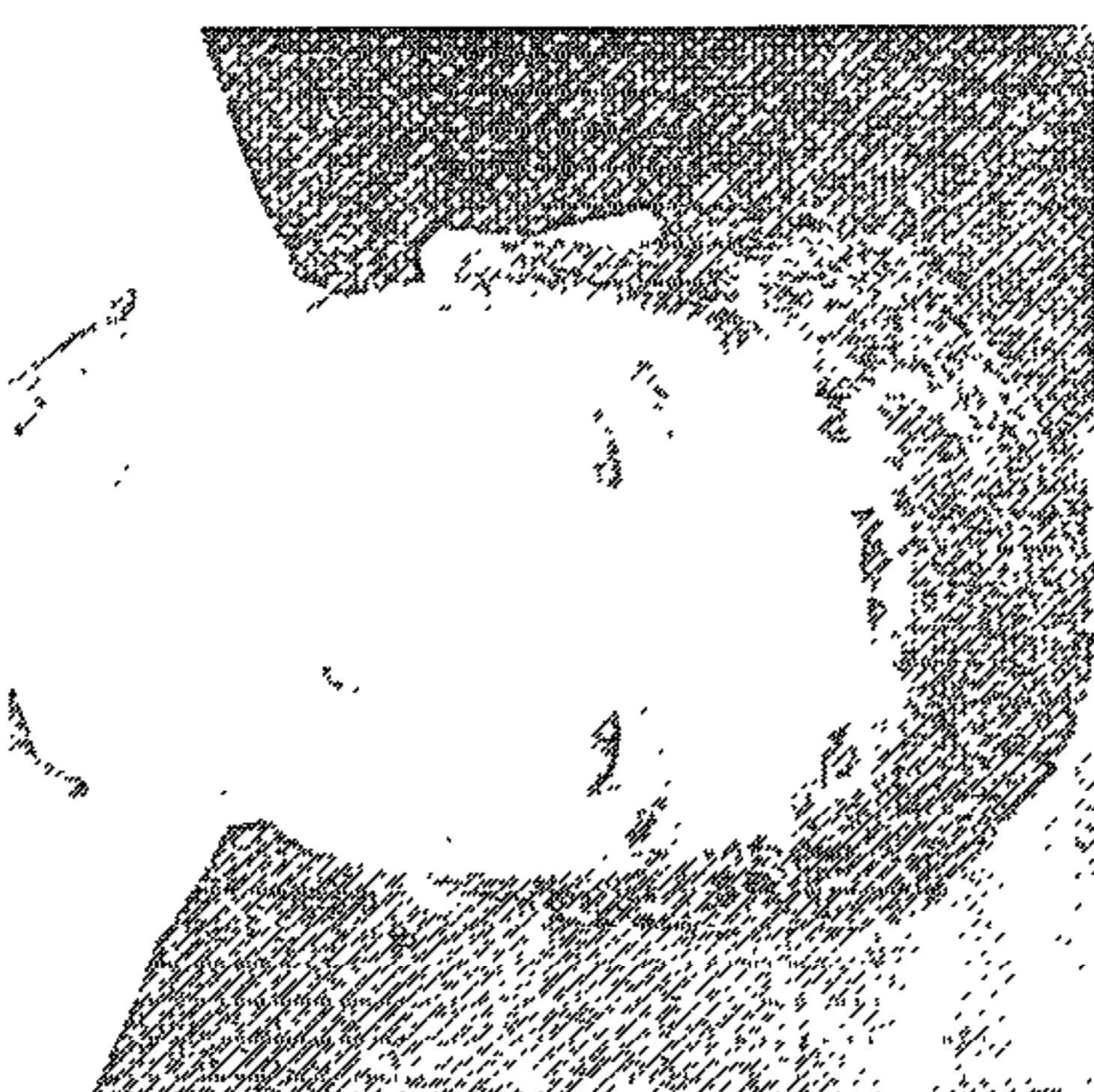
There are few people in local government who are lukewarm about the new constitution. Politicians have either praised the plan... or strongly criticised it. Community leaders who oppose the constitution have painted a gloomy picture of the future and warn of the burden it will place on their people. But others are optimistic and insist the plan will lead to peace and security. In the second part of our series on local government, COLLEEN RYAN gives both viewpoints...



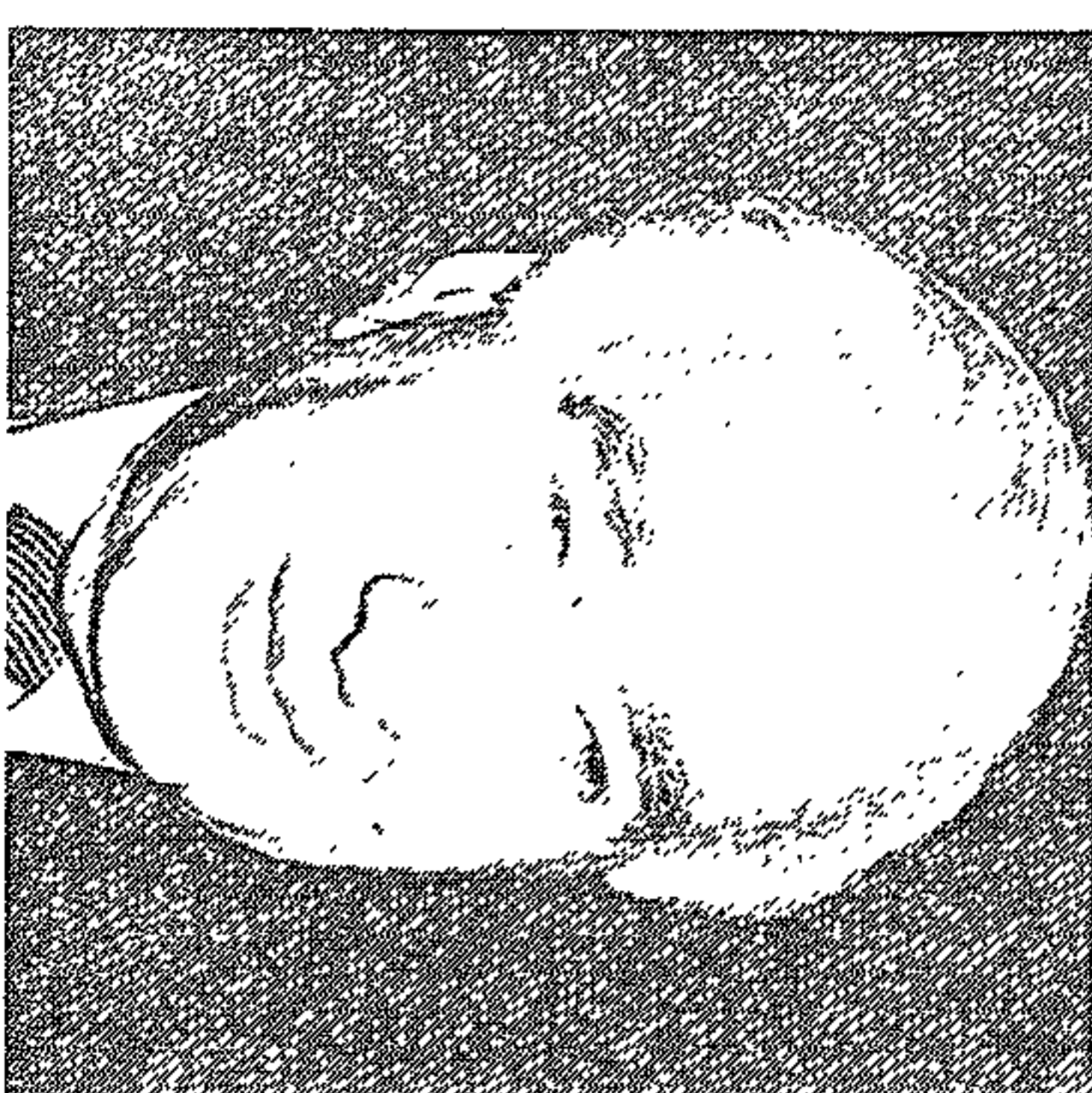
Positive... Mr. Francois Oberholzer.



Positive... Mr. David Curry.



Negative... Mr. Mohamed Danger.



Negative... Mr. Sam Moss.

# THE AYES... sincerity must be proved

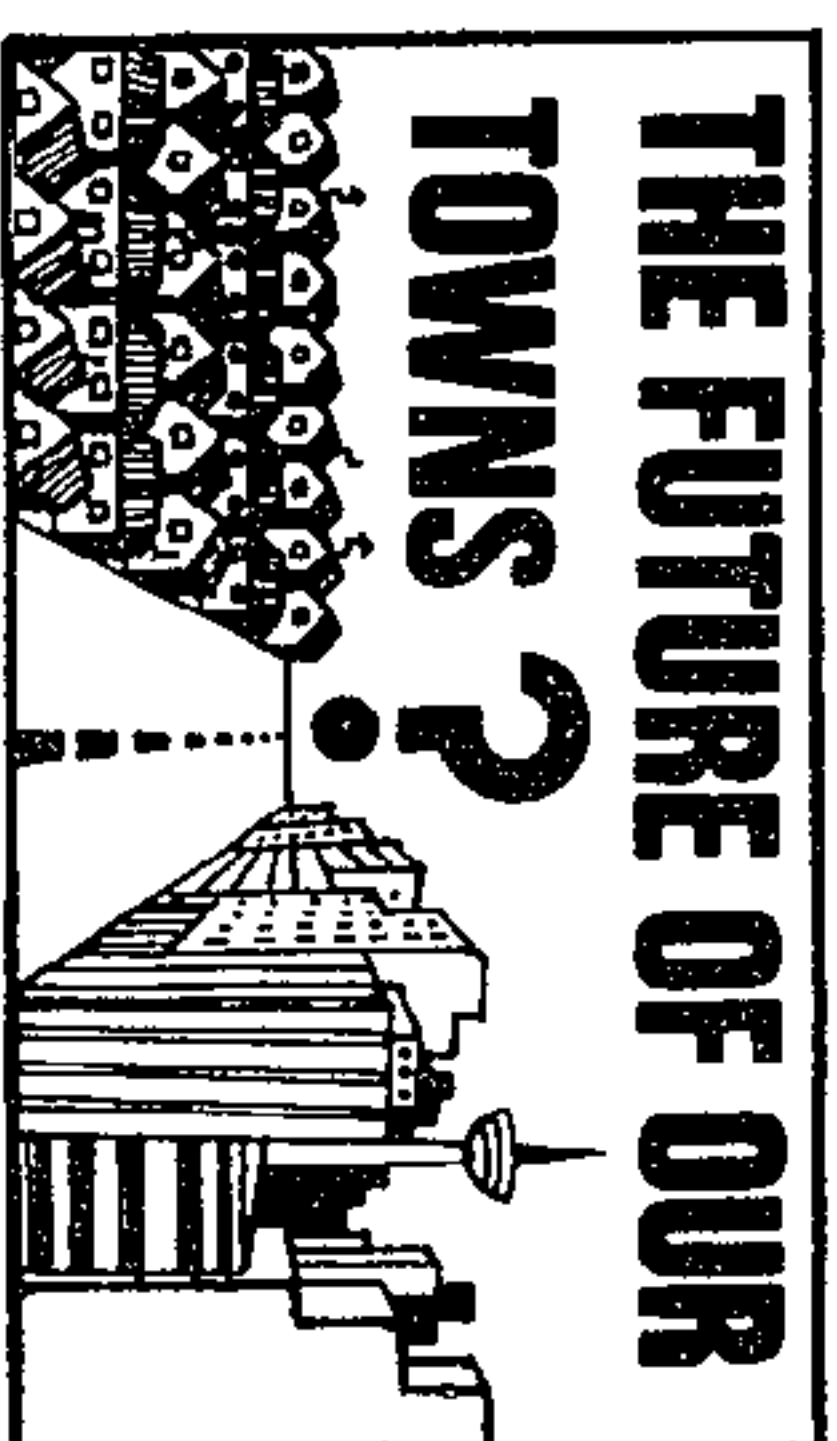
The new plan for local government will succeed if blacks can be convinced that it is a sincere effort to improve their living conditions, says veteran municipal expert and Johannesburg management committee chairman Mr. Francois Oberholzer.

"The new constitution is going to succeed or fail at local-government level," he says, "and we have got to make it work."

"The black man is basically a very friendly guy, but we have to remove the distrust."

"It is at local-government level where the day-to-day quality of life will have to be seen to be changing and improving."

Mr. Oberholzer believes this can be done... but at a big cost



to white ratepayers.

The new dispensation calls for the establishment of independent municipalities for black, coloured and Indian areas, and new taxes will be imposed to pay for the implementation of this plan.

"Whites will have to make financial sacrifices," says Mr. Oberholzer, "but they will profit by having more peace and security."

He is critical of those who are attempting to discredit the new plan.

"It is a short-sighted approach," he says.

"What is the good of grabbing power and not having the expertise to run towns?"

He believes better race relations will be promoted by the new arrangement, where Indian, coloured, white and black local authorities will be represented in a single regional council.

"The regional councils are being established to provide cost-effective joint services such as the supply of water and electricity," he says, "but their true value is the dialogue and participation they will allow."

The overwhelming majority of black, coloured and Indian leaders are opposed to the new

arrangement and those who support it are politicians voted into power at low polls.

The coloured Minister for Agriculture and Housing, Mr. David Curry, ex-chairman of the Labour Party executive, is a leader who believes in working within the system.

In spite of his decision to cooperate with the Government, he remains critical of apartheid policies.

He believes in a pragmatic approach and has set his long-term goal at gaining direct representation for all races on a single municipal council.

The most enthusiastic supporters of the new set-up are the Government architects who

have nursed the plan for more than two years.

Mr. Len Dekker, Director of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, says the plan will succeed because it will provide improved services for all races on a cost-effective basis.

"Many services can be improved," he says.

"For example, we will be able to provide a more efficient fire service on a regional basis."

The chief criticism of the local government plan is the Government's insistence on separate municipalities based on race, instead of on geographical areas.

But Mr. Dekker said the Gov-

ernment would not grant autonomy to an area unless the authority could meet certain criteria and was economically viable.

Opponents claim that the new system is designed to keep white municipalities in control of the regional councils, with final say in the hands of the provincial administrator or central Government.

Mr. Dekker's answer to this is that the dispensation "is designed to encourage consensus". He says: "If the councils operate on the concept of consensus, they will be able to reach decisions that are to the advantage of the majority of people."

One of the thorniest issues is

the question of black representation on the regional councils.

And although the Government has now accepted this principle, it is not yet clear whether black municipalities will gain full representation and voting power on the councils.

"The Government realises black interests must be catered for," says Mr. Dekker, "but we do not know what form this will take."

The big question is: does the man in the street stand to gain from the new plan?

"Yes," says an enthusiastic Mr. Dekker.

"From a political point of view everyone will have a vote in a local authority."



# THE NOES . . . violence could escalate

The unrest which struck Witwatersrand townships in 1984 was the prelude to many years of bitter violence, warn numerous community leaders who see no good in the Government's new system for local government.

"I think the new plan is a recipe for an escalation in violence," says Mr

Mohamed Dangor, a former member of Johannesburg's coloured management committee. "I do not think the white electorate is aware of the hardship the Government's decisions will impose on black South Africa.

"The recent unrest in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area

stemmed from the political decision to separate black authorities artificially from the cities.

"These black areas were heavily subsidised, but the deficit had to be made up from residents.

"Violence erupted because people simply could not afford higher rents and tariffs."

In terms of the new constitution, the Government intends granting independence to coloured, Indian and black authorities, said Mr Dangor.

But, he added, this would place a greater financial burden on township dwellers and would lead to more popular protest.

Mr Dangor said the only

solution was to make Johannesburg one city again.

"The geographical situation should be taken into account," he added, "and areas such as Soweto, Eldorado Park and Lenasia should become part of Johannesburg".

Labour leader and prominent member of

the United Democratic Front Mr Amos Masondo said the local government plan was doomed to failure.

"The constitution can be debated on an abstract political level," he added, "but on a practical level there is a real problem confronting the masses."

He said autonomy for black areas meant that

the Government would take less responsibility for services in the townships.

In future blacks would be expected to pay more for:

- Upkeep of their houses.
- The electricity levy.
- Lodger's fees.
- Transport costs.

Mr Masondo said he was unimpressed with the Government's recent announcement that it would consider giving blacks a voice on the proposed new regional councils.

Blacks would not accept a system that was a perpetuation of the Government's apartheid policies, he added.

decisions of a superbody above local authorities."

Mr Moss said the new plan would give ultimate power to Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis.

In addition to the establishment of regional councils, the Government has promised to grant devolution of power to municipalities, enabling councils to have more say over local affairs.

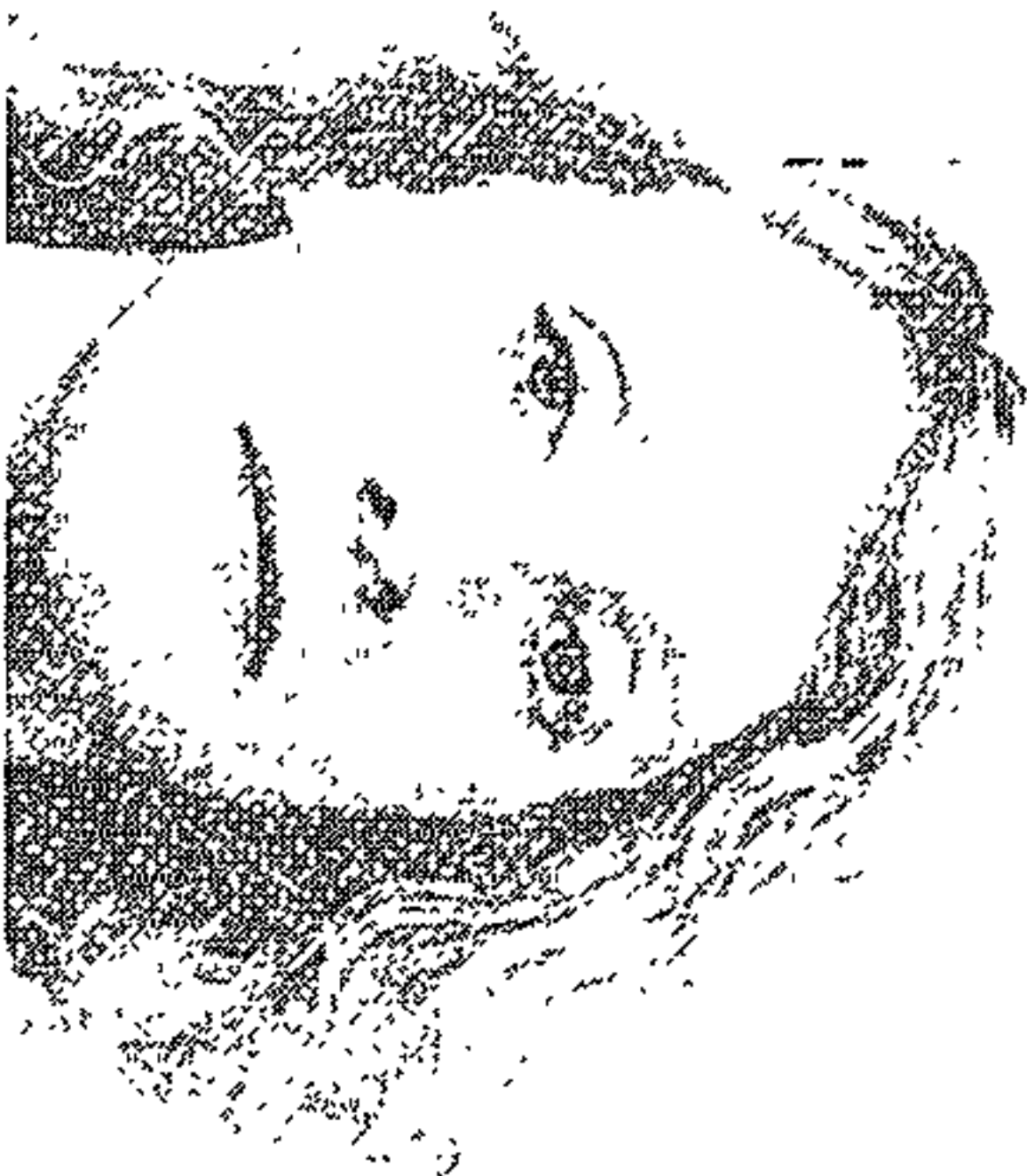
local authorities are concerned," he said.

"Central government will hold more power than it ever held before.

"The most important factor is to find the finances for the new authorities," he said.

He added that the Government's policy of creating separate local authorities for each race group was only adding to the financial burden, and that this could well increase racial friction.

## PS . . . by the immigrant from Britain



Disenchanted . . . Mrs Maureen Gartner.

In this series on local government the views of ordinary readers are featured.

Today Mrs Maureen Gartner voices her opinion . . .

Maureen Gartner is 40. She and her husband immigrated to South Africa nine years ago with no long-term plans in mind.

They have a comfortable home on the East Rand and four children and in spite of the interest-rate squeeze they are coping financially.

But Mrs Gartner and her family are no longer happy with their life here and plan to return to Britain.

"Until about four years ago," she says, "I had some hopes about peaceful change in South Africa, but the implementation of the new constitution has changed that.

"I see no hope whatsoever. "What disturbs me most of all is that my family has been split.

"My eldest daughter has been made a South African citizen and my other children will eventually be forced into the same position."

big contribution in terms of taxes," she says.

"We have worked hard, but now feel we cannot go on living here.

"I realise that if you work here and your children go to school here, you have a responsibility to this country."

But the Government is not fulfilling its responsibilities to the majority of the people in South Africa.

"We feel we have to make a stand."

development of Johannesburg will no longer be in the scope of the city council," said Mr Moss.

"It will be subject to the

of his colleagues in local government are sceptical about this plan.

"Devolution of power is a gimmick to sell the new constitution as far as

"From an economic perspective this policy is based on a false premise," he said.

"It is not going to achieve the main objective, which is racial peace."



did you hear

and Afrikaans newspaper headlines proclaiming: SA praat met ANC.

"I've applied to Warmbaths City Council for an international permit," explained the owner, "they should make a decision later this month."

Will Warmbad take a giant leap for mankind?

## LABOUR PARTY CONGRESS Opting for federalism

The Labour Party's (LP) decision to opt for the federal route in its long-term strategy for SA makes it the latest in a long list of organisations trying to find their way out of the "numbers maze" of southern African politics.

The challenge is to find a formula for co-existence without domination of minorities based on the understanding that simply counting heads won't work.

Labour's new direction — proposed by leader Allan Hendrickse and confirmed by the party's congress in Kimberley — has another significance. It signals a move away from the party's former commitment to the one-man one-vote principle, which many in SA, particularly whites, find unacceptable. It also demonstrates that the conferment of the franchise and a little political power can transform "radicals" into conservatives, if not reactionaries.

If this LP conference revealed anything it displayed the involuntary response of its leaders to imitate the people who transferred "power" to them. Hence the unfamiliar air of *noblesse oblige* that pervaded leaders' speeches.

Even so, Hendrickse made it clear that the new deal was on five years' probation so far as the party was concerned. While he and other delegates remained firm that apartheid must go, there was general awareness that little can be achieved overnight. On economic issues, too, party leaders clearly realise their demands for finance must be tempered with the realities of the times.

The congress also proved to be the first real public test for the members of the House of Representatives' Ministers' Council — and there were surprises as well as disappointments.

The opening night, with Kimberley's historic city hall packed with singing, chanting coloured people, had an atmosphere all of its own. It was here that party leader Allan Hendrickse gave the first indications of the policy directions the LP will follow within the tricameral system.

He announced the LP's new concept of a "non-racial system of government on a federal basis." He proposed a new economic structure for SA, which he called a "social market economy" — a blend of free market ideology and socialist principles. And he revealed Labour's turnabout on disinvestment by calling for a five-year moratorium on efforts to stop foreign investment in SA. All these proposals were later endorsed by congress.

Also, for the first time, Hendrickse revealed his "bottomline" for the forthcoming parliamentary session by identifying four apartheid laws which he says must go this year.

On federalism, Hendrickse says SA has a number of clearly distinguishable social

economic geographic units, such as the western Cape, PWV area, Natal-KwaZulu, PE-Uitenhage. These could become self-governing states, as in the US, while remaining part of greater SA, he says. They would be non-racial zones, although "apartheid states" could also exist.

But all people would have the right to choose whether or not they wanted to live in these states. "I am looking at the whole question of how to get rid of the fear of numbers. Federalism is the only answer," he says.

On economic policy, Hendrickse introduced his mix between capitalism and socialism. The free market system is "too narrow" to bridge the gap between the haves and the have-nots, he says.

Part of this policy is a programme of affirmative action along the same lines as the US campaign to promote black minorities. This is already taking place in the various coloured "own affairs" ministries, congress was told, with coloured applicants receiving preference over whites who were often better qualified.

Tensions within the party surfaced when a militant group, led by the western Cape MP Peter Mopp, supported a call from general secretary Fred Peters for a defiance campaign by the party leadership in the form of protest sit-ins on segregated beaches.

es. The proposal was defeated after heated debate, with the leadership arguing that Labour was a party of negotiation not confrontation. The sigh of relief from the podium was almost audible.

But the pressure against apartheid will not let up. Hendrickse tells the FM that his "bottomline" for the 1985 parliamentary session is the repeal of four apartheid laws — the Political Interference Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and the Separate Amenities Act. He says his three months in the Cabinet leaves him confident that Labour will achieve this in 1985, with the total dismantling of apartheid as the long-term goal.



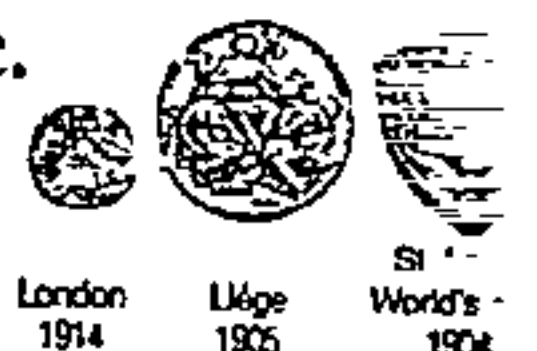
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Tennessee, still  
world's smoothest



We take it slow at Jack Daniel's

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flavour that has  
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throughout the  
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a pleasurable me  
by a friendship ti  
for life.



**JACK DANIEL'S.**  
Tennessee Whiskey - 45  
Lem Motlow, Prop. Inc.,



# Parliament buildings bursting at the seams

BUILDING contractors are working at top speed to complete the debating chamber and offices for members of the House of Delegates before the official opening of Parliament on January 25.

Members of Parliament have already begun arriving in Cape Town: meetings of the standing Select Committees, on which all parties and members of all three Houses of Parliament are represented, will start on Monday.

Office space in the parliamentary complex is at a premium, with 130 new MPs under the new system having to be squeezed into virtually the same amount of space.

## Converted

When Parliament met more or less ceremoniously last year, the Indian members were given temporary accommodation in a lecture theatre in the H F Verwoerd Ministerial office block. Their more permanent accommodation is to be in the old Marks building across Parliament Street from Parliament.

A central courtyard in the building is being converted into



an impressive debating chamber and work on this section is almost complete.

The coloured members have been given the old senate debating chamber as the House of Representatives.

## Retained

A new Parliamentary dining room, which will be available to all members, is also nearing completion in the Marks Building.

The Parliamentary dining room in the Parliament building which has been the subject

of numerous debates because of its racial exclusivity is likely to be retained.

Its use will probably be debated later in the session.

Building contractors working on the various additions to the parliamentary complex did not take the traditional builders' Christmas and New Year holidays and have been working until late at night to get various projects, including a huge underground parking garage, completed in time for this year's session of Parliament.

Work has also begun on major extensions to the parliamentary building on vacant ground between Tuynhuis and Parliament.



# 'Palatial' new homes for ministers

Political Staff

MOST of the 45 House of Delegates MPs, who initially rejected their new government houses in Pelican Park in the Cape, have already moved in to prepare for the opening of Parliament next week.

The Solidarity MP for Isipingo, Mr Nizam Khan, who returned to Durban from Cape Town yesterday after collecting his house keys, said "palatial" homes had been provided for the Chief Minister, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and other ministers.

"MPs have simple two- and three-bedroom cottages in the 100-odd housing complex, which has been set aside specially for House of Delegates ministers and MPs," he said.

Mr Khan, who is also a property developer, said he estimated that the five ministers' houses, some with 13 fully-furnished rooms, including a study and an office, cost about R500 000 each, while the houses for the MPs cost in the region of R50 000 each.

He said all five ministers, including Mr Rajbansi, had moved in with their families this week.

## 'Dishwasher and washing machine'

"The ministers' houses are fully furnished, complete with colour television sets. Mr Rajbansi's house is fitted with thick-pile carpeting, air-conditioning and other luxury items such as an automatic dishwasher and washing machine."

MPs homes were fully furnished but lacked the other luxuries.

Ministers' houses are provided with double garages, guest-rooms and servants' quarters.

Outside each house is parked a new Mercedes car complete with chauffeur. The ministers' houses are guarded by uniformed members of the South African Police.

One section of Pelican Park in which MPs and wealthy Durban businessmen are staying has been described as "millionaires' row" by their colleagues.

National People's Party MPs originally rejected the houses, saying it would be "morally wrong" to accept houses which had been set aside for displaced Cape Town residents, but had now decided to accept them "under protest", an NPP spokesman said.

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# 'Lucky' SA can talk to Mandela, says Kaunda

London Bureau

LONDON. — The South African Government should not try to negotiate with Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress (ANC), says Zambian President Mr Kenneth Kaunda.

In an interview in the Cuban magazine "Prisma", Mr Kaunda urges President P W Botha to negotiate with imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his colleagues, rather than the "leader of the fighters".

"The South Africans have the luck to have Mandela in prison because that has given him a different stature to Tambo. They can take advantage of the presence of Mandela in South Africa, talk with him, and through him with the masses."

In another development, Mr Mzwai

Piliso, a member of the ANC national executive, said the movement was ready to have talks with the South African Government.

Addressing a meeting in London to mark the 73rd anniversary of the ANC, he said Professor A W van der Merwe, of the University of Cape Town, had contacted the ANC during a visit to Lusaka last year.

Prof Van der Merwe said he had spoken to Dr Brand Fourie, the SA Ambassador to Washington, who told him the Government would talk to the ANC if it was prepared to lay down its arms and distance itself from the (SA) Communist Party.

They then met and Dr Van der Merwe said he would be meeting with a National Party MP "who was interested in getting negotiations going".



DAVID BRAUN, *The Star's* Political Correspondent, reviews South Africa's foreign policy under the direction of Mr Pik Botha and looks at the country's relations with the world...

Recent developments in South Africa's relations with the rest of the continent have again highlighted the priority which the Government has placed on normalising its links with Africa.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha secretly visited East Africa some weeks ago to explore the possibility of expanding Pretoria's contacts to the north.

That, and the signing of an agreement between South Africa and Swaziland to exchange diplomatic representatives at the end of 1984, points to some progress in Pretoria's African initiatives at a time when the Government is apparently battling to hold its own in the rest of the world.

In the eight years Mr Botha has been the chief architect of South Africa's foreign relations, the country has experienced the increasing cohesion and effectiveness of its opponents abroad. There has been mounting hostility and a surge of concerted efforts to isolate South Africa from the world community.

As 1985 begins, the prospects of improved international relations look bleak.

A series of protests involving prominent community leaders in America have been designed to give momentum to the widening disinvestment campaign — a campaign which will be given impetus by Senator Edward Kennedy's much-publicised tour of Southern Africa.

The Department of Foreign Affairs has already taken a pessimistic view and has started briefing local business houses to brace themselves for American disinvestment legislation.

European governments remain outwardly cool, if not frigid.

The Netherlands recently asked the United Nations to investigate a boycott of South African armaments and Norway has declared more active steps to encourage disinvestment.

The Australian and New Zealand administrations are officially unfriendly; the new Israeli Government is keeping its distance.

And, despite the Reagan ad-

# Pik: a look at the eight-year balance sheet

ministration, which seeks to re-form South Africa with its quiet policy of constructive engagement, pressure from America and elsewhere in the world has continued to rise, surpassing the levels applied even in the Carter years.

In the light of this, and the celebrated rows with New Zealand and Britain last year, can Mr Botha be credited with any progress in his years in office?

The Foreign Affairs mandarins point to breakthroughs in relations with Africa, especially with Mozambique.

They also hint that relations with countries far north of the Limpopo are somewhat more substantial than is publicly known.

But, as for the rest of the world, they admit that South Africa has barely managed to hold the line.

There has been an exchange of trade representatives between South Africa and Mozambique and between South Africa and Swaziland, black countries which have previously not had formal links with their white neighbour.

There has also been the open-

ing of a consulate in Madeira. Mr Botha has increasingly focused his efforts on Africa.

"After all," says a senior Foreign Affairs official, "if we can normalise relations with Africa the rest of the world will follow suit."

"To do that we have to start right here on our own doorstep."

The strategy is apparently paying off and the Nkomati Accord, the Lusaka Agreement and the Pretoria Declaration, all of 1984, are given as proof of this.

Foreign Affairs asserts that, if South Africa can create a region of economically interdependent states in which South Africa plays a leading and supportive role, the danger of economic disinvestment or even full sanctions will be minimised.

And Foreign Affairs asks: "If countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Angola, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi and Zambia depend on South Africa for their development and prosperity, who would want to damage the South African economy and therefore that of the whole region?"

"If we can get Southern Africa in a viable condition to feed

its own people and to move ahead economically — and South Africa can be instrumental in achieving that — then we are in business," says an official.

He argues that, by the turn of the century, the majority of African States will present the world — and particularly the United Nations — with insoluble economic problems.

In such circumstances, a stable, prosperous Southern Africa living in peace with neighbours would be highly desirable.

It is difficult to assess just how realistic this foreign policy goal is, given that the disinvestment campaign overseas seems to be gathering momentum rapidly while the building of relations with Africa proceeds laboriously.

South Africa is restricted in its Africa programme because of the limitation on the financial resources needed to develop the region.

The country is searching for cash to meet its own commitments, let alone to hand out to neighbours.

But officials point out that South Africa still has much to

offer by way of expertise, technical assistance, advice and experience of solving uniquely African problems.

Its developed infrastructure is also available to its neighbours, they say.

What of the more northerly African countries? Do they have a role to play in Pretoria's foreign policy design?

Officials are cagey about revealing the extent of relations but it is apparent that there is little more than a few trading links with Central and Northern Africa.

South African products are regularly sold in Zaïre and several West African countries.

But even here is a problem, as many African countries are increasingly unable to pay their bills and some have already asked South Africa if they can reschedule their payments.

But Pretoria believes that there has been progress in the attitude of most African States towards South Africa.

More and more countries are said to have acknowledged the permanence of whites in South Africa.

Foreign Affairs believes that

the eventual independence of Namibia will be an important point in relations with the rest of the continent because it will remove a major annual debating item from the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly.

And Foreign Affairs says that, if South Africa can demonstrate that it can co-operate with its neighbours peacefully for the greater advantage of the region, that will also be a factor in improving relations with the rest of the continent.

Mr Botha has worked hard to resolve the Namibian problem during his term of office.

The process has been complicated by the presence of Cubans in Angola but there are signs that real progress has been made.

If the road back to the world community lies through Africa, how then does South Africa intend dealing with the gathering global onslaught until its African policy yields meaningful results?

"Quite simply," says a top Foreign Affairs man, "our aim is to hold our own. "We must try to keep external

pressures at a level at which they can be handled.

"It is especially important that we maintain and develop our economic ties.

"Our economy has been our strength. It has enabled us to withstand the calamities of famine and poverty of much of the rest of Africa.

"We must protect it."

In many respects Mr Botha's foreign policy goals have been little different from those of his predecessors and have been based largely on riding out attacks on South Africa.

In the circumstances he has held the line perhaps extraordinarily well, while at the same time making some progress in the building of the sub-continental economic region.

In the process he has brought home to Africa and the world that South Africa has become a regional power.

His challenge in 1985 will be to continue holding the line and building in Africa in the face of ever-tightening pressure and hostility from the rest of the world.



(304A)

C. Press 20/1/85

# WHY

SA is  
talking  
about

# TALK

## HOWARD BARRELL in Lusaka

VOICES north of the Zambezi see a relatively simple explanation for the many rumours about — and calls for — talks between the SA Government and the African National Congress.

It boils down to this: If 1984 showed anything, it was that President P W Botha's Government is fast running out of options.

So it is no wonder that elements within the Afrikaner intelligensia and big business should either call for talks (like food tycoon Tony Bloom) or try to create channels for talks (as Prof Harvey van der Merwe and journalist Piet Muller have done).

The voices in Zambia point out that:

- The Nkomati Agreement has not significantly blunted the ANC's activities — but has, if anything, enhanced its political profile as a threat to apartheid.
- The new constitution did not divide blacks but stimulated the formal re-building of a united black resistance — probably more powerful than ever before.
- By the end of the year, outposts of apartheid administration — like black local authorities within an hour's drive east of Johannesburg — had completely collapsed and the Government had to use troops to win a battle it had lost hopelessly at a political level.
- Using troops on the East Rand and in the Vaal brought about exactly what Government security services had been trying to avoid for years — united action between political

and organised labour groups.

● All this took place in the midst of the worst economic crisis in South Africa since the 1930s — with a shrinking market for goods, three million unemployed and still more being laid off, white farmers in debt to the tune of a staggering R6.4-billion, the rand only small change against the US dollar — and, God forbid, the world's largest bank, Citicorp of New York, said South Africa had only just "entered" its recession.

No wonder Tony Bloom and his business colleagues said they felt "the wheels have begun to fall off".

No wonder also that there should be the first moves towards a completely different set of options — talks with the ANC.

Tony Bloom — a butter-not-guns man usually a few years ahead of his colleagues on po-

litical issues — seems to be saying: For capitalism to survive, let's sacrifice most of the white faces in Government if we have to.

For Muller and Van der Merwe the realisation has dawned that, whereas apartheid is supposed to be a recipe for Afrikaner survival, it is rapidly becoming Afrikanerdom's suicide note.

And powerful liberal and social democratic tendencies in the West would like to see in South Africa something like the Lancaster House agreement which brought Zimbabwe to independence.

Lancaster ensured that the Mugabe government, whatever its socialist rhetoric, would have to rely on a capitalist economy for a number of decades. The balance of forces did not allow him to do otherwise.

The last thing any of these forces want is a revolution in South Africa — which would

# BLE BACK-TO-SCHOOL

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IDLERS & TOUGHIES  
ATHER. 6 MONTHS GUARANTEE

**GI**  
Political  
Smith, head



# TALKS

ony Bloom — a butter-not-  
man usually a few years  
of his colleagues on po-

The last thing any of these forces want is a revolution in South Africa — which would

Nevertheless, a very important stage has been reached: advanced elements among the rulers are finding it difficult to rule in the old way.

So all South Africans will have to distinguish between their hopes for a peaceful future and their fantasies.

# SCHOOL

# City Press

Political comment in that  
Smith, headlines and sub-editing by D Niddrie, all of 62 EION D. 1947.



# Detailed UCT study of 'new deal' poll bo

By BARRY STRECK

FEWER than 18 out of every 100 potential coloured voters, and 16 of every 100 potential Indian voters, went to the polls in last year's elections, a University of Cape Town study has concluded.

The average participation in the elections was only 17.3 percent, Mr Ebrahim Patel of the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (Saldru) at UCT said.

Mr Patel's research is the first definitive study on the controversial elections for the new trilateral Parliament which is to be

opened on Friday by President P W Botha.

The study, to be published this week, said the poll was "equal to 2.6 percent of all blacks (coloured, Indian and African) aged over 18".

More than two million black people were eligible to vote in August last year, but 356 467 had actually voted.

This represented 27.6 percent of registered voters and 17.3 percent of potential voters, Mr Patel said.

Natal, with 16 percent of potential voters, had the lowest poll, followed by the Cape (16.8 percent), the Free State (16.8 percent) and

Transvaal (22.7 percent).

"The region with the lowest poll was the Peninsula. It registered approximately 25 750 votes out of a potential voter total of 515 000.

"This meant about five percent of potential voters actually voted," he said.

However, the Peninsula contained 32.6 percent of potential voters and had the greatest concentration of coloureds in South Africa.

The proportion of potential coloured voters dropped from the 1969 elections for the defunct Coloured Representative Council,

when 76 out of every potential 100 voters registered, to last year's elections, when 59 out of every 100 were registered.

"In general, the intensity of participation among registered voters in the tricameral elections was far below that of the CRC general elections.

"One can deduce that the enthusiasm of both rural and urban voters had decreased in the period."

In 1969, a total of 300 918 people voted, but 15 years later only 272 854 people voted, in spite of the growth in the population and the lowering of the voting age

from 21 to 18.

However, more Indian people voted in the 1984 elections than in the 1981 elections of the South African Indian Council.

Mr Patel rejected as "absurd" the argument that the low poll could be expected because the coloureds were "a developing community".

In that period, the State apparatus had grown and access to radio, television, newspapers and education had increased.

"The advent of television has put a powerful medium for reaching people and influencing opinions in the hands of the State.

"In addition

commentary in newspaper coloureds the SABC's

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- \* Progressive and effective teaching methods

and also:  
\* Cultural and social activities (films, exhibitions, theatre plays, tennis, lectures, video, etc.)

**Environment Reporter**  
IMPLICATIONS that Americans employed at Koeberg nuclear power station were putting their skills to weapon-related use was "absolute nonsense", a spokesman for Eskom said last night.

The spokesman was commenting on a Washington report carried by the Cape Times yesterday which said the Reagan Administration was investigating whether American nuclear power plant operators were illegally helping to run Koeberg.

According to the report US citizens wishing to work for South Africa's nuclear industry have — since February 3, 1983 — been required on penalty of up to 10 years imprisonment and a \$10 000 fine to seek special authorization from the Secretary of Energy to ensure that their skill would not be put to weapon-related use.

With Apple Mac in hot pursuit.

The race positions published today are in the form in which they were received.

Being the scratch boat of the race, Apple Mac badly needs to be well ahead of the rest of the fleet — so there can be no doubt that skipper "Padda" Kutiel is driving his new R1.5 million boat as hard as it will go.

Apple Mac had had the better day's run — 220 nautical miles at an average

her is also a creditable third on handicap.

At the tail-end of the fleet now are Vaal Dam sailor Dave Bartford, in the smallest boat in the race, HSC Honey, and Talgal, the boat with the all-girl crew. Both yachts have sailed only about 1 000 sea-miles from Cape Town since the start of the race 10 days ago.

One of yesterday's highlights was a mid-ocean rendezvous with Pelican, reports JOHN

With his position and said he was getting every little bit out of the yacht to try to out-distance his near-rivals.

Three near-rivals, Touch Wood, Wings and the Natal entry Flangen.

Trish Reiss on Talgal reported having had steering trouble but said it had been fixed.

Susan, Medlease, Sancho Pansa and Scorpion failed to report yesterday but there is no concern as most had indicated either battery or transceiver problems.

commentary

newspaper coloureds the SABC's

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| Spirit of Freedom | B15A  | 25 |
|-------------------|-------|----|
| Susan             | =C01B | 26 |
| Te Kalbos         | B17B  | 27 |
| Paloma            | B20B  | 28 |
| Spirit of Fauna   | B20B  | 29 |
| Skorpion II       | =B17D | 30 |
| H S C Honey       | C01F  | 31 |
| Talgal            | B17G  | 32 |
| Medlease          | =C01N | 33 |
| COMVESSEL         | D15C  |    |

+ Latest run suspect  
● The latest position reports will be Cape Times. Map references are given with copies of the official 1985 South African Yacht Club brochure, obtainable at any branch of the Yacht Club or on the special race brochure.

**School only sign removed**

Own Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — The school attendance in the school increased yesterday in the school strike-torn Vaal Triangle from 1

**Mother, girl attacked at home**

Crime Reporter  
MALMESBURY police are hunting two men who broke into the home of a 34-year-old woman and her 12-year-old daughter

**'Whites only' sign removed**

Municipal Reporter  
THE "whites only" sign which mysteriously ap-



mes, Tuesday, January 22, 1985

11A 304A SABA 24

# Tailed UCT study of 'new deal' poll boycott

FRY STREEK

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"The advent of television has  
put a powerful medium for reach-  
ing people and influencing opin-  
ions in in the hands of the State.

"In addition, in the words of one  
commentator, 'virtually every  
newspaper called upon the  
coloured electorate to vote, while  
the SABC waged a ceaseless cam-  
paign'."

Mr Patel concluded: "The hos-  
tility towards the rulers, and disil-  
lusionment with State-sponsored  
constitutional methods, were pow-  
erful factors which favoured a  
boycott.

"The anti-election movements  
were able to add a high degree of  
organization to the boycott. They  
were able to crystallize the issues  
around which people would hy-  
cott."

## TURN TO THE AUCTION PAGES IN TIMES CLASSIFIED

## FRENCH AT ALLIANCE FRANCAISE

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ing 28th January
- \* Most competent French  
teachers
- \* Progressive and effective  
teaching methods

social activities

## IMPLICATIONS

that  
Americans employed at  
Koeberg nuclear power  
station were putting  
their skills to weapon-re-  
lated use was "absolute  
nonsense", a spokesman  
for Escom said last night.

The spokesman was  
commenting on a Wash-  
ington report carried by  
the Cape Times yester-  
day which said the Rea-  
gan Administration was  
investigating whether  
American nuclear power  
plant operators were il-  
legally helping to run  
Koeberg.

According to the re-  
port US citizens wishing  
to work for South Afri-  
ca's nuclear industry  
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## With his position and

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## Mother, girl

### attacked at home

Crime Reporter

MALMESBURY police  
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broke into the home of a  
34-year-old woman and

## 'Whites only' sign removed

CAPE TIMES 22/1/85

282

Municipal Reporter  
THE "whites only"

## School unrest in E Cape continues

CAPE TIMES 22/1/85

Own Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG.—  
School attendance in-  
creased yesterday in the

| Split of Freedom   | B19A  | 25 | 18 | 1104 |
|--|-------|----|----|------|
| Susan  | =C01B | 26 | 26 | 1080 |
| Te Kalbos  | B17B  | 27 | 23 | 1135 |
| Paloma   | B20B  | 28 | 31 | 1088 |
| Spirit of Fauna  | B20B  | 29 | 28 | 1077 |
| Skorpion II  | =B17D | 30 | 29 | 1100 |
| H S C Honey  | C01F  | 31 | 30 | 967  |
| Talgal   | B17G  | 32 | 32 | 1019 |
| Medlease   | =C01N | 33 | 33 | 809  |
| COMVESSEL  | D150  |    |    |      |
| + Latest run suspect   |       |    |    |      |
| ● The latest position reports will be published daily in the<br>Cape Times. Map references are given to enable readers<br>with copies of the official 1985 South Atlantic Race Bro-<br>chure, obtainable at any branch of the CNA, to pinpoint<br>yacht positions on the special race chart provided in the<br>brochure. |       |    |    |      |

shattering a number of  
windows and damaging  
the roof. Classes at the  
school were disrupted in



CHE Times 22/1/85 (11P) \* C

## 'Palatial' homes: Rajbansi replies

**Political Correspondent**  
THE leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has hit back at complaints by Solidarity that members of the Indian Minister's Council were being housed in "palatial" homes in Pelican Park worth R500 000.

The Solidarity MP for Isipingo, Mr Nizam Khan, criticized the ministers' luxurious, fully furnished, 13-roomed homes situated in what some MPs have dubbed "millionaires row".

Mr Rajbansi said Mr Khan, who is also a property developer, had been "completely off the mark" in his valuation of the new homes.

"I am certain they would not exceed half of his valuation and obviously one would expect Indian ministers to be given homes that were not inferior to those of other ministers," he said.

He said Mr Khan had failed to point out Solidarity had made "official representations" to have a minister's home allocated to the Solidarity leader, Dr J N Reddy.

Mr Rajbansi said Solidarity members could have enjoyed the privilege of ministerial homes had that party had the majority of MPs in the House of Delegates.

Responding to the criticism that ministers had luxury chauffeur-driven German cars parked outside their homes, he said that a number of Solidarity MPs had used their transport allowances to buy similar vehicles.

Mr Rajbansi said the Minister of Communication and Public Works, Dr L A P A Munnik, had indicated that accurate figures on the cost of housing for new ministers and MPs would be released soon.

● Last week, National People's Party MPs rejected the Pelican Park houses that had been set aside for them, arguing that it would be morally wrong to accept houses which had been set aside for displaced city residents.

However, they later decided to accept their new homes "under protest".



Monday 22/1/85

304A

The

## Reports of luxury living 'rubbish' says Rajbansi

CAPE TOWN—The Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, yesterday rejected as rubbish reports that Indian ministers were living in the lap of luxury in their new State-built houses in Cape Town's Pelikan Park.

'Our houses are no better than those occupied by white ministers and I feel it is unfair that we are singled out for speculation and criticism.'

Furthermore, I expect

our houses will finally cost about R250 000, and not R500 000 as mentioned in reports.

'As ministerial houses are also guest houses, naturally they must have more facilities — and there is nothing unusual about that,' he said, adding that the houses built for the Indian ministers were modest and did not have air-conditioning.

Also reacting angrily to reports that he and his ministers had been provided with luxury Mercedes cars through State-assisted loans, he said that many MPs, including some from the Opposition Solidarity, had also bought new cars through such Government loans. — (Sapa)



# My life and times with the SACC

THE END of this month marks the end of an era for Bishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu as general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

In an interview with THE SOWETAN, Bishop Tutu spoke of the joy, anxiety and excitement which he experienced while holding the position which had already become synonymous with his name. This is the position that made many love to hate him and many hate to love him.

Bishop Tutu said when he was asked for the second time in a matter of months to take up the position, he was very torn. "I had only recently become Bishop of Lesotho and yet while in Lesotho, my family and I were feeling to some extent like renegades. Things were happening here at home and we did not seem to be part of that suffering to the same extent if we were at home."

"But that could be an important decision that we took, to return to South Africa, to what was described as a hot seat. I want to pay a very warm tribute to my predecessor, especially John Rees, who developed the Council into the magnificent instrument that it had become especially with its programmes to help people who are appearing in political cases and to support families of political prisoners."

He said he came into an organisation that was virile and was very happy to be part of it. "It became clear early on that you were in the forefront of the struggle, willy nilly, the authorities were sniping at the organisation, especially because of the problems that I have just men-

tioned. One was issuing statements virtually every day, there is something you have to respond to, something that he believes to be the relevance of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," he said.

He wanted to underline that people tend to forget that he came to be captain of a team and to underline as strongly as possible, that he has had the privilege of having one of the best teams anyone could wish to assemble. People who work at the SACC are outstanding individuals in their own right and he is thankful for the privilege of having worked with them. They are the ones who have borne the brunt of the ministry of the Council. "And I have been the one, who on the whole got the glory and I am not being falsely modest, because if I can run down the list of people we have got you will see," Bishop Tutu said, mentioning among others Mr Tom Manthata, Dr Dan Vaughn, Dr Kistner, Mrs Manny Chinnasamy and others.

## Tensions

At the SACC everybody calls Bishop Tutu, Baba, black, white, Indian and coloured.

He said he does not pretend that they have not had any tensions but they have been tensions of a family where people disagree and yet know that basically they are together. The SACC is a strange creature. It is a council of churches and yet it has a distinct existence from the churches and consequently when the council speaks, even in its national conference, the member churches can say "you are not speaking on our behalf, you can be repudiated."



Bishop Desmond Tutu leaves the South African Council of Churches (SACC) on January 31 to take up his new post as Bishop of Johannesburg. Sowetan senior journalist, Sello Rabothata, at the weekend spoke to Bishop Tutu on some of the highlights, tension and challenges of his career as the SACC hotseat.

The SACC has to maintain a distance so that it can be prophetic to the churches and be prophetic to the world. In most cases one is going to find that highlights are when the SACC had been in a crisis and fundamentally when one is in a situation which is progressive as in South Africa. One is really facing crisis after crisis because while one is speaking about justice and reconciliation, one cannot pretend that things are right and therefore have a false peace.

Bishop Tutu said: "You can never have real peace if there is injustice and all our efforts have been to move, working for a new kind of South Africa and a just, non-racial and democratic society. We believe it is the will of God for South Africa and our obedience is first and foremost to God and to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. We do not pretend to be infallible. So you kept on fighting again but you were bouncing up against the



AT the dawn of a new era... Bishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu.

structures of this unjust society and consequently you are seen as being confrontational and inapproachable."

He said he made this "famous" trip to, among others, Denmark where he made a statement about the Danish buying South African coal which caused a ruffling of feathers in this country and he had to return in haste. He had been as consistent as he could be in what he believes ought to happen to bring about change with the minimum of violence and bloodshed. There are not many instances in the world, of people giving up power voluntarily. We are expecting the impossible if we think that people who have as much power and privilege as whites have in South Africa, that they will want to abandon or share these, unless they are compelled by one of two things, violence and bloodshed or if there is enough pressure from the international communities.

Justice in this country will never come by constant appealing. Black people have been appealing at least since 1912. So now we are in a situation where blacks are not even citizens of

their own country, they are being made aliens in the land of their birth. Blacks have no participation whatsoever in a constitution which mentions them only once throughout the whole document.

Two Government Ministers, Mr Schlebusch and Dr Piet Koornhof, called on him to apologise for the Denmark statement but he had told them he could not possibly do so — this was after he had consulted his family. The best feeling was when church leaders and SACC officials pledged their support for him saying they may not agree with what he said but defended his right to do so as it was what God wanted him to say.

## Kruger

He said the growth of the SACC, under John Rees, also meant the administration could not cope, and under normal circumstances nobody would have been worried. But in South Africa, every little weakness will be magnified by the authorities who, with television, radio and some of the newspapers supporting them, did not waste time in vilifying the churches or

those supporting them. Mr Jimmy Kruger, talking about terrorism on television mentioned, in the same breath, that the SACC had to be investigated on how it used its funds.

Bishop Tutu said he challenged Mr Kruger to a debate on the issue and later felt that it would be better still if he was given the same platform to set the record straight. The interviewer, Cliff Saunders, was "very hostile" and also asked Bishop Tutu why he was fighting him. That was the last time Bishop Tutu appeared on television "talking for myself, but since then they have been using voice-overs and showing me ranting and raving, say, at Regina Mundi while someone says what I should be saying personally."

Bishop Tutu said other highlights in the SACC were cases that came before court involving officials on allegations of fraud. There was the Bishop Mokoena case that followed Eugene Roelofse, the Ombudsman's, St Ansgars clean up. The centre, under Bishop Mokoena, had been let by the SACC to the South African Theological College of Independent Churches (Satcic). He said in all three cases brought by the SACC to court against Bishop Mokoena (two) and another against a Mr Mbatha, the SACC ended up being the accused. Another highlight was the John Rees case in which it was alleged that Bishop Tutu had received R14 000 from Mr Rees aimed at "bribing" him not to press charges.

While the SACC was undergoing the crisis of those cases, the Government set up the Eloff Commission which had to look into the affairs of the council. The Commission sat from late 1982 and the whole of 1983 and its findings were released in February, last year. He said: "They had nothing to lose. If the Commission

said there is nothing the Government would have said 'We are so glad you see, we just wanted to clear the air because there had been so many rumours'. If the Commission had found something to discredit us they would have said 'There, we told you that this organisation was such and such an organisation'."

During the Eloff Commission, Bishop Tutu said he felt the oneness of the SACC staff and the support of church leaders. He had even told his staff that he would not be surprised if they found other jobs because the findings of the Commission would mean an end to overseas funds and an end to the organisation. But he was moved by the response because none of the staff resigned and were instead drawn more together and faced the time in the same spirit. Church leaders came to give evidence before the commission at short notice and at their own expense.

In 1980 SACC officials also met with Government officials in Pretoria after Bishop Tutu had written a letter to Mr John Vorster. Another highlight followed when 53 bishops were arrested in Johannesburg during a march to John Vorster Square in protest against the detention of Rev John Thorne. The news made international headlines and the bishops spent a night in jail after handing in a petition.

He mentioned the occasion when the Nobel Peace Prize was announced and instead of there being rejoicing in this country "vilification" came still. The prize came appropriately when the Government had done everything in its power to try and diminish the SACC. Bishop Tutu said he was thrilled to hand over the position of general secretary to a man of the calibre of Dr Beyers Naude.

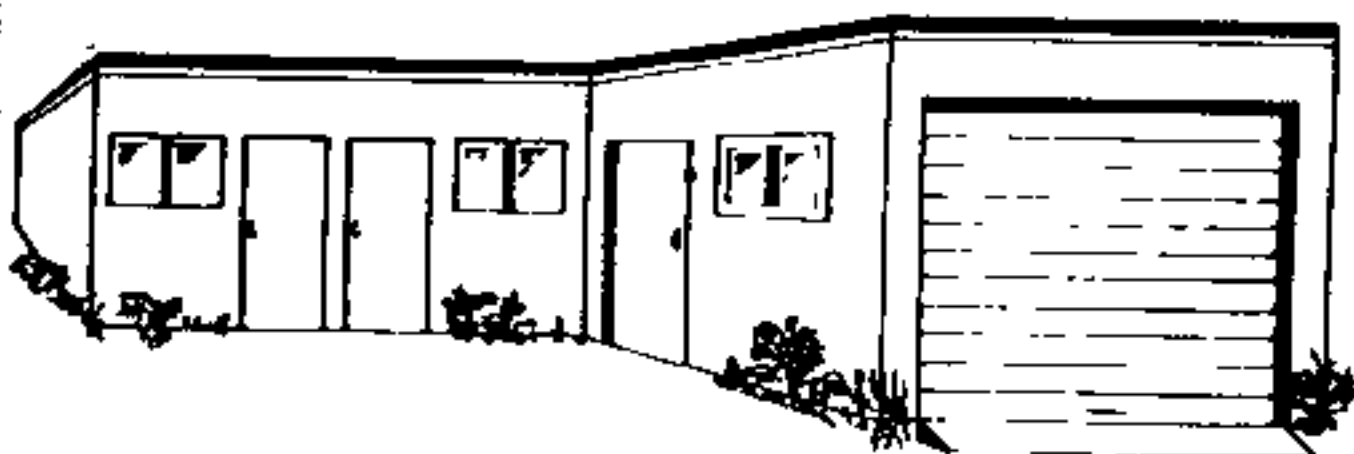


BISHOP DESMOND TUTU: Many love to hate him and many hate to love him.

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S9611



# Residents won't budge

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

HUNDREDS of Vaal residents vowed they would not budge from their determination to have their rent reduced to R30 at a meeting held in Sebokeng at the weekend.

Members of the Lekoa Council, who had been invited failed to turn up, and police, in hippos, landrovers and private cars kept close watch.

The open-air meeting was held at the Zone Three golf course in Se-

bokeng and was without incident.

Residents expressed disappointment that councillors did not turn up as they had hoped to discuss matters that led to the unrest in the area since last September.

Speaker after speaker lashed out at councillors, who are still holding office and those who had resigned.

They said it was extremely serious that

these officials did not attend public meetings where consensus between themselves and residents who elected them could be reached.

Various speakers said residents should not back down on their demands that rent should be reduced to R30. They said since the beginning of the upheavals they had made their stand clear and they were waiting for a suitable

reply from the Lekoa Council.

They had thought that this would be a crucial meeting where these matters could be raised and thrashed out with the councillors.

Their demands are: that rents be reduced to R30; that councillors should resign; and people detained during the unrests be released.

Among matters that came under criticism were people who disrupted classes in the area, people who pay

their rents secretly when others are not doing so, councillors who go abroad to make loans which create heavy interest rates that eventually have to be paid by residents; and youths who stone buses thus inconveniencing commuters.

One speaker said: "It is going to be very interesting to see what will happen to the people paying rent now after we have won our battle. They will be the losers in the end."



**PUBLIC:** The Rev RW Radebe addressing an open-air public meeting in Zone 3 Sebokeng on Sunday.

## Mashao home bombing: Warrant of arrest

By MONK NKOMO

A warrant of arrest has been issued against two high school students who failed to appear in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday on charges relating to the petrol bombing of the house belonging to Atteridgeville former mayor, Mr Z Z Mashao.

The magistrate Mr R de Vos issued a warrant for the immediate arrest of Mr Elias Mokgatle and Mr Nicodemus Mampye. Mr de Vos also ordered that the two accused forfeit their bail of R50 each.

Three of their co-accused appeared briefly in the Regional Court yesterday in connection with the petrol bombing of Mr Mashao's house at 86 Seiso Street during the night of August 7 last year. Damage to the house was estimated at R500. Nobody was injured.

### Bail

Advocate N J de Vos, who appeared for the accused, yesterday asked for a postponement and told the court that he did not know where the other two accused were.

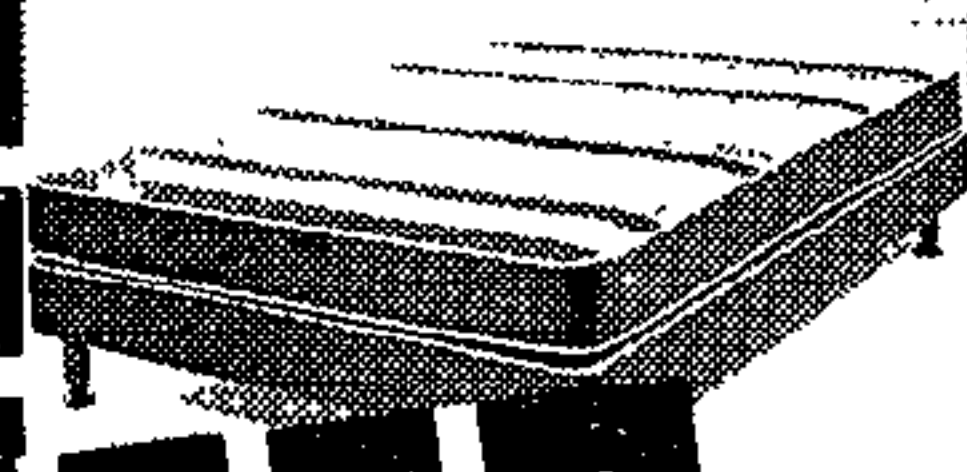
The case, he submitted could not proceed without the presence of the two. The magistrate postponed the case to March 4. The three were not asked to plead. Two of the accused were warned and a third's bail of R50 was extended.

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**R50**  
DISCOUNT

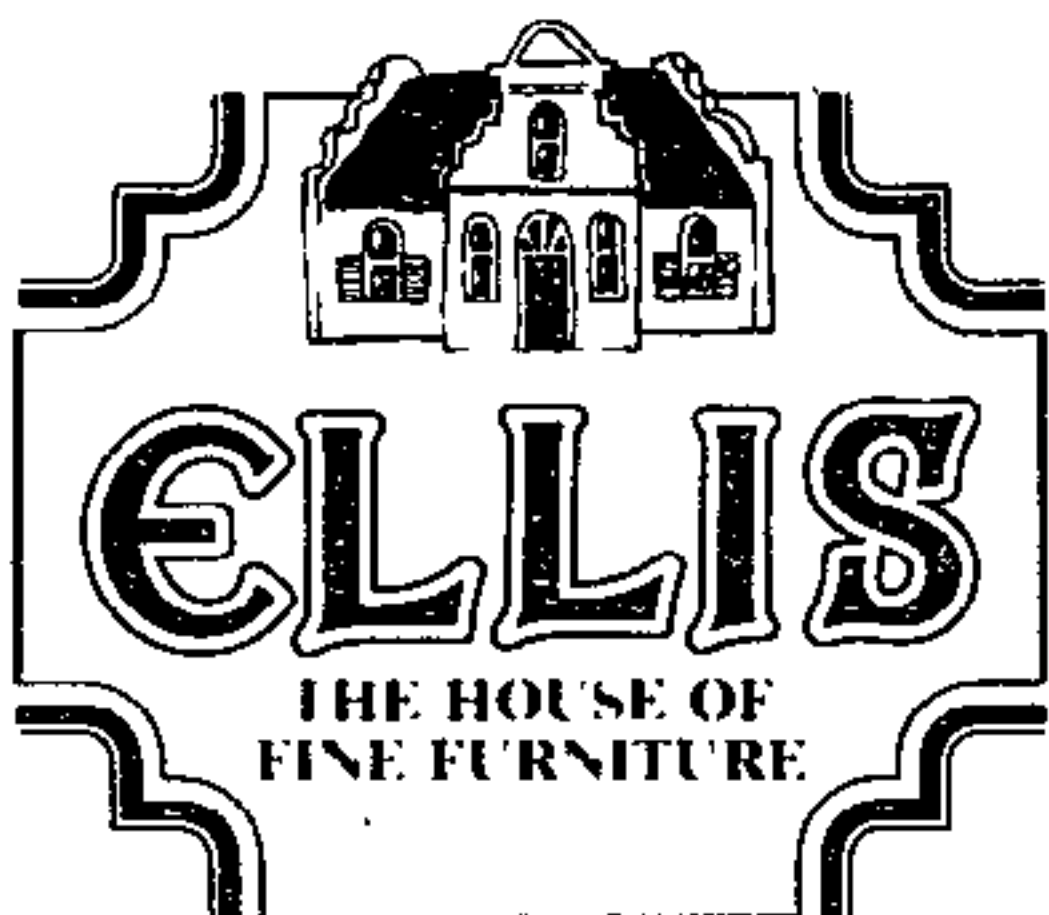
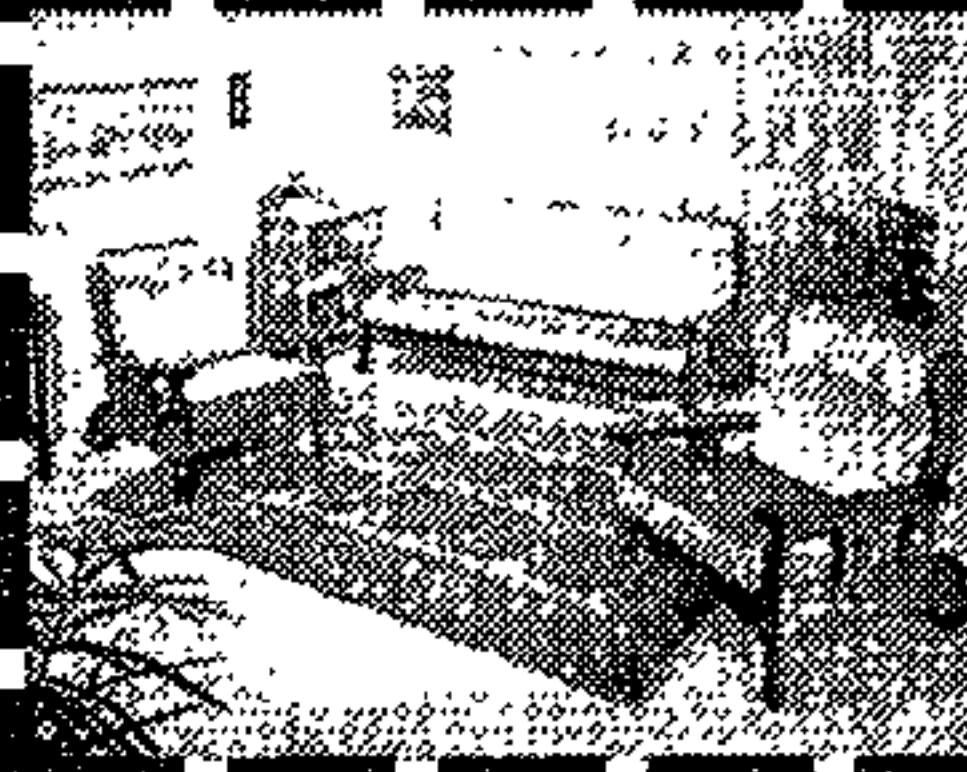
**R100**  
DISCOUNT

**R200**  
DISCOUNT

**R100**  
DISCOUNT

**R30**  
DISCOUNT

**R20**  
DISCOUNT



**BLOEMFONTEIN:** 10 Fichardt Street. **JOHANNESBURG:** 183 Jeppe Street, 284 Bree Street, 214 Bree Street, 61 Harrison Street. **PIETERSBURG:** 81B Landros Mare Street, 100 Kerk Street. **PRETORIA:** 294 Paul Kruger Street, 64 Prinsloo Street. **RUSTENBURG:** Cnr. Plein & Leyd Streets. **VEREENIGING:** 3 Beaconsfield Avenue.



CAPL Times 23/1/85 (304H)

# Blacks may get new Govt forum

## Political Staff

THE government was considering establishing a new negotiating forum in which blacks would have a far greater say in political reform, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

In an interview in Cape Town, Dr Viljoen said a new negotiation structure was one of the issues being considered by the Cabinet Committee examining the future of urban blacks.

Results of the committee's work were likely to be made known in the first half of the year, he said.

Dr Viljoen said the committee was trying to avoid "working out solutions and presenting

them to people", because this had caused problems in the previous stage of reform in respect of the coloureds.

The possibility of a new discussion forum did not mean the committee had failed, he said.

## Prerequisites

The government's priorities for black political reform included the provision of "acceptable participation in decision-making by black communities in areas affecting their lives" and joint decision-making with other groups on general affairs, Dr Viljoen said.

The two basic prerequisites for constitutional reform were:

The acknowledgement of the cultural national ethnic diversity in the population and therefore differentiation, according to population groups, in the political structure.

The maintenance of the "standards and the norms in social, economic, educational and political respects that have been achieved in this country in contrast with the rest of Africa".

Successful reform at central level was also a key to the success of the new black local government system, he said.

The past year was one of transition for the new system and there were many problems, including lack of understanding of how the system worked.

The perception in black communities that they were being excluded from central decision-making, manifested itself in a rejection of the new black local authorities which were seen as an alternative to a role in central government.

## Education

Dr Viljoen said central government reform was also a key to educational issues.

"I think we have addressed the educational issues as such thoroughly, and the continued unrest at certain points is caused politically, not educationally," he said.

Dr Viljoen also said the government was "seriously reviewing" certain aspects of the policy on population removals, although removals would not halt entirely.

However, illegal squatting in both rural and urban areas would not be tolerated.

Negotiations on removals for consolidation purposes would continue with the governments of national states, as in the past.

"But when it comes to forced settlement, and also the resettlement of townships — the policy in the past has been that they be resettled in the national states — this is an aspect at which we are having a penetrating new look," Dr Viljoen said.



'Negotiating forum' on the cards

RAM 23/1/85 (235) 304A

# Govt may give blacks greater say

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN.**  
**THE GOVERNMENT** was considering establishing a new negotiating forum in which blacks would have a far greater say in political reform, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

In an interview with the Rand Daily Mail in Cape Town, Dr Viljoen said a new negotiation structure was one of the issues being considered by the Cabinet committee examining the future of urban blacks.

Results of the committee's work were likely to be made known in the first half of the year, he said.

Dr Viljoen said the committee was trying to avoid working out solutions and presenting them to people because this had caused problems in the previous stage of reform in respect of the coloureds.

The committee had tried to adopt a give-and-take style of negotiation with the black leaders who had made themselves available for discussions.

But there was a feeling that the negotiation structure should be changed because the committee represented only one participant in the process, Dr Viljoen said.

He added that this had been suggested to the Government and he believed it was the line along which people should be thinking.

The possibility of a new discussion forum did not mean the committee had failed.

"I would not say that the Cabinet committee is not achieving what it set out to achieve. I think it has made good progress and I think that some of its results should be forthcoming in the first half of this year," he said.



The Government had hoped for a greater input by extra-establishment black groups and leaders, but there was apparently considerable resistance to being associated with the committee.

These groups could be encouraged to participate if the Government produced some results that showed a clear commitment to further reform and thereby demonstrated the value of negotiation.

"My experience is that black leaders are open to the need for a peaceful solution, which means a give-and-take rather than a simple black majority single-state concept which, in any case, would not be accepted by the whites and would lead to deadlock," Dr Viljoen said.

The Government's priorities for black political reform included the provision of acceptable participation in decision-making by black communities in areas affecting their lives, and joint decision-making with other groups on general affairs.

The two basic prerequisites for constitutional reform were:

- The acknowledgement of the cultural, national, ethnic diversity in the population, and therefore differentiation, according to population groups, in the political structure; and

- The maintenance of social, economic, educational and political standards and norms that had been achieved, in contrast with the rest of Africa.

Successful reform at central level was also crucial to the success of the new black local Government system, he said.

The past year was one of transition for the new system and there were many problems, including lack of understanding.

The perception in black communities that they were being excluded from central decision-making manifested itself in a rejection of the new black local authorities which were seen as an alternative to a role in central Government.

Central Government reform was also crucial to educational issues, he said.

Dr Viljoen also said the Government was reviewing certain aspects of the policy on population removals, though removals would not be halted entirely.

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CAPE TOWN  
24/1/88

# Worrall out of big <sup>304A</sup> Oxford debate

From JOHN  
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The South African Ambassador to Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, has withdrawn from a high-powered public debate on the new constitution to be held at the Oxford University Union in March.

Dr Worrall was to have shared a platform with the Rev Alan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader and Minister without Portfolio in the new Cabinet, arguing against the motion that "the new constitutional reforms in South Africa are designed to entrench apartheid".

Dr Worrall, who was defeated by exiled editor Donald Woods in a debate on disinvestment at Cambridge University last year, told the organizers that he decided to stand down because he believed Mr Hendrickse will be able to say all he would have said.

## In favour

Mr Hendrickse will now be joined by the Leader of the NRP, Mr Bill Sutton.

Arguing in favour of the motion will be the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Kwazulu leader.

The Oxford debate is part of a week of activities focusing on South Africa which will include an address by the British Labour Party's front-bench spokesman on South Africa, Mr Donald Anderson, and a talk by Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF), who will deliver the Oxfam memorial lecture on the day before the debate.

Dr Boesak turned down an invitation to take part in the debate on the side of Dr Slabbert after consultation with the UDF executive.

The union president, Mr Gareth Penny, a South Africa Rhodes Scholar, said the debate was being regarded as one between the realists — Hendrickse and Sutton, and the idealists — Slabbert and Buthelezi.

It will be the most high-powered public debate on the constitution between the government, the PFP and Inkatha but the refusal of the UDF to participate means that a major constituency in the political spectrum will not be represented.

## 'Negative'

Dr Worrall was not available for comment yesterday although the text of his letter to the union was released.

He described the motion as "negative" and proposed an alternative motion: "The new South African constitution represents a significant advance in democracy in that country".

He suggested that Mr Hendrickse and Dr Slabbert would be able to state their positions "without regard to the diplomatic proprieties which hobble an ambassador".



# New MPs' premises cost R26m

## Political Staff

ABOUT R26-million had been spent on housing for Coloured and Indian MPs, alterations to Marks Building — which is to house the new House of Delegates — and the Stalplein complex, the Minister of Communications and Public Works, Dr L A P A Munnik, said yesterday.

Dr Munnik was the guide on a tour of the plush new Indian House and residences of ministers and MPs.

The new chamber is an elegant transformation of the courtyard of the old Deeds Office. It is tastefully decorated in a combination of modern and old decor and its electronic gadgetry provides electronic voting and conference-translation facilities.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the Indian House, proudly pointed out that he occupied the office used by prime ministers from General Hertzog to Mr B J Vorster.

Also in the same building are the new own affairs ministerial offices and offices of MPs, which cost R7-million.

Their residences in Pelican Park, near Zeekoevlei, are a 25-minute drive from the City. Some of the proposed 100 houses for MPs and their staff required much landscaping to match the architect's design.

Ministerial houses were modestly decorated and had a spacious lounge, a TV room with TV and video-recorder, a dining room, a kitchen equipped with cutlery, a washing-machine, dryer, stove, refrigerator and electric kettle, a breakfast room, a study and three bedrooms, three bathrooms, a separate toilet, double garage and servants' quarters.

These fully-furnished homes cost R240 000 each, Dr Munnik said.

There were also three other three-bedroomed luxury homes for the Speaker of the House and other senior members, costing R160 000 each.

## R6 000 furniture

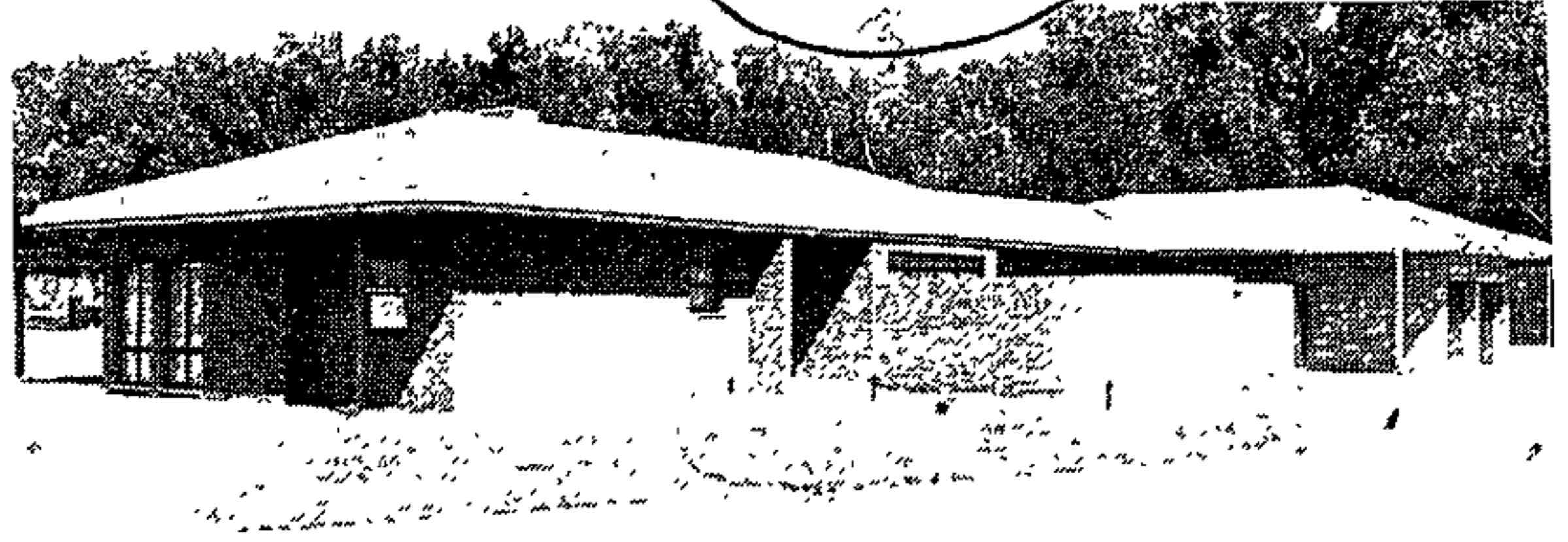
Ordinary MPs had smaller homes costing an average of R41 000 each, with R6 000 in furniture provided. They consisted of a lounge, three bedrooms, a kitchen, one bathroom, a separate toilet and a parking shed.

Total cost of housing in Pelican Park was R6-million.

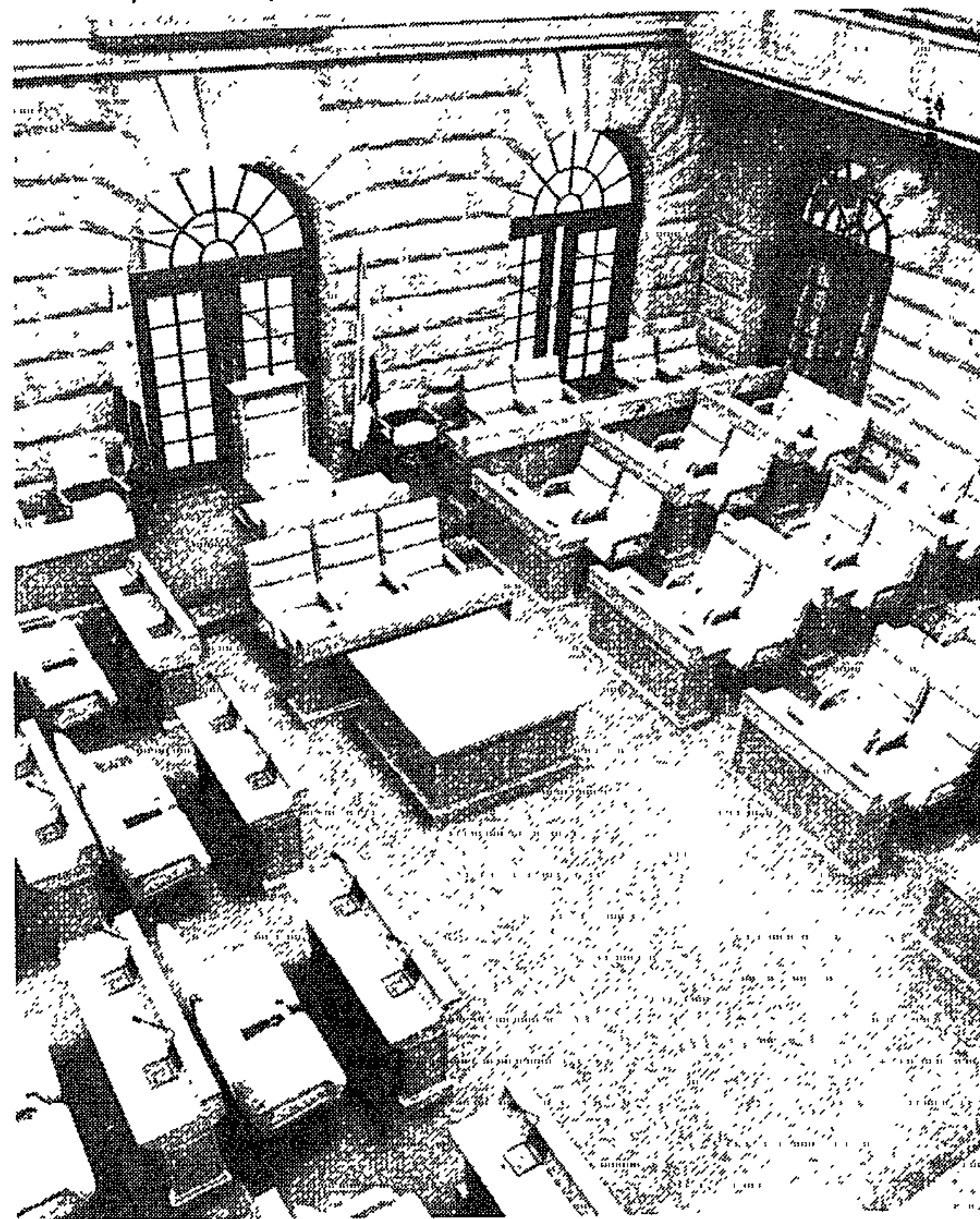
There were also 65 houses for coloured MPs from constituencies outside Cape Town in Belhar, 20km from the City, costing R2,9-million. They were similar to those for their counterparts in Pelican Park.

MPs paid a nominal rental of R100, while staff paid R75 to R90 a month.

The Stalplein complex would cost R10-million when completed.



**Above:** A view of the luxury ministerial home of the Minister of the Budget in the House of Delegates, Mr Boetie Abramjee, in Pelican Park near Zeekoevlei. **Below:** The new chamber of the House of Delegates in Marks Building — the most modern of the three Houses — ready for today's historic opening of the tricameral Parliament.



CAPL TML 25/1/85 304A



Interestingly, Daling is reporting directly to Du Plessis who, while he now becomes non-executive chairman, and relinquishes day-to-day running of Sanlam, is most unlikely to become less active. Du Plessis, forceful and influential, is a creative thinker and a man of action. He was the key figure behind the August 1979 rationalisation of the liquor industry. Last November, after Sanlam's purchase of Messina, he spoke persuasively of the need for rationalisation of the motor industry. Du Plessis has also been lobbying recently in the area of economic policy, where he favours direct controls on imports, controls on the ex-

change rate and domestic credit extension. Rembrandt's new interests could also lead to some reshuffles. Rationalisation in the engineering industry, which has been particularly badly hit by recession, was probably motivated in Metkor, whose MD Keith Jenkins is also chairman of Dorbyl and S & L. Apart from acquiring S & L, Dorbyl will acquire the trading operations of Afgate, also a Metkor subsidiary. Rembrandt chairman Anton Rupert has a philosophy of "partnership in industry," which usually means adopting a benign role, without dominating companies or industries. But Rembrandt, too, may have

longer-term strategies in mind. The main attraction in Volkskas must be the banking and financial interests; but it may be that some of the industrial activities could usefully be moved elsewhere, with Rembrandt the catalyst if not the buyer.

What is certain is that the Afrikaner giants have gained a powerful momentum in SA industry. They will speak with an increasingly loud voice in economics and other public affairs, and will continue to be active in corporate wheeler-dealing. In both these fields, they have increasingly clashed with one another. That can't be a bad thing.

Andrew McNulty

## PARLIAMENT

# A testing time

For South Africans, the next six months are going to be crucial. Political and, particularly, economic decisions taken — or not taken — by government will have far-reaching implications for the black-white balance and indeed for SA's relations with overseas powers, in particular the US.

And these decisions have to be made at a time of structural change — the implementation of the new constitution. Will there be genuine consensus — or conflict? How will the major political leaders emerge from the hurly-burly of an untested system?

Parliament opens on Friday, January 25. On one level the validity of the new constitution will be at stake throughout the session. But, in overview, President P W Botha's entire reform programme is on trial — as is his style of leadership.

The joint standing committees (which in effect replace the open chamber as the real engine of Parliament) have met to consider 26 pieces of legislation. As widely predicted, it seems these were mostly what PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert calls "motherhood" Bills — all sweetness and light. He's largely right, at least politically. While a few, such as the Coal Amendment Bill and the Maintenance and Promotion of

The tricameral Parliament gets under way in earnest this week. Urgent economic and political decisions must be taken, and the reputations and performance of various party leaders will be under intense scrutiny.

Competition Amendment Bill, are making ripples in the business world, there can hardly be much political contention in legislation such as the Agricultural Pests Amendment Bill, the Atmospheric Pollution Prevention Bill and the Valuers Amendment Bill, to name but a few. Government's thinking is obvious. The new era of consensus politics can hardly be introduced by a rash of contentious legislation.

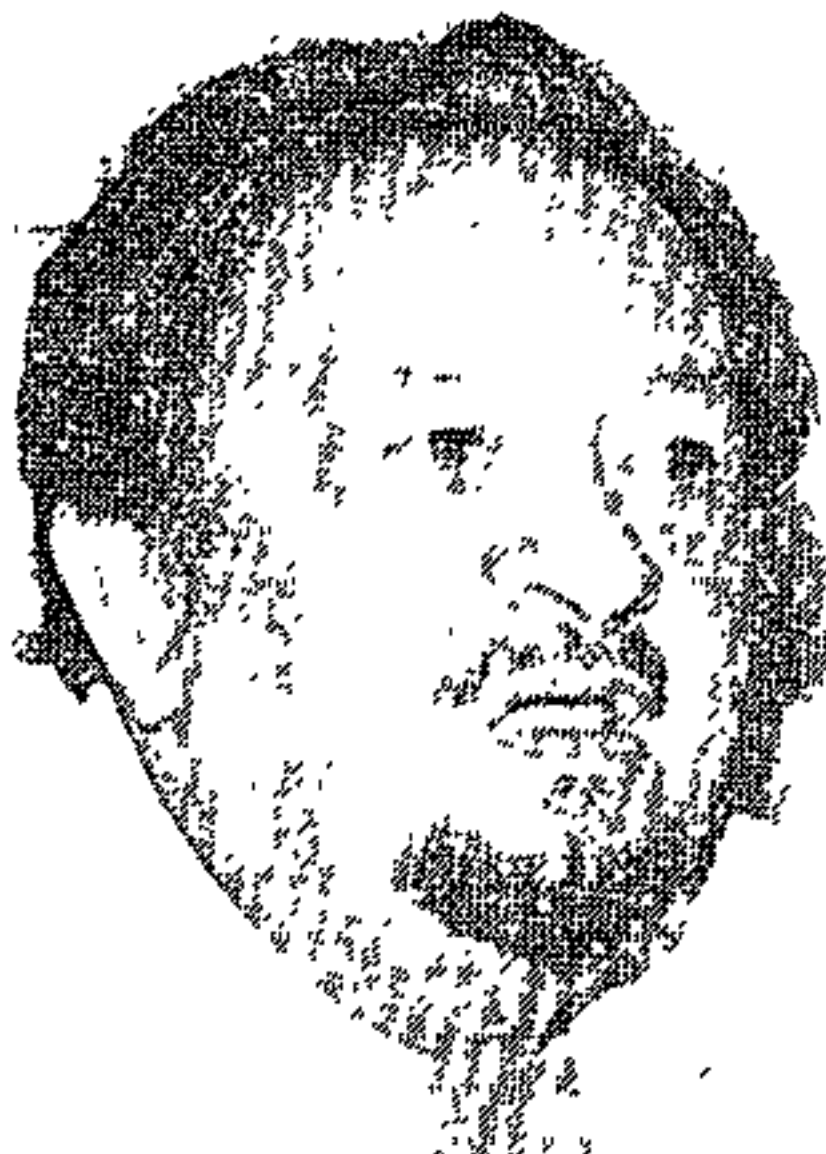
In SA's peculiar social structure, there are only two ways to bring about meaningful reform. The first is to repeal laws — in other words, dismantle apartheid. The second is to spend money — to redress the economic inequalities of the past between black and white. Botha will seek to give a little on both fronts.

Repeal of apartheid legislation, as

Slabbert correctly points out, depends on the political will of the National Party (NP) to confront the rightwing. So all eyes are on Botha. His opening speech next Friday is rapidly assuming the proportions of a state-of-the-nation address; and there are strong indications that he will commit government to at least some symbolic reforms. The most obvious, according to political and diplomatic observers, will be a declaration of intent to repeal Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act.

Such a step could only be warmly welcomed. But Botha is painfully aware of the domino theory, as spelt out by the FM last year (*Current affairs* July 13 1984). The repeal of these Acts immediately imperils real cornerstones of apartheid: the Population Registration Act which classifies every South African racially, and the Group Areas Act which restricts population groups to specific areas of domicile. And then the rest teeter.

Labour Party (LP) leader Allan Hendrickse — who, of course, is also a Cabinet minister — tells the FM that his few months of Cabinet experience leave him confident that the abhorrent race-sex



L to R: CP's Treurnicht, Labour's Hendrickse, PFP's Slabbert ... who will oppose?



(304A)

laws will indeed be scrapped soon. And he goes further. Labour's "bottom line" for this session, he says, is their repeal — and that of the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act, and the Separate Amenities Act.

Many observers regard this as wishful thinking. On the other hand, both Botha and Hendrickse harbour no illusions that the tricameral system desperately needs a large injection of credibility. To offset the lingering effects of the woefully low election percentage poll, Hendrickse needs to bring home something for his people, both in terms of legislative reform and increased expenditure for the coloured community.

Botha's overriding problem is that government simply does not have the revenue to substantially increase its allocation of funds to coloured and Indian communities, let alone blacks. One unconfirmed rumour is that coloured and Indian budgets are to be increased by 4% on last year. If this is

by in the US, and Pretoria cannot expect America's patience to last forever.

The point is that, in the eyes of the world, reform cannot be limited to coloureds and Indians only. Slabbert points out that the new constitution will turn into an instrument of polarisation if it works only for these communities. Wherever the tricameral system leads SA over the next six months, the real issue of reform — the accommodation of black aspirations — remains. New Republic Party leader Bill Sutton, for example, says that one of his party's main drives this session will be for acceptance of the concept of a fourth chamber for blacks. For Sutton, the future of his tiny and dwindling party rests on its ability to effect change. It could otherwise find itself relegated to increased irrelevance.

For blacks, the focus will be on Co-operation, Development and Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen. Given the schools' unrest, his is a particularly sensitive portfolio. His

the government whose credibility and performance is under attack. And if the tiny minority proposes the vote, does Hendrickse then defend government? The same situation applies, with different permutations, in the (Indian) House of Delegates.

The clumsiness of the system, and the amount of duplication of effort it will cause, is another problem. The Budget debate is a prime example. It appears there will be no less than six separate debates.

The constitution provides that the Budget is introduced by the Minister of Finance at a joint sitting of the three houses, at which no debate is allowed. It is then debated behind closed doors by the joint standing committees, after which (if consensus is reached) the actual second reading debate itself takes place separately in each of the houses (three debates).

The committees then meet again to consider amendments, after which the third reading debate is held — again separately



L to R: NP's Botha, Viljoen, Du Plessis; NRP's Sutton ... entering an era of complication

so, those communities will be running backwards at a rate of more than 8% once inflation is accounted for.

Domestically, Botha and his Finance Minister Barend du Plessis face a rising storm of criticism over government's handling of the economy. And there has been a year of intense black unrest which (rightly or wrongly) has affected foreign perceptions of SA's stability. The pressures on Du Plessis will intensify, and more than ever he will be required to remain cool and rational. He has yet to gain the confidence of the business community; and a new negative economic factor has been added to the sliding rand, weak gold price, and State overspending.

The threat of American disinvestment, with all its disruptive potential, is no longer all that remote. A senior Foreign Affairs official has been travelling the country warning local businessmen to gird their loins for the shock — if it comes. Reagan has made it plain that Pretoria must pay more than lip service to its side of constructive engagement. While he will certainly accept that change cannot occur overnight, Reagan is deeply aware of the growing strength of the anti-apartheid lob-

performance over the next year should give a strong indication of the direction of government thinking on blacks — and could place him in a strong position to ultimately bid for the presidency.

Parliament itself faces a number of procedural dilemmas, quite apart from the fact that the constitution is untried. Not least is the issue of the no-confidence debates, and the related one of who will emerge as the true opposition.

In the (white) House of Assembly the position remains largely unchanged, and the PFP can be expected to follow the traditional route of proposing a vote of no confidence in the NP. Slabbert describes the suggestion mooted in the Sunday newspaper *Rapport* that there should instead be a debate on the President's address as "wet." And he makes the point that if he does not propose the vote, Andries Treurnicht certainly will. Consensus politics is not the Conservative Party's strongest point.

It is in the other two houses that the issue becomes clouded. Who proposes the motion of no confidence in the (coloured) House of Representatives? If the LP, as the majority party, does so, who opposes it? As a Cabinet minister, Hendrickse is an integral part of

in each house (six debates). Nic Olivier, the PFP's constitutional expert, tells the *FM* that it thus appears that the actual detailed amounts allocated for the provision of services within the "own affairs" jurisdiction of each house will not be provided in the general budget, but only the global amounts. The breakdown will come in the separate "own affairs" budget of each house. If this is so, he says, it will be impossible for one house ever to discuss or debate the financial provisions made in the own affairs budget of another house. In effect, the PFP or any other party will not be able to debate the amount allocated, for example, for coloured or Indian education or any other service.

There seems little doubt that the application of this rule in particular will lead to major procedural headaches and place an unenviable burden on the Speaker of Parliament, J W Greef. In fact, policing the system in the broadest sense will be immensely complicated.

And during this procedural feast, the black majority will be watching from the outside, noses pressed to the constitutional glass, excluded from the processes of central government.



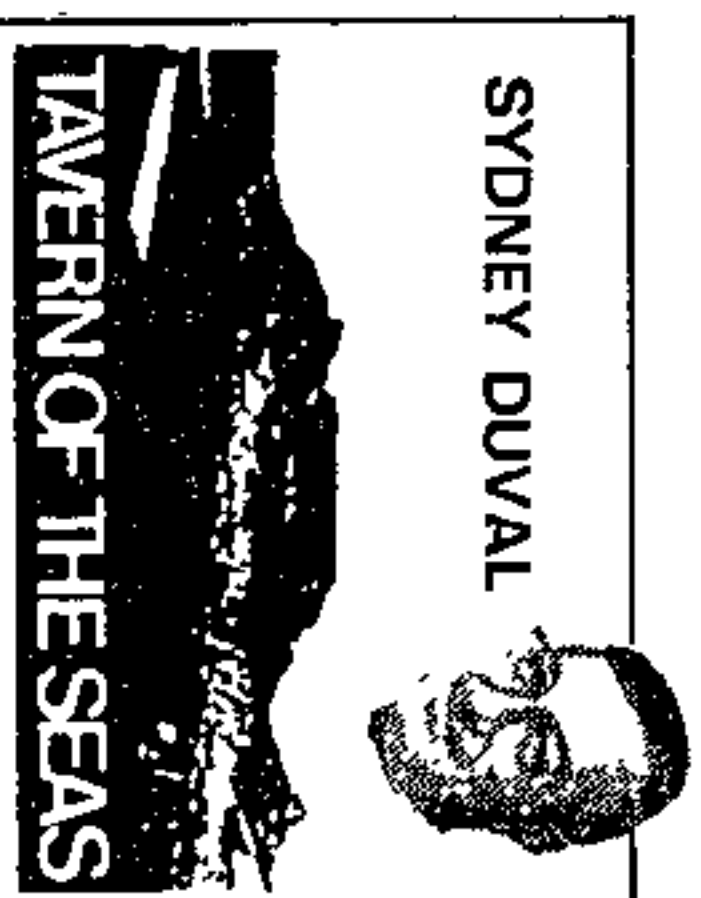
THE NEW SESSION

Spectrum

AGAS

25/1/85

304A



## The day a rat crossed the floor

TODAY'S pomp and pageantry for the opening of Parliament should not obliterate the troublesome role of the rat in our parliamentary folklore.

To call anyone a rat is a despicable thing — though in some cases this may be hard on the genus *rattus*. Was it James Cagney or Humphrey Bogart who made "you dirty rat" sound like the lowest form of life? Perhaps because "rat" is immediately associated with cowardice, filth, plague, vermin, sneakiness, double-crossing.

There was a time many years ago when a rat appeared on the Floor of the House of Assembly, and the Speaker thought that the MP who drew it to his attention was referring to a Cabinet Minister.

An account of the incident appeared in the memoirs of Colonel T.L. de Havilland which were published in *The Star* of September 21 1936. He had retired after more than 25 years as Sergeant-at-Arms of the Union House of Assembly.

The subject under discussion at the time was, appropriately, the plague. A certain Member, not named, was contending that the Government had been sadly negligent in eradicating rats.

Rodents were plague carriers and should be eradicated.

## Dramatic silence

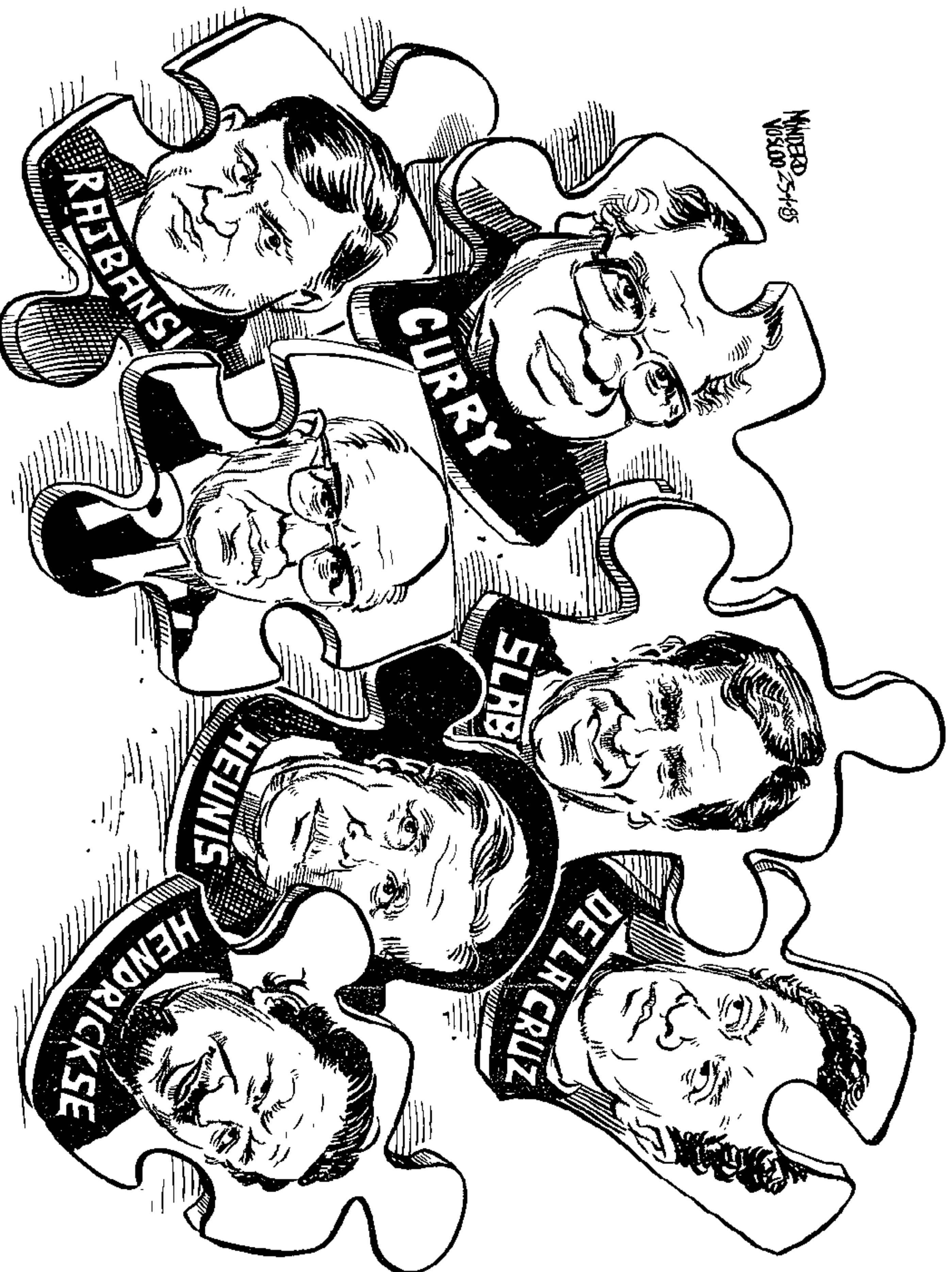
At this moment a rat ran across the Floor, in front of the mace. Nobody knew where the rat came from or where it went to. The MP could scarcely believe his eyes. Journalists in the Gallery could scarcely believe theirs. A dramatic silence fell upon the stunned House.

The Speaker, whose view of the rat was obstructed by the Clerk's table, looked inquiringly at the Member, who shot out a trembling finger which pointed (so far as the Speaker could make out) rather suspiciously at the Labour Minister.

"Mr Speaker," cried the MP, "there are rats in this House!" "Order!" the Speaker said sharply.

# Parliamentary jig-saw

THE new tricameral Parliament faces its first big test. Our Political Staff look at the issues that will command the attention in the three houses over the next few months and the men most likely to be at the political centre-stage.



## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BRIAN STUART reports

## A promise of lively debates and intriguing political manoeuvring

THE House of Representatives holds promise of some lively debates and intriguing political manoeuvring over the next few months.

The men who will command the attention are the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, Mr David Curry, Mr Jack Rabie, Mr Peter Mopp and several other Labour MPs and members of the houses' Ministers.

Discriminatory legislation is the subject of a Labour Party inquiry headed by East London's Mr Mopp. There may well be differences within the party on priorities in dismantling these laws.

Both political parties are committed to an immediate repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act.

Low percentage polls in this Peninsula area last August indicate that public opinion may differ considerably from that of official Labour or Opposition policy.

In the coming political debates, representatives in the House may be forced to come to terms with this as yet unvoiced public opinion. There are a lot of votes in the Peninsula which both parties will

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## Power base for decisive action

FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports

THE place to be watched for the real power game in the new Parliament is the white House of Assembly. This is where the decisive action will take place most of the time.

All the white Cabinet Ministers and their deputies have their seats in the Assembly. It also is the Parliamentary power base of the ruling National Party, which remains the policy-making instrument of the Government.

President P.W. Botha, as leader of the National Party, has a close association with the National Party's Parliamentary caucus and all its power figures.

The Cabinet, presided over by President Botha, and the NP caucus are, therefore, the main power centres of the new constitutional system. This is where major issues will be decided, such as reform, the scrapping or not of discriminatory laws, military and security actions, the economy and international relations.

The Assembly is also the seat of the white Ministers' Council which deals with white "own affairs."

## Power figures

Power figures to be watched when the new Parliament gets down to business include:

● President Botha, who will set the tone of the discussions.

● The Minister of Finance, Mr Barond du Plessis, who will be the man in the hot seat. About to introduce his first budget, he faces many problems — the falling rand, the gold price, the rise in the fuel price and inflation, Government expenditure, high interest rates, taxation and the Government's austerity measures to restore the economy.

● The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P.W. Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General M. Botha, who will be the man in the hot seat. About to introduce his first budget, he faces many problems — the falling rand, the gold price, the rise in the fuel price and inflation, Government expenditure, high interest rates, taxation and the Government's austerity measures to restore the economy.

## TELEVISION The sparks simply did not fly

PETER FABRICIUS on last night's viewing



THE predicted sparks did not fly on Pat Rogers's programme *Eyeline* last night. Perhaps it was the choice of subject — the economy — which is hard to make entertaining.

Or perhaps it was the choice of a panel to "grill" the man in the "hot seat" last night, Reserve Bank governor Dr Gerhard de Kock.

Or maybe it was just Dr de Kock himself.

*Eyeline* is subtitled *Face The Press* and the studio stage was literally set for a "ve ask zee questions" Gestapo-type interrogation — with a lonely Dr de Kock sitting out there facing Rogers, flanked by the SABC's Gerry Schutteema and Alan Greenblo, deputy editor of *Finance Week*.

But if the trio had intended to make Dr de Kock sweat in his hot seat, they failed. He looked as though he was basing in a deck chair.

He lightly clipped away anything that was bowled at him. He answered every question quickly, eloquently and convincingly.

TONIGHT'S TIP  
Ruptide at 7:08

The economy is obviously a difficult subject to pin anyone down on. Dr de Kock basically attributed most of the ills of the economy to forces beyond the Government's control, such as the drought and the gold price.

And when he was asked why the Government had not anticipated the drastic drop of the rand against the dollar in the last six months — and therefore increased the petrol price gradually instead of in one shocking 46 percent jump — Dr de Kock neatly answered that "hindsight is an exact science".

Senior Smith with Paul Slabolevsky, Bill Flynn and Hal Orlandini had its moments and it was clear that they had borrowed a few ideas from Fawley Towers — the relationship between Hal Orlandini and Flynn as a Latin immigrant was obviously inspired by that between John Cleese as Mr Fawley and his Spanish waiter Manuel. But there were unfortunately



are rats in this House — there he sits," the Member insisted, as the rat nervously twitched its whiskers.

"Order! Order!" the Speaker cried. "The Honourable Member must not call the Minister a rat. The Honourable Member must withdraw..."

In the general hubbub that followed, the rat disappeared, and it was with difficulty that the Speaker could be persuaded to believe in the reality behind the MP's damning finger. But the calamitous interruption was eventually sorted out amid general jesting and some ribald comments.

A rat in a tricameral Parliament? What an awful babble that would cause!

## Golden touch

A SPECIAL tribute today to 74-year-old Samuel Petrus Car-else. He has just completed 50 years of service with Cape Town Civilian Blind, a record equalled by few employees.

Samuel was partially blinded in an accident on a farm when he was 13. He had to fend for himself at an early age — he lost his mother when he was two, his father at 14.

He joined Civilian Blind in 1935, four years after the founding of the society's workshop, and has been an integral part of its development over half a century. He still had a little sight in those pioneering days but this has gradually been lost.

General manager Brian Collins says: "Sam has always served as an outstanding example to his fellow workers through his industriousness and gentlemanly approach. He is loved by all who know him."

## Beet this one!

ONE OF cricket's most remarkable games was played by two gentlemen of Middlesex against a farmer named Trumper, and his dog.

Marcus Williams has the details for a book he is writing on the bicentenary of cricket reports in *The Times*, London.

Huge sums of money were won and lost on the match. Trumper's side won because of the dog's superior fielding — it ran up with the bowler, charged the batsman, collected the ball and returned it to his master with alarming promptness.

The report does not say whether the dog batted.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

AUSTRALIA'S gimmick of the season — R70 chocolate chess sets. Black takes white, then eats him.

— The Wanderer

emerged as forceful — and controversial — political figures.

Mr Hendrickse, in particular, faces a severe test of his political skills.

He is in the awkward position of being leader of the Labour Party, the majority party in the House, which is inimically opposed to apartheid. At the same time he is also a member of the Cabinet — therefore part of the Government which still stands committed to major aspects of its long-standing segregationist policy.

Mr Hendrickse and his colleagues at the helm therefore face the difficulty of maintaining opposition to various aspects of Government policy while at the same time not bringing into question their po-

## Warning

He has given clear warning that in his belief the coloured community is impatient with "buying time" for example in a gradual increase in coloured pensions or the continued existence of the Group Areas Act.

While Mr Hendrickse says that the removal of the Group Areas Act is "not feasible" now, Mr de la Cruz sees it as the heart of the economic and social disadvantages suffered by the coloured community.

These differences could lead to lively exchanges across the floor of the house. Mr de la Cruz might even find sympathy for his standpoint among several Labour members.

## HOUSE OF DELEGATES

MIKE ROBERTSON reports

# Voting fluid — nearly five months after the election

ALMOST five months after the Indian elections in August, the situation in the House of Delegates remains fluid.

When Parliament went into recess in September the National People's Party had 24 seats and Solidarity 21. Rumours of a coalition abounded. But the talks broke down and in the wheeling and dealing that followed, NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi appeared to have outmanoeuvred his Solidarity counterpart, Dr J N Reddy, when four members of the latter's caucus resigned, purportedly to serve as independents.

Soon after Mr Nizze Khan (Isipingo) and Mr Logan Chetty (Chatsworth Central) have re-joined Solidarity. Mr S Collakoppin (Central Rand) joined the NPP, while Dr Dawood Cader (Montford) remained an independent.

Soon after Mr Faaz Khan (Lenasia East), leader of the Progressive Independent Party who had voted with Solidarity in September, announced he would serve as an independent.

The breakdown now appears to be NPP 25, Solidarity 18, Independents two. Mr Rajbansi hopes to win the allegiance of two unnamed Solidarity members and to turn the tally into 27 for his party, 16 for Solidarity and two independents by the weekend.

With the balance of power seemingly in his party's favour, Mr Rajbansi will be the key figure in the House of Delegates.

Since becoming chairman of the Council of Ministers he has gone into virtual seclusion, making statements only on relatively non-contentious issues like the high rate of Indian unemployment.

He has declined to list the legislation on which his party will take the Government to task. Instead, he has been stressing the need to build goodwill and to secure benefits for his community. But he has said his party would stick to its election promises to oppose discrimination at every turn.

## Under fire

He has come under fire from Solidarity and extra-Parliamentary groups like the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress for not voicing objections to the police and army operations in Sebokeng and the proposed removals of Indians living in Hillbrow and Pageview.

Solidarity members say these two issues will form a major thrust of their attack on the NPP during next week's no-confidence debate.

None of his four colleagues on the Council of Ministers, Mr Baldeo Dookie, Mr Boeti Abramjee, Dr M S Padayachee and Mr Kaste Ramduth, are particularly skilled debaters. They can therefore be expected to maintain a low profile in political debates, confining them-

the proposed setting up of "ethnic" local governments — to which both the Labour Party and the three-man opposition Democratic Workers' Party are opposed.

As Minister of Local Government, Mr David Curry will probably demand full coloured representation in existing local government.

Here it will be interesting to hear the contributions of MPs for the most populous coloured area of the country.

There are one-million coloured people living in greater Cape Town, Paarl, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Strand and Wellington alone — and more than half of this number live in Cape Town municipality.

selves to dealing with matters relating to their portfolios.

NPP members likely to shine in debates are Mr Salam Abram-Mayet (elected by electoral college) and Mr Ranji Nowbath (nominated by the State President). Mr Mayet, a veteran politician, is a forceful debater while Mr Nowbath's long experience as a political columnist should stand him in good stead.

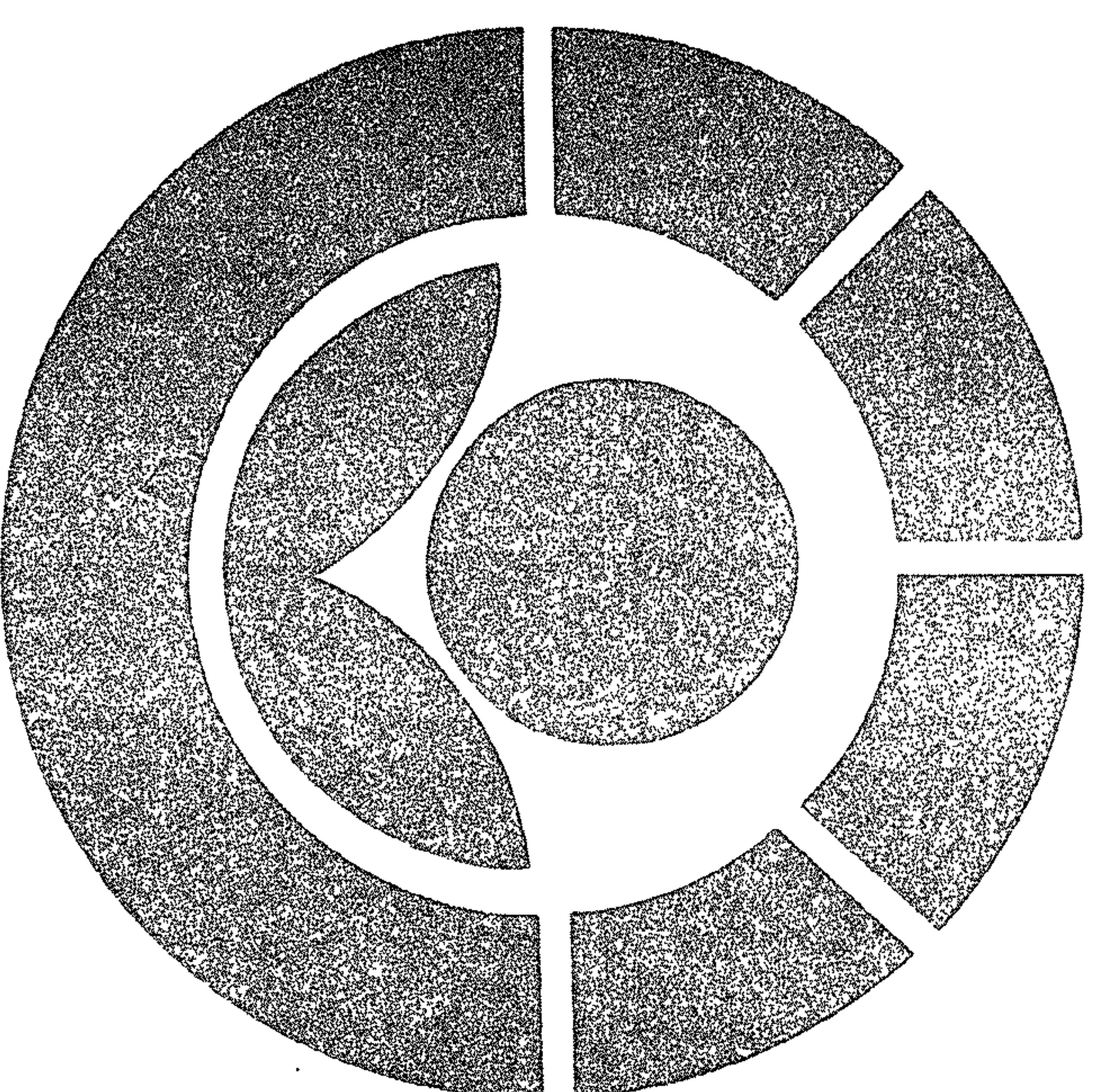
Solidarity appears to have a difference of opinion on strategy. Dr Reddy believes they should confine their attacks to the NPP while other MPs want an all-out attack on the Government, believing this would attract support from the large majority of Indian people who did not vote in the August elections.

Solidarity members say the main issues during this session will centre on calls for the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Group Areas and Urban Areas acts.

They intend taking the NPP to task for having no coherent plan for the upliftment of the Indian community.

Solidarity's official stance is that it will co-operate with any party on issues on which they have common ground. It is likely to have a loose agreement with the Progressive Federal Party to co-operate on controversial legislation that might come before Parliament.

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This means Rooibos that's quality approved. Rooibos with those unique properties you love—a great taste, lots of minerals, little tannin and no caffeine.

Look out for your favourite brand of Rooibos with the green symbol. It'll be back in your local store soon!



# SA to get black forum

AR&A 25/1/85 3C&A

## to build trust, says PW

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha today announced the creation of a forum for negotiation between black communities and government bodies to improve communication and mutual trust.

Opening the second session of the eighth Republican Parliament, Mr Botha said that deliberations of the special Cabinet committee on blacks had shown that communication and trust had to be improved if peaceful constitutional development was to be successful.

Mr Botha said that the envisaged forum for negotiation would supplement the Cabinet committee and would be an informal non-statutory body in which the interest groups and representatives of government bodies would participate on an ad hoc basis and by invitation.

It would be chaired by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis.

The aim would be to create a more favourable basis for negotiations aimed at arriving at mutually acceptable development steps in the constitutional field.

### Work together

He called on responsible black leaders to take the hand that was being extended to them and to work together on the development of their communities and on the creation of effective structures for decision-making and co-operation.

Mr Botha said that while unrest in the black urban areas could not be ignored it had to be emphasised that action would still be taken against those who wanted to promote violence and lawlessness.

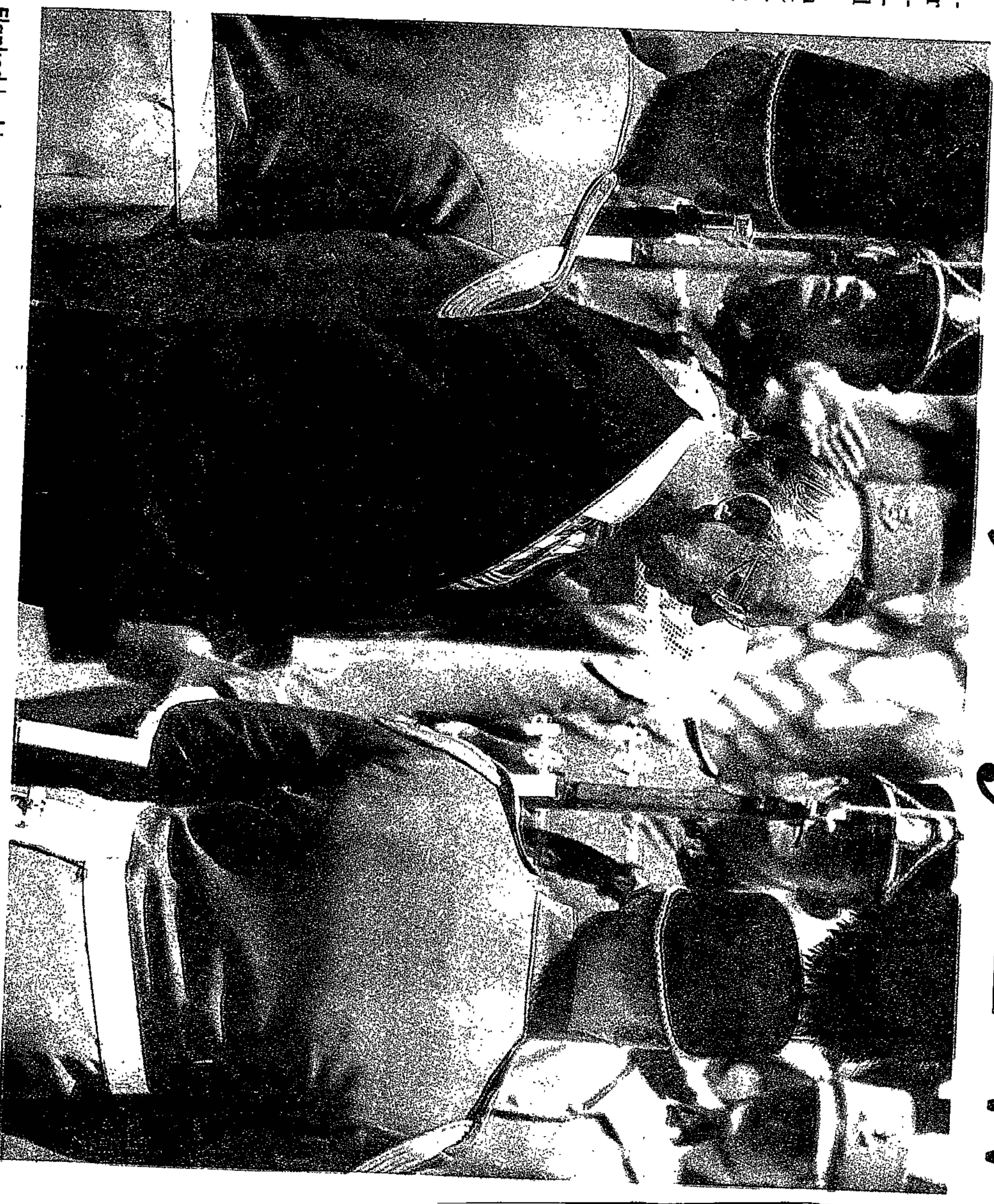
There was strong evidence that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of these areas supported the Government's actions to maintain order and were themselves revolting against criminal and violent elements which hindered the improvement of the quality of life and participation in political processes.

At the same time the Government acknowledged that certain bottlenecks which created frustrations in black communities had to be relieved.

Urgent attention would be given to this in order to create new prospects for all.

No responsible South African could deny that the security of the country in the final instance depended upon the willingness of all its people to accept a communality of interests and aims in spite of substantial diversity.

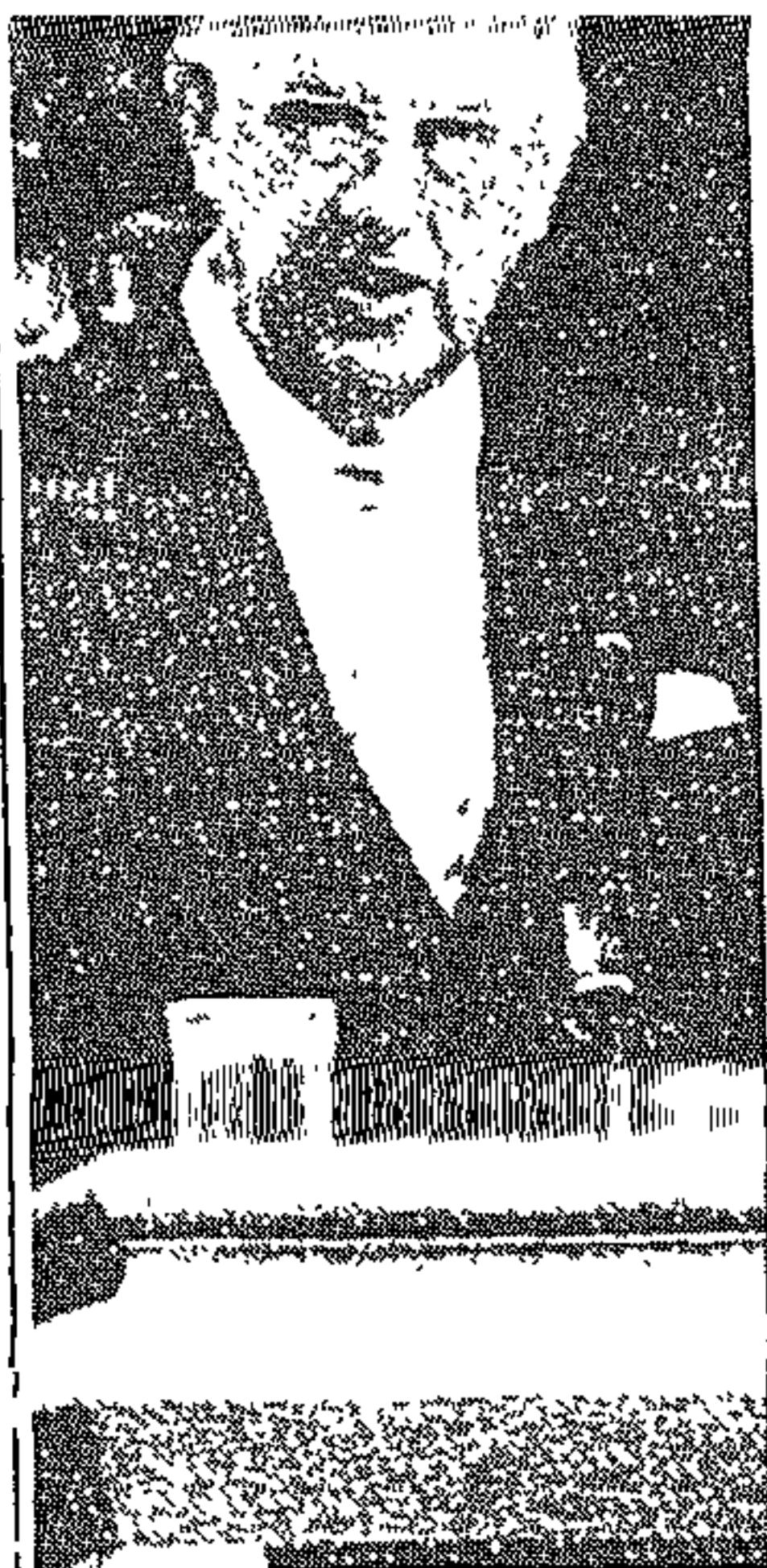
Education was the key to better living conditions for all and the Government placed a high priority on it.



Flanked by his guard, President Botha enters Parliament to perform today's historic opening of the tricameral Parliament.

Picture: CHRIS MATUSZEK, The Argus





**Mr P W Botha addressing Parliament today.**

equal educational opportunities for all.

Dealing with the economy Mr Botha said that in spite of high economic growth in the past year there was sometimes unjustified concern about economic prospects.

Referring to foreign relations he said that South Africa's goal was to extend these, but this did not mean that the country would allow itself to be prescribed to by the outside world.

He said that in the constitutional field the Gov-

ernment was resolved to pursue peaceful and democratic solutions that satisfied the requirements of fairness and justice

The general goal was to give all the country's people a say in decision-making that affected their interests. It was,

however, not desirable or practical to accommodate all communities in the same way.

The Government had already accepted that black communities satisfying certain requirements could obtain leasehold rights without this implying political rights.

The Government was prepared to negotiate further with black community leaders on property rights.

Negotiations with the independent and national black states would continue but the Government also accepted the permanence in South Africa of a large number of blacks outside the national states.

Not all of them could express themselves politically beyond the local level and through the structures of the national states.

In the promotion of the local government system black communities would be regarded as entities which must be given political participation at a higher level.

● See pages 3, 4, 8 and 11.

# No confidence motions introduced in all Houses

## Parliamentary Staff

FOR the first time in South Africa's parliamentary history, politicians of colour have given notice of motions of no confidence in the policies of the National Party Government.

Brief motions of no confidence were introduced today by the leaders of the opposition in each of the three Houses of the new Parliament, and are due to be debated in the separate Houses from Monday.

In the House of Assembly (white), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert gave notice of a brief motion of "no confidence in the Cabinet because its politics destroys the economy and the quality of life of all in the country"

In the House of Representatives (coloured), the first coloured politician to introduce a motion of no confidence was Mr Dennis de la Cruz, MP for Ottery and Leader of the Opposition, the Democratic Workers Party.

He gave notice that on Monday he will move "that this House has no confidence in the Cabinet."

He also gave notice that on Wednesday he will move "that this House has no confidence in the Minister's Council" of the House of Representatives. The Ministers' Council is headed by the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and a member of the Cabinet.

The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Delegates (Indian), Dr J N Reddy, gave notice of a motion of "no confidence in the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates and in the Cabinet of the Government of South Africa".

Dr Reddy's motion includes a 400-word motivation referring to "great pressures for speedier, meaningful change".

It added that discriminatory measures based purely on race and colour, which were the direct cause of "considerable anger and bitterness", included the Urban Areas Act, Group Areas Act, Immorality Act, Mixed Marriages Act, Community Development Act, Separate Amenities Act, Liquor Act, and the Extension of University Education Act.



**Members of the House of Representatives listen attentively today to the address by President P W Botha.**

## 'A ray of light ... perhaps a new beginning for blacks'

### Parliamentary Staff

SIGNIFICANT changes in the Government's policy on black affairs announced by President Botha have been hailed by the official Opposition as a ray of light and a possible new beginning for the future of black and white South Africans.

Opening the first working session of the new tricameral Parliament today, President Botha hinted at a number of changes in policy on the issues of black citizenship, home-ownership, influx

control and constitutional development.

Official Opposition leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said that although these pronouncements deserved to be stated very carefully before hasty conclusions were drawn, they indicated a departure from traditional National Party dogma.

"We will probe the Government during the no confidence debate to determine what the State President's address means in practical political terms," Dr

Slabbert said.

Mrs Helen Suzman, who for many years has campaigned for black rights, said that although Mr Botha's statements appeared to be rather ambiguous, there also seemed to be a shift in several basic concepts.

She said: "At last there is appreciation by the Government as to which major issues have been causing racial friction.

"It remains to be seen what the Government is going to do now but we will be pushing for major

advances during this session.

"My only sadness is that the Government policy comes so late in the day after so much human misery and at enormous cost in goodwill."

**THE BUDGET** will be introduced in Parliament on March 18; transport services budget on February 20 and the Post Office budget on March 4; the part appropriation on February 11 and the additional appropriation on February 25.



## Buthelezi rejects negotiating forum for blacks

African Affairs  
Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday rejected the idea of a new negotiating forum in which blacks would have a far greater say in political reform.

He said blacks wanted to take an active part in Parliament.

The chief was responding to a statement from Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation and Development, that a new negotiating structure was one of the issues being considered by the Cabinet committee examining the future of urban blacks.

Chief Buthelezi said as long as Government spokesmen used this type of language, they gave credibility to black people who had opted for violence.

He said the South African Government once created a Black Advisory Council. Black people had rejected this, on the grounds that it was meant to be a substitute for decision making at parliamentary level.

He said the Government should be considering how blacks could be included in a single state.

'We cannot be excluded from participation in 87 percent of our country.'

'There is no way of removing blacks from the so-called white areas. We are an ineradicable majority,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said Dr Viljoen's statement that a prerequisite for constitutional reform was acknowledgement of the 'cultural national ethnic diversity in the population' was irrelevant.

'We don't see that diversity used to apply to white groups,' he said.



# 'Boerestaat' plan to 'save' South Africa

By DICK USHER

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE latest plot to "save" South Africa has surfaced in print.

The plan is in an Afrikaner state resurrecting the old Boer republics of Transvaal, Free State and Vryheid.

The idea is propounded in a pamphlet by Robert van Tonder, chairman of the Boerestaat Komitee, based in Randburg.

It has been handed out recently at gatherings in the Transvaal.

## Race groups

It states as its ideal that all race groups in South Africa must be free... most importantly the "Boerevolk, Africa's first freedom fighters".

The idea is to give the whole of Transvaal, Free State and northern Natal to the "Boerestaat". The rest of Natal is given to the Zulus while the Cape is generously handed to the coloured people.

There is no indication of where the English-speaking whites living in Natal will go.

While it propounds the concept that no race should dominate another, it fails to explain what will

happen to the millions of black people presently inhabiting the areas proposed for the new state.

The only hint comes in a comparison of the proposed state with Israel.

"Just as Israel in 1948 re-established itself with a niggardly half-million Jews who now number more than three million, we can leap forward from a small beginning to a doubling of our numbers within a decade," says the pamphlet.

It admits there is a problem with the "giftige Engelse".

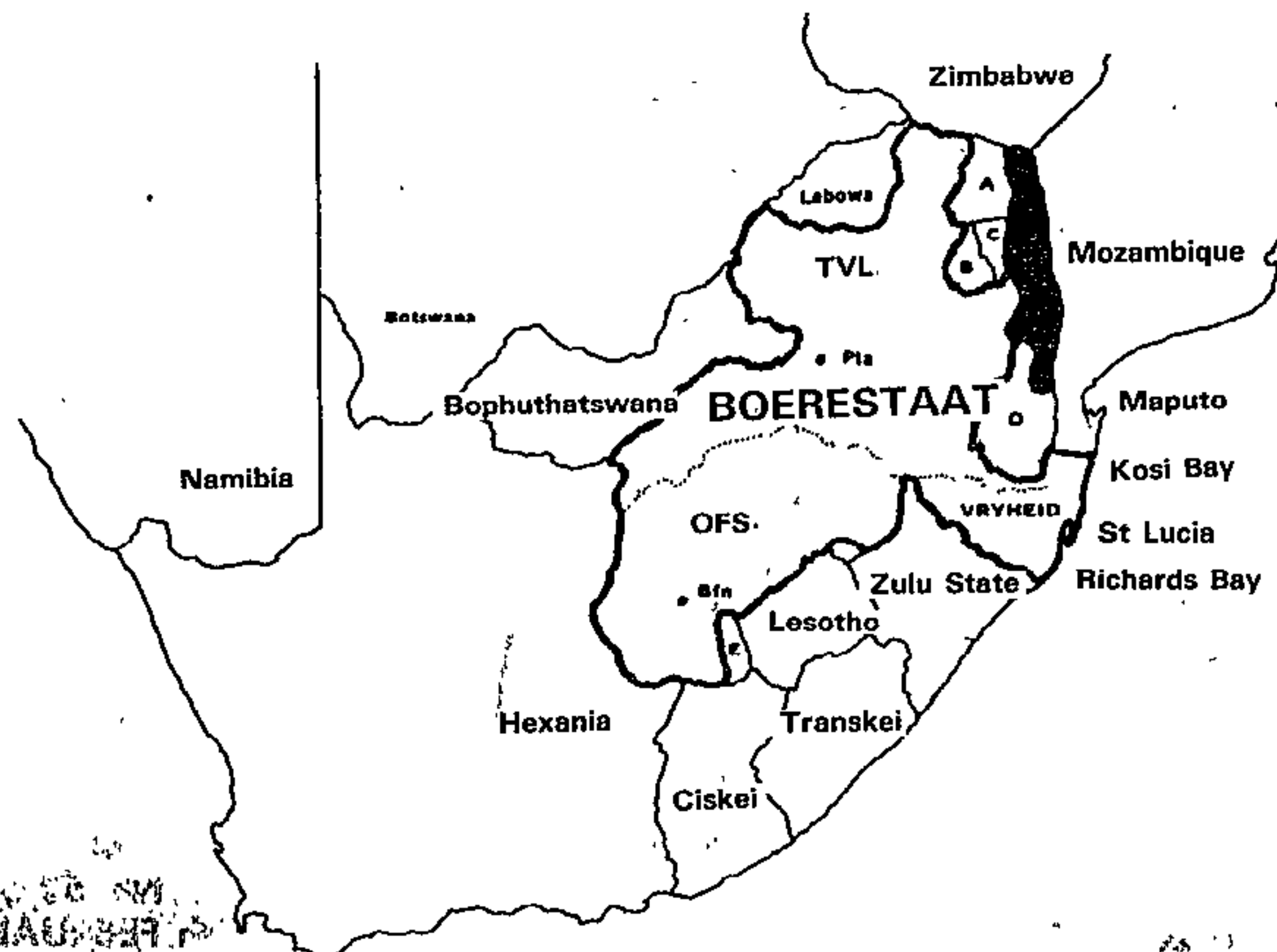
## Overthrow of government

Distastefully it notes that "among the whites there is a certain element which, with the greatest enthusiasm, devotes itself to the overthrow of the 'white' government and the liquidation of the Afrikaner".

As retribution, English-speakers appear to be excluded from any participation in the reformed South Africa.

The Cape is to become Hexania, a coloured state, Natal is split between the Zulus and Boerestaat — and that would appear to be that.

Of course, all the Afrikaners in the Cape are expected to trek again, as are those in SWA/Namibia.









## WEEKEND FOCUS

THE Government this week took the wraps off Pelican Park — the new housing complex for Indian MPs and Ministers — as well as other changes made to accommodate members of the House of Delegates. JOHN MACLENNAN, of Weekend Argus political staff, was among a group of journalists invited to inspect the pecking order of a development which has cruelly been described as Indian Bizarre and a stupendous waste of money. He reports the Public Works Department didn't spend enough.

# Luxury? What Luxury?

**P**ELICAN PARK, located on the Cape Flats 22kms from the heart of the matter in Parliament, at the moment resembles nothing more than a prestige new prison.

Wind-tortured, sand-scoured, it is the latest in a series of political gulags proliferating on the Peninsula for the use of MPs. Whites already have Acacia Park, work proceeds apace on Belhar for coloured parliamentarians, and the Indian laager will be complete by February 8.

The feeling of exile comes from Pelican's very location. A rutted track leading through flailing Port Jackson trees brings you to a 30ha site on Zeekoevlei.

It is guarded as if its special police unit — a security measure long employed for the protection of White MPs at Acacia — fear the partiers in the new constitutional set-up might consider a mass break-out when they discover where they have to live.

### Impossible task

The entire complex is surrounded by a steel fence about 2m high and has security lights every few metres.

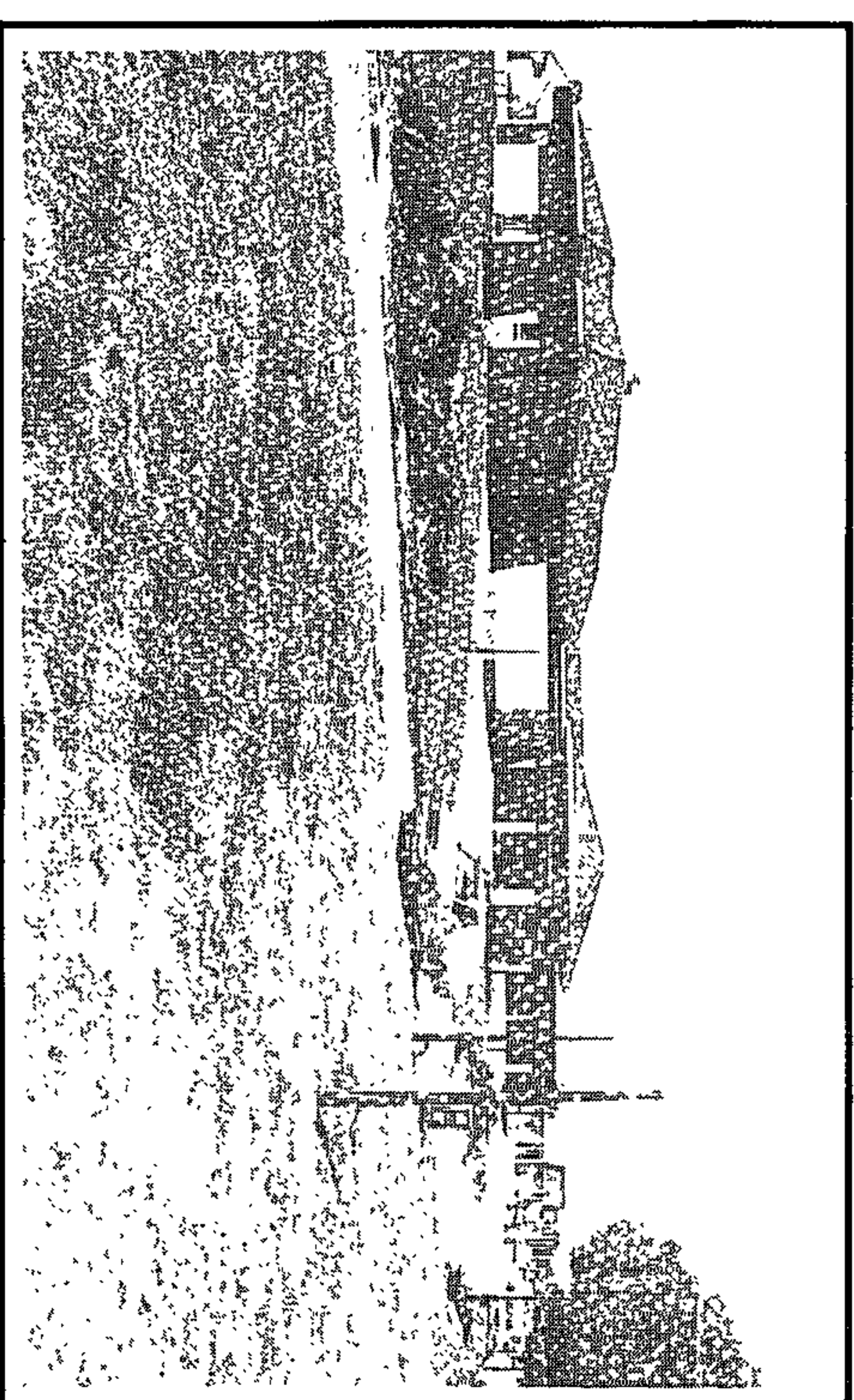
The physical conditions and the quality of housing are one in the eye for opposition Solidarity critics who have claimed that the five Ministers — especially — would be living at the expense of taxpayers in the hedonist luxury of houses costing up to half a million apiece.

In fact the PWD has completed a near impossible task in terms of its schedule and the cost restrictions. They've built 108 houses since the beginning of September at a cost of R7,3m. The five Minister's houses, complete with furnishings, cost only R193 000 each.

### Similar design

But special they are not. They could best be described as PWD-solid, PWD-durable, PWD-sensible. They are inferior, I'm told, to the privately-owned homes of their new occupants.

PWD Minister Dr Lapa Munnik made this plan on the tour of the complex when he said his department set out to provide adequate accommodation, not luxury. "When these people get guests from overseas we don't want the State to be embarrassed."



General view showing ministers' houses at Pelican Park.

The five prime houses all have basically similar design with slight variations when it comes to furniture. Minister Boetie Abramjee's house, for example, has four bedrooms, two bathrooms, a lounge, diningroom, kitchen, TV room, study, storeroom, laundry and double garage.

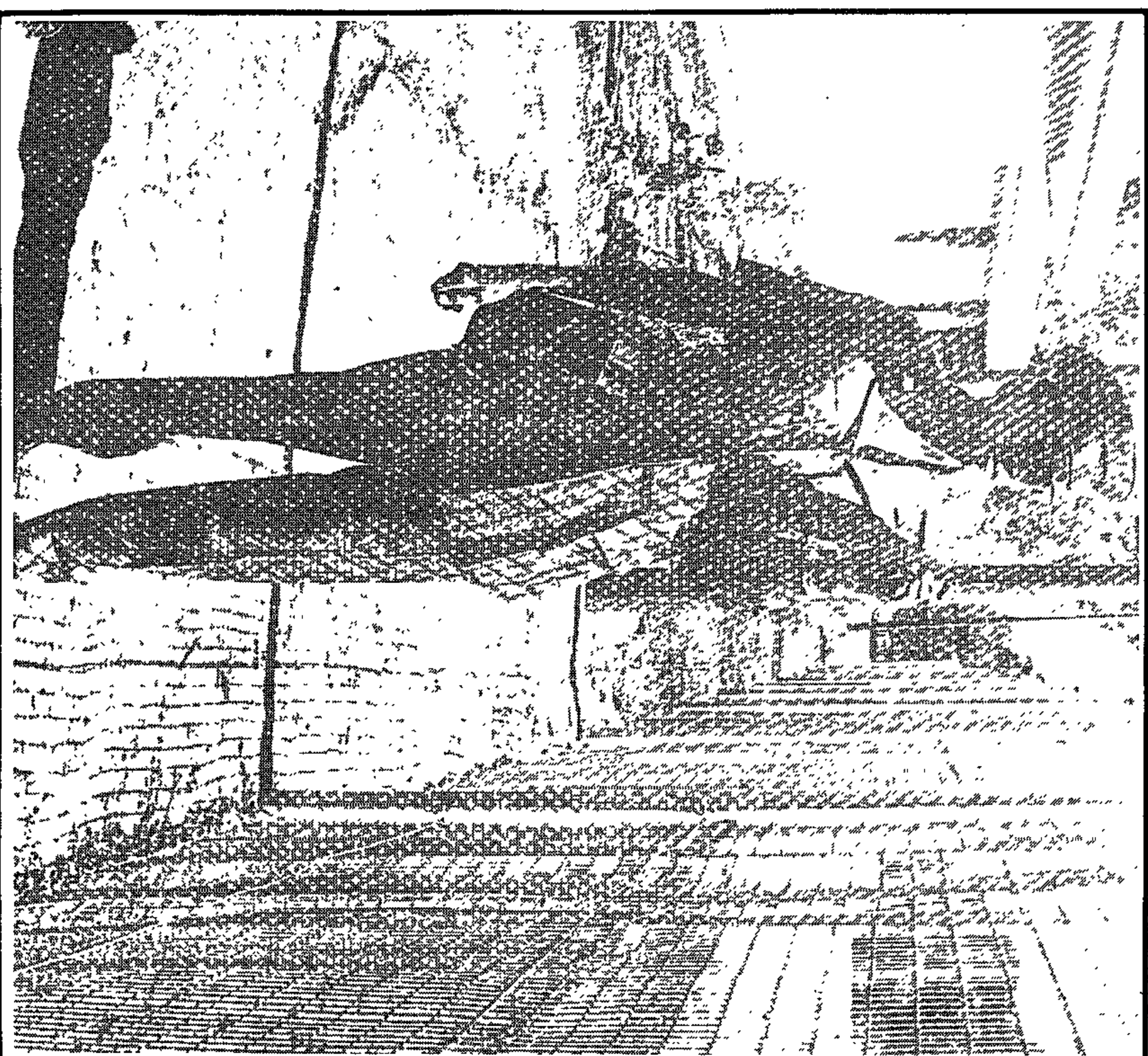
All he has to supply is cutlery and bedding. It comes complete with curtains, carpets, crockery, nappery, furniture, TV set and video recorder, stove, clothes washer and fridge.

It is not an eye-level stove. There is no separate deepfreeze. There is no dishwasher. All good unimaginative PWD stuff. PWD has actually even tried to keep the styles and colours as neutral as possible to avoid offending the tastes of occupants to come.

The other houses for MPs and House of Delegates officials range in size from tiny to three bedrooms, and 100 of the total cost R46 000 each. They look to be the sort of house acquired by a not-so-trendy young white couple as a first buy.

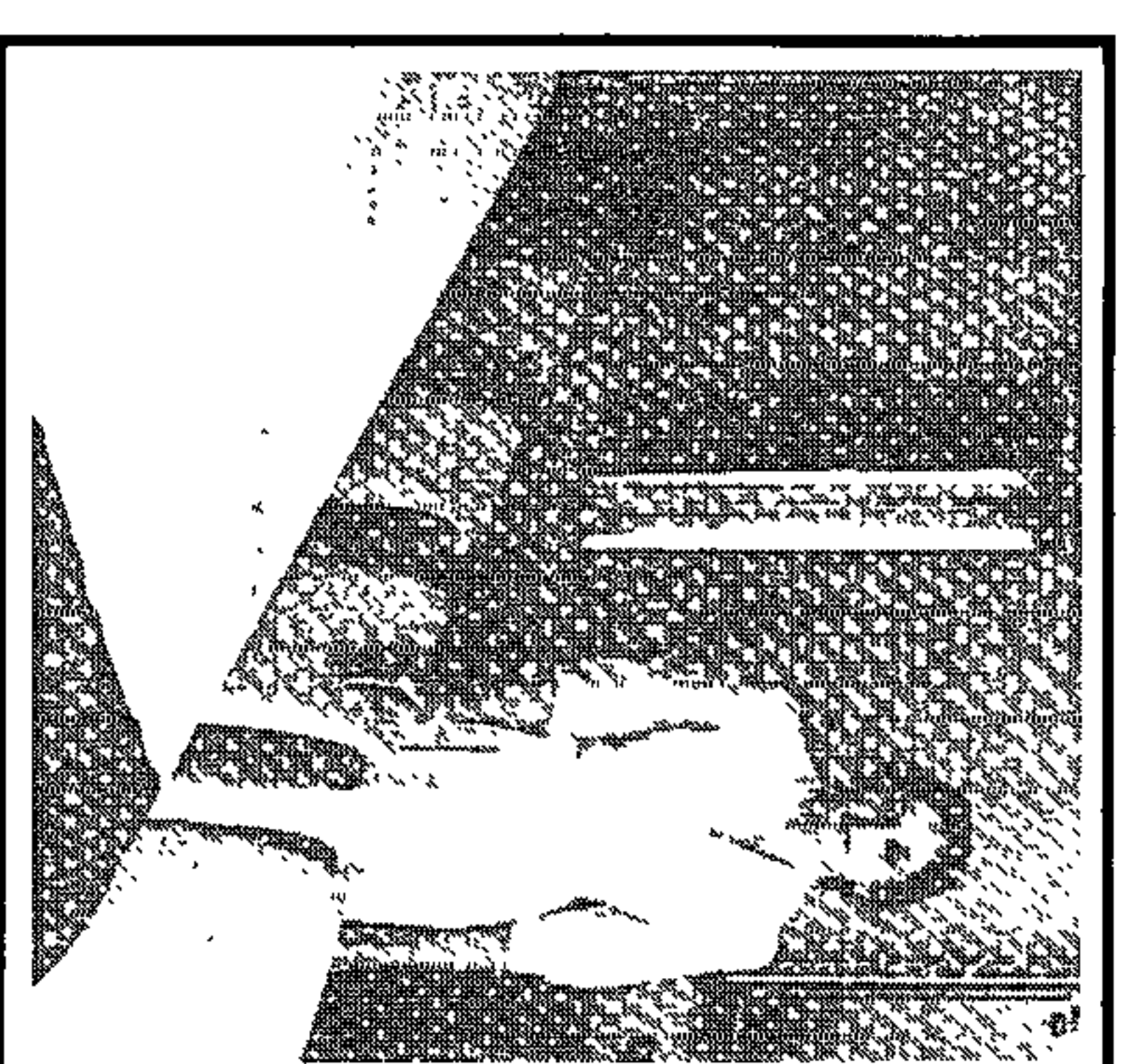
The only facilities on the complex will be a swimming pool and tennis courts. Officials say the nearest shops are kilometres away in the less than salubrious suburb of Retreat.

But things will get better. They were laying out the roll-on lawn this week.



A policeman — a member of the security unit based at Pelican Park — patrols the steel fence which surrounds the new complex.

THE entire complex is surrounded by a steel fence about 2m high and has security lights every few metres.



Mrs Marian Abramjee, wife of the Minister of the Budget in the House of Delegates, and her imbuia table set which seats 16 guests.



*Murphy* 26/1/85

# ***Rajbansi, Reddy in row over MP who changed sides***

304A

CAPE TOWN—The Leader of the National People's Party, ruling group in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and the Leader of the Opposition, Solidarity, Mr Jayaram Reddy, became embroiled in a heated row in Mr

Rajbansi's parliamentary office in Marks Building on the eve of Parliament's opening.

At the centre of the row was Dr Dawood Cader, MP for Montford in Chatsworth, Durban, who fought — and won — his seat on a Solidarity ticket and then quit the party to declare himself an independent.

He said he would remain an independent

but align himself with the NPP.

'I have decided to become closer to the ruling party to avoid further animosity between the two parties.'

He confirmed that the two party leaders had clashed on his party political stand, but both Mr Rajbansi and Mr Reddy declined to discuss the matter except to confirm that heated words had been exchanged. — (Sapa)



# Blacks won't accept new deal — UDF

By ANTON HARBER  
Political Reporter

A SPOKESMAN for the United Democratic Front (UDF) said this week that it could not see blacks accepting the creation of a new negotiating forum, as suggested by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

"Only a constitution embracing all the people of our country will bring about peace," Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the UDF publicity secretary, said.

He was reacting to statements by Dr Viljoen that the Government was considering establishing a new negotiating forum in which blacks would have a far greater say in political reform.

Dr Viljoen said that such a forum was being considered by the Cabinet committee currently examining the future of urban blacks.

Mr Lekota said that it

was not clear what Dr Viljoen had in mind, "but we have an abiding suspicion that the Government is planning a fourth chamber of Parliament for urban Africans."

"We can say already that that such a step would not serve to satisfy the demands of the people."

"Only a constitution embracing all the people will bring about peace," he said.

The UDF was created specifically to oppose the new tricameral system and the "Koornhof laws" on urbanisation.

Meanwhile, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on Thursday rejected the idea of a new negotiating forum for blacks.

He said blacks wanted to take an active part in the central Parliament.

Chief Buthelezi said the Government should be considering how blacks could be included in a single state.



**J**a young National Party MP, newly elected to the small-town constituency of Mamba. He is an accountant.

Will he handle the pressures of power and remain true to himself and his conscience?

Mr Representative is on his own. South Africa stands alone among countries with a Western parliamentary tradition in providing no guidance of conscience for its MPs on what they may or may not do outside the House.

Before he leaves for the session in Cape Town, Mr Representative finds that many of his former business clients — and businesses that aren't even in his constituency — now think he provides an easy entrée to government.

Suddenly he finds that, besides his new R48 000-a-year income, he has the chance to make large sums of money, purely because of his new status.

"Ag, come on, Jan," a local businessman says. "There you'll be in Parliament with all the big shots. You act as our voice in government and tell the Minister what we need here and what our problems are."

"We'll pay you a retainer of R4 000 every month — it's worth our while because you can open doors we never could."

Mr Representative isn't sure that this would be correct, but he doesn't know why. After all, attorneys are entitled to approach Ministers, aren't they?

When he gets to Cape Town, he looks up the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act in the library, but finds it says nothing about the outside work he may or may not do. All it tells him is that he may not vote on anything in which he has a direct financial interest.

So he approaches the party Whip for advice, but even he can tell him nothing.

According to Mr Chris Rencken, the National Party information officer, the party has no ethical guidelines, beyond those specified by Parliament, on how MPs may or may not make their money.

And if Mr Representative approached the Deputy-Secretary of Parliament, Mr G de Kock, he would be told that Parliament has no ethical or legal guidelines laid down on what payment MPs may accept for their private duties.

"The party Whips, or the members themselves must decide where their private duties clash with their public duties."

Legal experts, MPs and former MPs call all this a "confusing" lack of guidance.

There is no way of knowing how often it happens that MPs lobby for a fee or accept company directorships purely because of their position, but it is believed to be frequent.

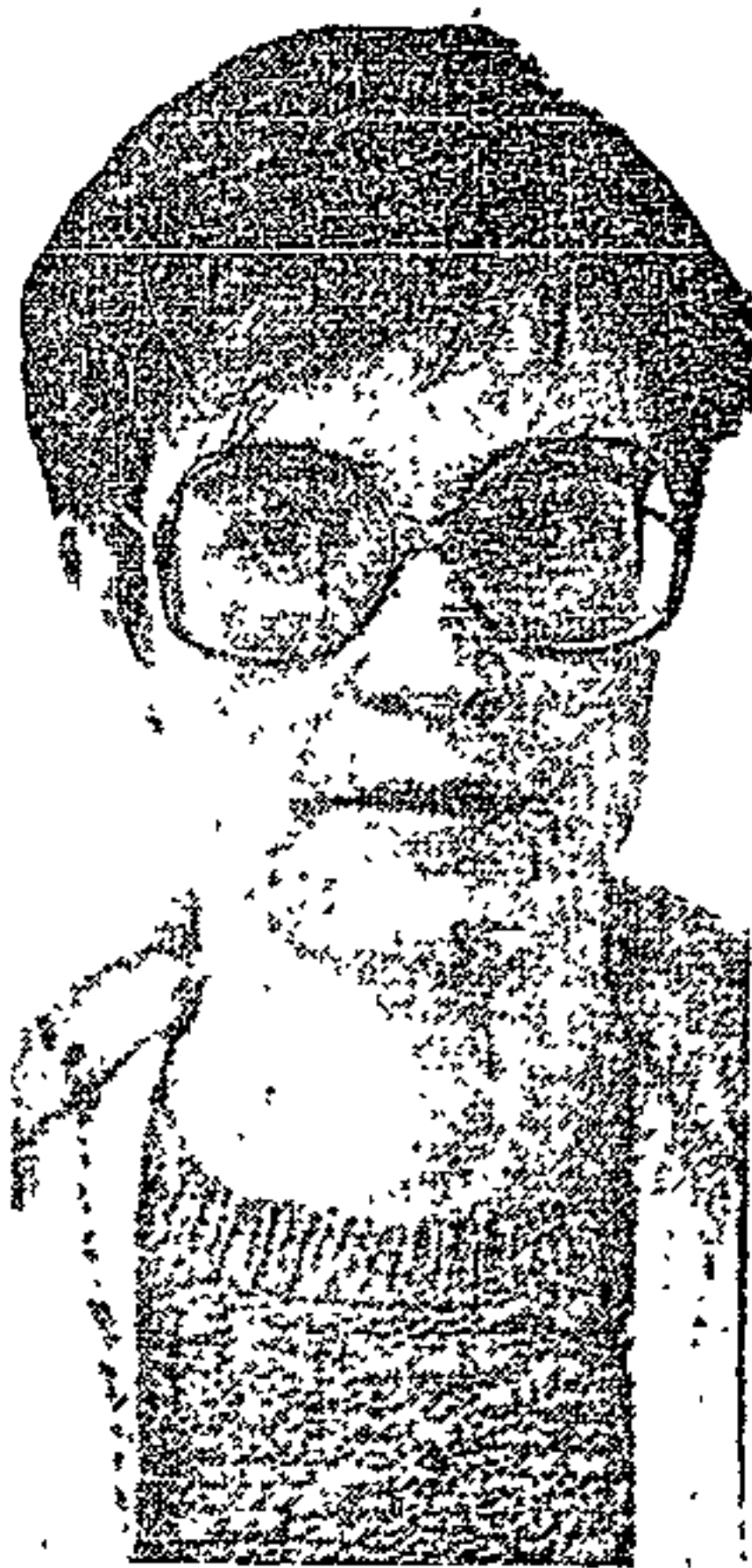
The 'extramural' work of MPs was again raised late last year when the Sunday Express reported that the Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, had, while an MP, lobbied for a private company for a monthly retainer of R5 000. Mr Nel denied lobbying and said his duties, including approaching the government on the company's behalf, had been purely legal.

# CHEQUES — W

Sunday Express 27/1/85 (304A)

# THE BALANCE

Report by



**JO-ANNE  
RICARHDS**



Although there are no official guidelines, there is nevertheless a strong historical precedent in South Africa that suggests lobbying is not ethically correct.

In 1947 a select committee reported on the activities of a Mr A Goldberg, who was an MP and an attorney. He had taken a fee for interviewing a Minister on behalf of a client.

The committee ruled that, since MPs had "special access to Ministers and state officials, it is both inexpedient and derogatory to the dignity of the House for any member to accept any reward or other consideration for approaching Ministers and state officials or generally for any public service which he is called upon to perform as an elected representative of the people."

At the same time, the pattern set in other countries — such as Britain — shows that lobbying activities are frowned upon. The case about

15 years ago of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Reginald Maudling, shows how strict the British can be about the actions of their MPs.

His wife was raising funds for a charity in which she had an indirect interest — she was an office-bearer. The matter was investigated and it was held to be improper for a Cabinet Minister's wife to act in this way.

**O**nly if Jan Representative were an Opposition MP would he have some guidelines to assist him. But then, he would probably not have the same opportunity for influence broking because of the public belief that ruling party MPs have greater influence in government.

The Progressive Federal Party uses the South African 1947 precedent as a guideline. According to the chief Whip, Mr Brian Bamford, there are

no grounds for considering lobbying to be morally acceptable behaviour for an MP and he guides PFP members accordingly.

He feels that for an MP, even if he is a lawyer, to accept a fee for approaching the government in any circumstance is to "sail far too close to the wind".

"To my mind, it's perfectly simple for an MP to know which hat he's wearing," he said. "I was a practising advocate while I was an MP and I knew when something was purely legal work."

"When I approached a Minister, I knew I was acting as an MP and I would not charge a fee — but I could carry out these duties only for a constituent. An MP cannot be allowed to use his position for gain."

The chief Whip of the Conservative Party, Mr Jan Hoon, agrees that the only lobbying that should be carried out by an MP is for the benefit of the country.

Besides the strong considering lobbying acceptable, there are who consider it to be acceptable as long as an MP not resort to impropriety or allow it to affect his public duties. In fact, businessmen consider it necessary for cutting the red tape that clogs tries over-regulated government.

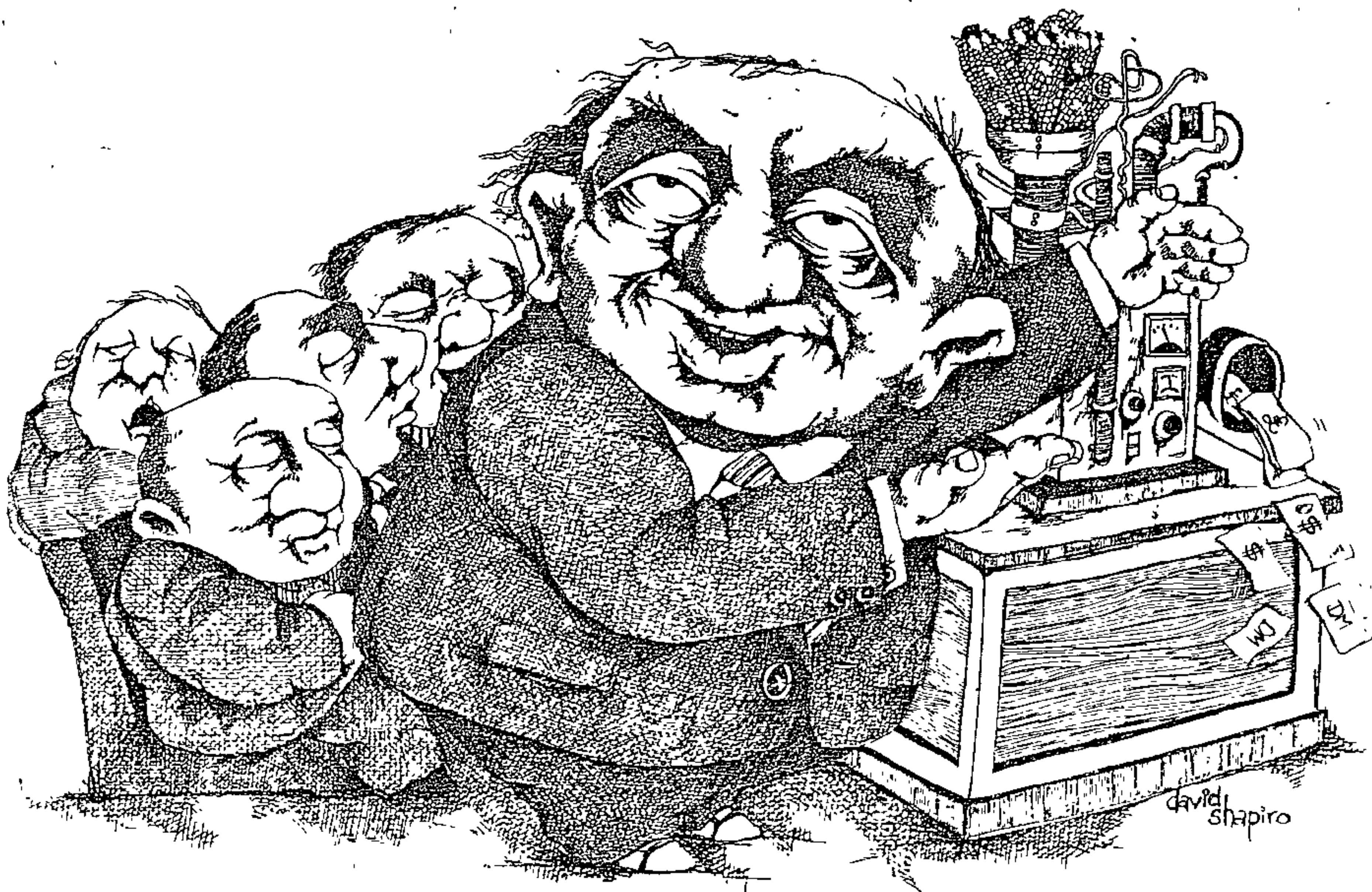
Other local businessmen have stated that lobbying companies is "common business practice" and that lobbying is officially cognised in the United Kingdom. But there lobbyists are registered and their activities are carefully monitored.

The State President, P. W. Botha, showed a partiality of the problem when he recently stated that he should relinquish all his shares when appointed to Cabinet.

By Peter van der Walt



# UES — WITHOUT BALANCES



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The State President, Mr P W  
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ness of the problem when he  
recently stated that MPs  
should relinquish all director-  
ships when appointed to the  
Cabinet.

In Britain an unwritten con-

vention has existed since 1975  
requiring MPs to declare their  
pecuniary interests on a regis-  
ter. But it has been pointed out  
that members could not be  
forced to declare their inter-  
ests in terms of the convention.  
They are, however, specifically  
required to declare their inter-  
ests when voting in the House.  
Not to do so would probably  
result in strict censure.

In Zimbabwe members of the  
central committee of the rul-  
ing Zanu party have been pro-  
hibited from owning a second  
home, more than 50 acres  
(20,24ha) of land, a business,  
dealing in property or serving  
as company directors.

In South Africa it seems that  
while there is some disagree-  
ment over the rights and  
wrongs of lobbying, there is a  
strong feeling amongst legal  
observers that the registering  
of MPs' pecuniary interests  
which should be available

public scrutiny has distinct  
merits — if only to protect  
MPs from public doubts.

Mr Bamford said there was  
"grave disquiet" in the PFP  
over the situation and the time  
was ripe for a special commit-  
tee of Parliament to investi-  
gate the whole field of MPs'  
outside interests and assets.

It would be of great benefit  
for Parliament to lay down  
guidelines or ethical rules for  
MPs to follow, he said. Mr  
Hoon on the other hand, be-  
lieves that the personal integ-  
rity of MPs should be such that  
rules should be unnecessary.

Public and Press criticism  
of the influence of public rep-  
resentatives seems likely to  
continue as long as there are no  
clear guidelines or rules deal-  
ing with the paid-for extra-  
mural activities of MPs.

In the end, keeping public  
representation mean is like  
pursuing justice. It should not  
only be done, but be seen to be  
done.



# Botha marks out a New Frontier

By BRIAN POTTINGER: Political Correspondent

THE Government has begun a dramatic initiative to unblock frozen channels of communication with black South Africans and usher in a vastly wider political debate. President Botha's speech in Parliament this week has been accepted cautiously in opposition circles, but within the party structure it is seen as a fundamental shift in Nationalist ideology.

In a long-awaited but still vague "Declaration of Intent", the State President announced.

● Freehold rights for blacks in common South Africa.

● Blacks living in common South Africa will be part of

the central constitutional structures of the country.

● An informal negotiating forum for discussions with blacks is to be created.

● Influx control measures and forced removals — two of the most controversial of Government policies — will be reviewed.

## 'Hopeful'

The initiative is already under way. Government sources revealed this week that black leaders had already been sounded on the question of

participation and the results were "hopeful".

At the same time Government negotiators have set out to clarify the terminology to be used in the discussions so as to avoid confusion.

Definitions of terms such as "confederation" and "federation" have been circulated among prospective participants in the talks.

President Botha's watershed speech has been couched in broad terms. Government spokesmen emphasised that the detail will have to be negotiated and "blueprints" cannot simply be presented.

From the President's statements and discussions with cabinet ministers this week some crucial implications emerge.

## Tentative

In broad terms the National Party Government has turned its back on the bottom-line philosophy that blacks living outside the homelands must seek their highest-level political representation in those homelands. Whether they identified with them or not.

Now the Government accepts that blacks in common South Africa must participate at all levels in constitutional structures within

South Africa; the first tentative step in that direction has been the acceptance of black local authorities on the proposed regional services councils.

The Government's concern in the past has been to exclude non-homeland blacks from the central political process. Now the debate — the real one — will be on ways to include them.

## Dominance

Government sources indicate the party's philosophy in regard to blacks in common South Africa is becoming similar to that for whites, coloured and Indians: political rights to be exercised en bloc by racial group, control over "own affairs", mechanisms for participation on "general affairs".

The bottom line still remains white dominance — no

doubt entrenched in constitutional form.

The Government has already ruled out the possibility of a fourth chamber for blacks in the present system, so a possible future structure is a parallel Parliament for blacks with interlocking functions at various levels and perhaps a "super body".

This new vision automatically entails the acceptance of a common citizenship or nationality.

## Industrial

In 1978 the Government accepted the principle of black residential permanence in common South Africa.

By the terms of the Weibahn Commission amendments it extended industrial citizenship to blacks.

President Botha's speech this week was the first tentative step to extending political citizenship.

There are important spin-offs of the new Government line.

Having accepted the compelling reality of black permanence in common South Africa, the justifications for moving people around in pursuit of Grand Apartheid ideals fall away.

In senior Government quarters there is now open agreement that forced removals on the old scale and manner are indefensible.

Scatter removals from rural areas and movements for infrastructural reasons will continue — but no more purely ideological ones.



# A call to test the legal foundation of apartheid

ARGUS 29/1/8 304A

JOHN D'OLIVEIRA of The Argus Foreign Service in London reports on an unusual plea to the World Court from an eminent South African lawyer

PROFESSOR John Dugard of the University of the Witwatersrand, has called for an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice at The Hague on the "denationalisation" of South Africa's black people in terms of the Government's homelands policy.

A finding that this "pivotal principle" of modern apartheid violated international law could give impetus to a revolution in South African attitudes.

Professor Dugard, who is professor of law at the university and director of its Centre for Applied Legal Studies, made his call in an article in the latest issue of the International Commission of Jurists' Review.

In the absence of a finding on this matter, he wrote, the South African Government would continue arguing that its policies complied fully with international law.

Professor Dugard said that under contemporary international law states were barred from discriminating against their nationals on grounds of race. Thus it appeared that

measures whereby residents in independent homelands lost their South African citizenship, would violate international law.

A new strategy was required in the international community's dealings with South Africa and only the International Court of Justice could provide the necessary legal foundation for such a response.

Clearly, the South African Government would reject a finding on the "denationalisation" of blacks as 'politically biased and legally untenable.

However, in the aftermath of the court's 1971 Namibia opinion and as one state after another gave their backing to the opinion, South Africa was obliged to change its strategy and accept that independence for a unitary Namibia was the only politically viable goal.

Thus, after the initial outburst of anger over the opinion on blacks' citizenship rights, there was a real possibility that Pretoria would relent and reconsider the course on which it had embarked.



Professor Dugard

Professor Dugard said the Government was becoming increasingly dependent on white, coloured and Indian conservatives, rather than on the reactionary forces of Afrikanerdom.

"It is precisely this constituency that would be most disturbed by a ruling by the International Court of Justice that

Pretoria's policies towards the blacks were premised on an illegality.

"Secondly, South Africa's Western allies are committed to the promotion of the rule of law in the world order and could be expected to bring new influence to bear on Pretoria, as evidenced by their response to the 1971 Namibia opinion."

Professor Dugard said it had long been recognised that judicial decisions played an important educational role in domestic societies.

"Thus the judgement of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Brown vs Board of Education case in 1954 provided the impetus for a revolution in attitudes towards race in the United States.

"Judgments and advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice should be similarly viewed.

"An advisory opinion from the court that the pivotal principle of modern apartheid violated international law could serve the same purpose as the Brown decision — both among people and among nations".



# Sebe supports SA proposals

*D. Infante*

304A  
29/1/85

**BISHO** — President Lennox Sebe came out in strong support of the concessions for urban blacks announced by President P. W. Botha.

In a statement issued by the government's Directorate of Communications yesterday, he said: "If it is seriously intended, which we trust is the case, this is a route to prosperity and peace in Southern Africa in our time."

President Sebe urged all political parties in South Africa to set personal political ambitions and petty party

politics aside in an all-out effort to get President Botha's concessions implemented successfully.

"It will be advisable for President Botha to make the change of attitude of his civil servants in dealing with black people and black problems, one of his first priorities in the implementation of these monumental announcements."

● President Sebe, still in Frere Hospital in East London, had made such a rapid recovery that he was expecting to be discharged shortly, the statement said. — DDR



# Sebe supports PW's proposals for blacks

29/1/85 304A E. Post

Post Reporter

BISHO — President Lennox Sebe supports the proposals for urban blacks announced last week by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

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mented successfully.

"It will be advisable for President Botha to make the change of attitude of his civil servants in dealing with black people and black problems one of his first priorities in the implementation of these monumental announcements," President Sebe said.

He is still in the Frere Hospital in East London, but is expected to be released shortly, the statement said.

President Sebe was admitted to the hospital on January 16 after suffering a suspected heart attack.

Ciskei's Director of Public Relations, Mr Wessel

van Wyk, said today the President's condition had improved so much that his discharge was imminent.

He said Chief Sebe would return to his office in Bisho soon but would continue to be assisted by the Committee of Four who had been attending to the administration of the country for the past two weeks.

The President would "take it easy for a while".

The Committee of Four consists of the chairman of the Housing Commission, Mr Ray Mali, the Minister of Transport, Chief B Zulu, a Member of Parliament, Chief Hinana and the head of liaison, Mr C Tokota.



IN SPITE of the new constitution and changes in racial attitudes and practices, the essential South African dilemma, our basic predicament, has remained the same for many decades.

Recent changes have only highlighted and made more obvious than before the enormity of the historic obstacle that we must overcome.

It is the South African condition, unique in the world, that under our laws citizens of different skin colours do not enjoy equal basic rights, but are subject to differing, discriminatory legislation, roughly on the basis of the darker the skin the more diminished the rights.

Only when we cease to have any racial discrimination on our statute books can we make internal progress and again become full members of the world community.

Fortunately, the perception that this racial discrimination is no longer (if ever it was) in the interests of South Africa is now widespread. Major racial obstacles are the subject of persistent demands and suggestions for elimination.

Many discriminatory measures have quietly fallen by the wayside; others are under yet more series of investigations by commissions. And the government, to its credit, has taken many reform steps; but for obvious reasons cannot go to the root of the matter.

The government cannot deal with the root cause because most of its (white) electorate cannot visualize an alternative that seems viable. Or, in other words, the opposition in its various forms has not been able to capture white voters' imagination with a concept that could lead to meaningful change.

## Questions on SA's future

This criticism applies also to the many political groups among most of the voteless South Africans. The position is further bedevilled by militant organizations that "struggle for liberation" in order to seize power for themselves or for "the people".

Their demands are grist to the mill of conservatives of various shades who want to maintain the present situation believing this to be in their best interests. The instant "one-man-one-vote" solution has at present little realistic appeal to most whites, and would not necessarily be welcome by many blacks.

In the circumstances, the questions are:

1. How can we bring about change?
2. On what basis can a legally non-racial, widely acceptable South Africa be built?
3. Can we visualize steps and a time-scale by which this could be achieved?

Let us examine these three questions in turn.

How to bring about change? There are basically only two ways through which political change comes about. One is through bloody revolution or military coup. This is always exceedingly painful for all concerned and inevitably the winners of the revolution or coup are people who exercise their newly acquired power even more arbitrarily than those they have replaced.

## Unique atmosphere

The other way is through peaceful, structured change, following new insights into the understanding of the issues which seem to divide the population of a country, and identifying the common interests.

This second way, rare in history, requires patience, time and goodwill by the opinion-makers and leaders of all contending groups.

There is evidence that in the unique atmosphere of South Africa today, in spite of many threats to the contrary, there are enough people of goodwill and integrity in all sections of the population, political and non-political, who could get together with a common objective of working towards purposeful, peaceful change.

Most exercises of this nature have failed in the past because their scope was too limited. To make real progress today requires not so much yet another collection of statistical data or opinion polls

# Towards an open society: The way ahead for SA

CAVE TINKS  
29/1/85

304A

By HANS MIDDELMANN, leading businessman and a member of the Council of the University of Cape Town, who puts forward a plan to offer the country a viable alternative to race discrimination



of existing prejudices, but a broad review of the entire spectrum of all fields which hold South Africa together.

This review needs to be coupled with a forward-looking concept of a new structure of our society in all its political, social and economic aspects — a truly multifaceted approach.

The aim must be to offer a practical and broadly acceptable vision of the future with a clear direction over a reasonable period of time. It must be capable of being understood in its broad outlines by all, so that it can be widely propagated and discussed.

This may sound academic and a tall order but it is probably not as impossible to achieve as may appear at first glance. The recent Buthelezi Commission, originated by a great South African, Gatsha Buthelezi, was an exercise conducted by independent people whose devotion to South Africa's long-term interests is undoubted, and who were widely representative of all sections and interests in our country.

It probably did not have the impact it could have had, because it confined itself mainly to KwaZulu and Natal, and basically had to assume unchanged conditions in the rest of South Africa. However, it demonstrated how much consensus can be attained.

How much more would be achieved in a new exercise, looking afresh at the future of the entire country with the concept of an open society as an objective! What this means and how it could be defined and structured will be examined in answering the second question.

On what basis can a legally non-racial, widely acceptable South Africa be built?

There are many hundreds of Acts of Parliament on our statute books in which racial discrimination is spelt out in detail. Their origin goes back to the days of the Cape Colony and before. Little purpose would be served in attaching blame, with splendid hindsight, to the people who originated this legislation. We can leave that to the historians, who will put matters into their historic context.

After all, slavery, which was once practised here, was common elsewhere in the world and was then considered an acceptable custom. But in due course slavery was abolished everywhere, not by the slaves, but by forward-looking people of intellectual integrity who recognized that the system was evil, morally and in its practical consequences.

Let us not deal here with the moral issues which are widely and openly discussed. Let us rather approach our difficult task with malice towards none, with charity for all.

In practical terms, all existing discriminatory legislation must go if we are to realize South Africa's potential. To achieve this peace-

fully it must be done with the broad consensus of all concerned.

This will, in the first place, prior to the convening of a national convention, require the establishment of an independent body, privately funded, to propose an acceptable agenda for a convention. This task could not easily be undertaken through existing party political channels, because of their fixed attitudes and complete absence of representation of large sections of the community.

A private initiative, broadly based, could examine openly, but away from direct political influence, whether there is a way to promote long-term common interests over sectional short-term claims, and design an outline of the legal and administrative structures required.

Such an inquiry would look at the diversity of our population as a reality and as an asset, instead of considering splitting the country into ever more fragments to get rid of a liability.

## Explore the unknown future

This independent, inquiring body, to be called the Open Society Council, would proceed to draft a new universal definition of civil rights — of each individual's right to freedom and the limitation of this right only where it interferes with the rights of others. It would also deal with the curbing of the state's arbitrary powers and limitation of the state's functions.

The consideration of these basic problems is as old as mankind. Only in our case, seen always in racial terms, the problems have become increasingly intractable. History abounds with examples of the conflict between state power and individual freedom, and with examples of the two types of society in which nation states are organized: closed or open societies.

By this definition a society is closed if it pursues aims based on a belief, an ideology or the will of an individual to which all policies must be directed and with which all its citizens must conform.

An open society, on the other hand, is an open-ended society that structures its institutions in such a way that the unknown future can be explored and realized through the initiative and innovative endeavour of all its citizens.

The states that today form the United Nations Assembly can roughly be divided into the two categories. And it is a matter of observation that the more open the society the more peaceful, prosperous and creative its citizens, and the better the material and cultural quality of their lives.

The citizens of an open society have designed their constitution and their administrative, judicial,

and economic structures in such a manner that neither the majority nor the minority can arbitrarily change basic rights.

These rights include the right of free association, which gives all the opportunity to pursue their cultural, language and religious preferences in the company of like-minded people.

A tentative definition of an open society in South Africa would perhaps read as follows:

A society in which, in terms of a binding constitution, free of imposed ideologies:

- The powers of government are limited and clearly defined;
- Resources are allocated wherever possible by the discipline of the market;
- All citizens are equal under the law and they share a common citizenship;
- The law guarantees freedom of association, of thought and expression;
- Subject only to universal rules of conduct necessary to protect the like freedom of others, the law gives to every citizen equal opportunities and
- Freedom to apply his talents and resources to what he perceives to be the best advantage;
- Freedom of movement and the right to own property anywhere in the country

A definition along these lines could be the starting point and guiding principle for a full exploration of the possible structures of a non-racial future South Africa.

Enough material facts and theories are available to enable the proposed council to cover in a reasonable period the full range of the political and economic aspects, as well as the social and cultural fields, including education. All of them are interlinked and should not be treated singly.

Conclusions should be public and subjected to criticism and suggestions by all. In this way it should become apparent that the present division of the South African society into groups with allegedly irreconcilable interests leads us nowhere, while the structure of a common open society could present us with a great and humane future.

The final question to be addressed is what steps and what time scale can be visualized by which a legally non-racial South Africa could be achieved?

The dynamics of the South African situation are clearly on the side of those who believe that the future lies in an open society. In spite of the costly efforts of drawing new borders, of influx control and of population resettlements, the interdependence of all population groups and all geographical parts of the country increases steadily.

This growing interdependence and integration was not planned by anyone, but is at the root of our still remarkable prosperity and the relative state of peace in our

country.

However, the declining economy and the simmering unrest are obvious signs of the ever-rising price we pay for the constant interference with processes which are natural and to be encouraged, not hindered.

It would be foolish to try to predict in detail how the political processes could develop which would be required to make overall policy changes. But in the past we have all been at fault in only protesting against and criticizing each further discriminatory measure separately as it was taken.

Even now, whenever the issue of total de-racialization of our policies is discussed many people are inclined to say: "But this will take years! Will we have the time?" (A reminder of the danger of changes through violence, but not a positive contribution towards the process of change!)

Anyone who in the last few years has been involved in the de-racialization quietly achieved in a number of areas, particularly in many business undertakings, will confirm that while there are initial difficulties, the process once started and firmly and fairly pursued soon goes forward under its own momentum. And the material and human rewards for all involved are substantial.

## Picture of the alternative

The error into which most reform-minded people have fallen is to expect the government to initiate the process of reconsidering the most basic concepts of the policies on which it was elected. Surely those of us who believe that only a clear and total reversal of these policies will ensure a good future for ourselves and our children owe it to ourselves to try to put together a comprehensive picture of the alternative.

Once that has been attained in terms of the suggested steps outlined here earlier, the widespread discussion and propagation of the ideal should create its own momentum.

Changes come about either through violence or by new insights which allow people to re-examine and reverse views which were previously considered self-evident.

The government has now begun to re-examine the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts after the doctrinaire churches, who originally found clear moral justification for these measures, have, through new insights, begun to question the validity of their former beliefs.

The world adapts and progresses through re-examining and revising past practices in the light of changed circumstances and new perceptions.

Even communist countries begin to see virtue in some private enterprise — contraception, originally considered immoral, is propagated and welcomed in family planning, and hunting and shooting wild animals and making war, once considered manly occupations, are widely condemned today.

It is our task to clarify the new perceptions and the changed circumstances that make fundamental change of our policies so urgently necessary.

## Peacefully on new road

The private sector and the professions, who are also the real wealth-creators, men and women, across the colour line and across political divisions, have now become well aware of the problems we face.

It is time that a number of independent South Africans got together to explore to the full the alternative to the present situation. If an exercise along the lines suggested in this article shows the feasibility of an open society it will be time to go about achieving it in collaboration with all.

The time-scale will shrink as the objective becomes clear. A statement of intent and the setting up of an Open Society Council could set us peacefully on a new road.

**THE regular Tuesday column, James McClurg's review of the Afrikaans press, will appear tomorrow.**



Leader wants ANC unbanned

# Mandela 'ready to call truce'

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.  
THE JAILED leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, had undertaken to call a truce and negotiate with the Government if the organisation was unbanned, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said yesterday.

## Nelson can be quoted in SA

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, may be quoted in South Africa, provided care is taken not to contravene the Prisons Act and those sections of the Unlawful Organisations Act incorporated into the new Internal Security Act.

Mandela is not included in any list under the omnibus Internal Security Act and the presumed total prohibition on quoting him does not exist in law. The Rand Daily Mail came to these conclusions after talking to Colonel Leon Mellet, liaison officer for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mr Andre Bosch, a Government advisor on security law, and a senior Johannesburg advocate who has made a thorough study of the subject.

Approached for comment last week shortly after Mandela was interviewed by the British peer, Lord Bethell, Col

Speaking in the House of Assembly during the No Confidence Debate, Mrs Suzman said Mandela told this to a British Conservative Party peer, Lord Nicholas Bethell, during a recent interview at Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town.

She said she believed it was important for the Government to be aware of what Mandela had said.

The interview, the first published since Mandela's conviction 21 years ago, was published in The Mail on Sunday in Britain at the weekend. It has not been published in South Africa.

Lord Bethell, a member of the European Parliament and vice-chairman of its human rights sub-committee, called for Mandela's immediate release.

In her speech yesterday, Mrs Suzman supported the call and said it would dramatically improve South Africa's position both internally and in the outside world.

The Government should also release other jailed ANC leaders such as Denis Goldberg and Govan Mbeki because more than 20 years in jail was retribution enough by any civilised standards, she said.

Mrs Suzman said she could not "go overboard"

## Overseas fares to

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Overseas up on Friday, February 1 and 10% with an increase 25% on one-way overseas

Mr Robert Carosin, TFC Tours travel agency, that the travel industry increases for some time, have been much higher and go up again.

Mr Carosin said that, cheapest ticket from Johannesburg and back had been R1 now be R1 137.

"The biggest cost to a going to London will still be dation at the other end. The down against almost every Western world," he said.

Mr Maurice Bower of vices said that the increase type of ticket, but that to return ticket was up 10% about 8%.





By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

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Approached for comment last week shortly after Mandela was interviewed by the British peer, Lord Bethell, Col Mellet said: "Mandela is not listed in terms of the Internal Security Act".

Mr Bosch confirmed Col Mellet's statement, but declined to comment on whether that meant Mandela could be quoted.

Statements made by Mandela before and since his imprisonment in 1964 would appear to be publishable, provided they are not used to further the aims of the outlawed African National Congress and provided they do not concern the offence for which he was sentenced (sabotage).

His now famous speech from the dock in the Rivonia trial of 1964 would, however, appear to be quotable because the Prisons Act permits quotation of statements submitted in evidence in a court.

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The Government should also release other jailed ANC leaders such as Denis Goldberg and Govan Mbeki because more than 20 years in jail was retribution enough by any civilised standards, she said.

Mrs Suzman said she could not "go overboard" about the Government's latest plan for black constitutional reform.

The plan, announced by the State President, Mr P W Botha, at the opening of Parliament last week, was ambiguous and contained the "obvious ploy" of creating a political division between rural and urban blacks.

She could also not help recalling that the Government had broken promises in the past both at home and abroad.

The Government had also shattered the hopes of South African businessmen who had attended the Carlton and Good Hope conferences and come away starry-eyed.

And every time there was a by-election which the Conservative Party

# ANC truce offer on hand

From Page 1

seemed to have a chance of winning, the Government retreated into the laager.

She warned the Government that it could no longer do this. Its time was running out.

Moves towards punitive economic action against South Africa had reached tidal wave proportions in the United States.

Even if some of the US Bills opposing economic and other ties with South Africa were dropped, future US investment in South Africa could be severely affected merely because the "hassle factor" would deter investors.

Mrs Suzman said it had to be remembered that the new Constitution was heralded as a "step in the right direction", but had contributed nothing towards better race relations in the country.

Last year the scene had been dominated by riots and school boycotts and actions by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that had undoubtedly added to the disastrous impression of South Africa gained by the outside world.

Mrs Suzman said "nebulous incremental" change would not save South Africa from isolation or improve race relations within the country.

A clear and unambiguous statement of intent by the Government that it would remove influx control, abandon plans for forced removals, return to a due process of law, release all people detained without trial and revoke all banning orders would have been more effective than what Mr Botha announced last week, she said.

"What I suggest is just for starters — to stem the tidal wave. Thereafter the Government must act with all deliberate speed to dismantle apartheid and move towards a system of government based on the consent of all South Africans." The PFP supported this line not because of foreign pressure, but because the party believed it was morally right, politically tenable and economically sound.

To Page 2



# The alternative to direct urban black rule

LONDON — Leading Southern Africa authority Professor William Gutteridge spells it out today.

Unless the South African Government returns to direct rule on urban black communities, he says, it may have no alternative but to negotiate eventually with United Democratic Front leaders and release jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Professor Gutteridge makes this point in the latest publication from the highly respected Institute for the Study of Conflict.

It comes within the framework of an argument concluding that South Africa is in a state of siege rather than a state of siege rather than revolution and that the Government will retain basic control through the 1980s with a mixture of reform and

By John D'Oliveira  
The Star Bureau

repression.

The price of relative stability in South Africa is going to be high, says Professor Gutteridge, and it will be hard to afford ... but the country has no realistic alternative.

Professor Gutteridge, emeritus professor of international studies at Birmingham's University of Aston, said the events of the last few months of 1984 demonstrated a total breakdown of Government communication with urban blacks.

This was the main problem facing the Government in its plans for further constitutional change, 1984 would prove to have been a watershed in modern South African history.

Events often violent in character began to push into the background the ideology of apartheid and even the rhetoric of Black Consciousness.

Whatever the deficiencies of the new constitution might be, it had changed the nature of South Africa's political processes and effectively focused attention on internal resistance and unrest.

It was probably an exaggeration on Bishop Desmond Tutu's part to suggest that the Government was in a panic.

However, the use by Ministers of the term "revolutionary climate" clearly indicated that they no longer felt themselves totally in control of events.

Reactions from outside South Africa could now be taken as a clear reflection of

its increased volatility.

British attitudes remained directly and fairly simplistically related to a high level of bilateral trade with and investment in South Africa.

However, a fundamental shift of opinion appeared to be taking place in the United States.

"If South Africa's Accord with Mozambique were to collapse and intransigence in Namibia at the same time continues," said Professor Gutteridge, "the United States policy of constructive engagement could easily be greatly modified, with important consequences for the South African economy."

Disinvestment was much more of an issue in the United States than in Britain and on the Continent.

Professor Gutteridge said the new era heralded by the

constitutional dispensation had begun in South Africa.

Already the repercussions of the formal change had created a level of uncertainty which only a dramatic move on black political participation could remove.

"This is unlikely to take shape in the near future," he added, "and thus almost everything depends on the capacity and the willingness of the reconstituted Government of South Africa, still based on white control, to institute real social reforms and create economic opportunities."

"This in turn is closely related to the future health of the economy which does not depend only on global recovery, nor just on the price of gold."



## INSIDE MAIL

WHEN it comes to proposing a place for blacks in his overall constitutional plans, President P W Botha resembles a poker player without new cards who must pretend his old cards are new ones.

Nearly all the proposals mooted by Mr Botha in his address to Parliament last week were not new initiatives but reformulations of already rejected or abandoned ideas.

One of the key items was the establishment of a "informal statutory forum" for discussion of constitutional matters with invited black leaders.

But as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was quick to point out, the forum is but the jettisoned Black Advisory Council in new garb.

When blacks were excluded from the old President's Council in 1979, they were offered a separate "advisory council" as a platform or forum where they could formulate proposals on how they should be accommodated politically and constitutionally.

Blacks, however, overwhelmingly rejected the advisory council... whose members, like those of the new forum, would have been nominated by the ruling whites rather than elected by their own people.

In August 1980, Mr Botha, who was then Prime Minister, announced that his Administration would not proceed with the advisory council.

It is difficult to see why the new forum-cum-advisory council should be more acceptable to blacks in today's political climate of heightened tension and greater expectations.

Another concept mooted by Mr Botha in his address was the establishment of an intermediate stage between partial self-government and full independence for the black "homelands".

The idea of greater autonomy for the homelands, which stops short of full sovereignty, represents an attempt to resolve the impasse in which the Botha Administration finds itself.

The goal of official policy for the "homelands" remains independence, as Mr Botha noted in his speech.

But at least half of the designated "homelands" still

spurn it, among them KwaZulu, numerically the largest.

The creation of "further stages of autonomy," as Mr Botha labelled the stages between partial self-government and independence, might be interpreted as a calculated bid to lure "homelands" further along the independence road.

But it is not a new idea: it was previously put before Parliament in the form of

a Bill in 1977 after the township rebellion of 1976.

The 1977 Bill provided for the establishment of "internally autonomous homelands," which were empowered to give their heads of state any title they wished — including, presumably, the title of "president" — and to pass any laws deemed necessary for "internal peace, order and good government".

In his speech, Mr Botha disclosed that the special Cabinet Committee on blacks outside the "homelands" had investigated, and made recommendations on, the controversial question of citizenship.

Mr Botha did not reveal further details, except to emphasise that "clarity must be reached soon on the question of citizenship".

Citizenship as it pertains to South Africa's blacks is,

of course, one of the most controversial aspects of prevailing policy, largely because of its denationalisation provisions.

In terms of this policy, blacks deemed to be citizens of the "independent homelands" were stripped of South African nationality when their designated "homelands" accepted Pretoria's offer of independence.

Mr Botha's commitment to re-examination of the question of citizenship co-



PRESIDENT BOTHA ... poker player without any new cards

# PW's promises are all old hat

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

RAM 31/1/85  
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Mr Botha's commitment to re-examination of the question of citizenship co-

incided with reports that his Administration is considering introducing a form of dual citizenship. But, again, the idea of dual citizenship is not new. It was investigated in 1980 by a special committee appointed by Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, the then chairman of the President's Council, and headed by Professor Charles Nieuwoudt, of the University of Pretoria.

The proposal considered at the time was a dual citizenship in which all South Africans would have a common, confederal citizenship, embracing the right to South African nationality, as well as a second-tier citizenship tying them to their designated "homelands".

But the idea was rejected by the committee, largely because of conservative white opposition.

It remains to be seen whether Mr Botha's planners can breathe new life into the discarded dual citizenship concept and then "sell" it to blacks, who are increasingly demanding equal citizenship rights without any qualifying "ifs" or "buts".

Mr Botha further undertook to oversee the removal of "negative and discriminatory" aspects of influx control.

His pledge revokes a similar promise a decade ago from then Prime Minister John Vorster. That promise turned out to be the prelude to tightened influx control and heavy fines for employers of blacks living unlawfully in prescribed urban areas.

Mr Botha also expressed his determination to resolve the problems raised by relocation of blacks to the "greater satisfaction of all those concerned".

His words again recall the past, in this case the statement by former Minister of Co-operation and Development Dr Piet Koornhof that there would be no more forced removals "as far as humanly possible".

Mr Botha's willingness to sympathetically consider granting freehold rights to blacks in townships in white-designated South Africa represents a breakthrough, however.

But his emphasis that extension of property rights is not the inevitable prelude to full franchise rights is another warning that the restraining hand of the dead past is still very much on his shoulder.

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# blacks — Motlana repolies

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**Question:** How do you see the President's speech? Have you taken 'cautious encouragement' from it as initially reported?

**Answer:** The President made a bland statement. What could I have found encouraging about it. It lacked everything that could be called a statement of intent. Mr Botha might have tried to placate his rightwing by being vague. But what has it left us, the black people?

It was a vague and highly qualified statement. He could have said all blacks could qualify for freehold tenure. Yet, he qualified it by saying it would apply only to those who qualified for leasehold rights. And we all know how difficult it is to even get leasehold.

## Debating society

I don't know what this debating society is that he is offering us where the Government is supposed to talk to invited blacks. We've been doing that since 1910. We don't need it.

In black society the statements have been rejected almost with contempt. For the moment it has given us no hope whatsoever. We'll have to see what the enabling legislation on freehold rights and influx control says.

**Q:** What do you think would break the logjam between white and black?

**A:** Many black people have said to me to break the logjam, to end mistrust, the government needs to do something dramatic.

I suggest two minor things that could be done towards that end and that would not affect the power structure — in other words white minority rule. The government needs to say:

'We abolish the pass laws with all their ramifications forthwith,' and 'We abolish the Group Areas Act forthwith.'

If it is prepared to do that it will create so much goodwill that it will be possible to start negotiations towards a constitutional agreement. Many blacks would sit down and talk. But that is the bottomline — abolition of the Group Areas Act and the pass laws.

I was once invited by Dr Piet Koornhof to serve on a regional committee for urban blacks. Before agreeing, I called a public meeting to consult the ordinary people. There were two things they said should be done before I could serve on the committee: first abolish the Group Areas Act and the pass laws.

The question is whether the government has the political courage to do that.

The problem is that the longer they delay, the more difficult it will become for negotiations. Black demands are growing, not diminishing. First

**PRESIDENT P W BOTHA'S** pronouncements on black freehold rights, citizenship and influx control and his offer to them of a negotiating forum have sparked major political interest. Argus Political Editor LEON MARSHALL spoke to Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of Sowe-to's Committee of Ten and key black political figure on the Reef, on how he saw the President's statements.



Dr Nthato Motlana



President P W Botha

they demanded one department of education, not caring whether it was under a white minister or not. Now there are already those demanding not only one department but also that the minister should be black.

One thing there should be no

misunderstanding about, we'll not go to the negotiating table carrying our passes.

The Government must show its bona fides first. We've been negotiating too long.

**Q:** But wouldn't some blacks be prepared to go to the negotiating forum anyway?

other circumstances would have meant something. But the people they give such concessions to are themselves rejected. Thus, what they come with is also rejected.

Why call a puppet to say 'we're giving you freehold rights and this and that'? Why can people with doctorates from Oxford not learn? Why make concessions to puppets? Why give things to them which other people have died and suffered for?

**Q:** In what context then did you use the words 'cautiously optimistic' when first approached on the President's remarks?

## Mirage

**A:** I am cautiously optimistic, yes, but only because I see the Government slowly and painfully coming to grips with reality. The mirage they saw of one day reversing the stream of blacks to the urban areas has disappeared.

**Q:** Do you think the President's offer of negotiation might eventually cause a division in black politics, with some — say the ANC — favouring talks and others — say Azapo — continuing to reject it?

**A:** The debating chamber offered to us is almost laughable. We're all working for power, equality, one man one vote. We'll stand united on these things. There will be no real split in black society as long as that remains our common aim.

You see, it is Government policies that unite us.



## Parliament and Politics

# DWP 'squabble' meeting

Political Staff

AN URGENT executive meeting of the fledgling Democratic Workers' Party (DWP) tonight will attempt to resolve an internal party squabble affecting its status as the official Opposition in the House of Representatives (Coloured).

The party has been plagued by serious differences among executive members on the vacant nomination to the President's Council (PC). These differences have seriously threatened the party's political future.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Dawood Adams, national secretary of the DWP, said he had informed the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Johan Greef, that the two

DWP MPs, Mr Anver Essop for Nuwaveland and Mr Yusuf Rhoda of Bokkeveld, were not empowered to submit any names for nominations for the PC post.

In an interview yesterday, Mr Denis de la Cruz, DWP leader and leader of the Opposition in the Coloured house, denied earlier reports that Mr Rhoda had deserted the party.

This was confirmed during by both Mr Rhoda and Mr Essop.

Mr Rhoda admitted he had "bodily expelled" Mr Morris Fynn, the DWP national chairman, and Mr Adams from his office this week.

The internal squabbles had also led to the party's bank account being frozen, Mr De la Cruz said.



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# Violence pact

House of Assembly

House of Assembly

## Mandela release subject to non-

CHIEF TALKS 1/2/88

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — The South African Government was prepared to consider the release of the former African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said here yesterday.

The offer was conditional to a commitment by Mr Mandela not to make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political aims, Mr Botha said.

He was speaking near the end of the no confidence debate and said Mr Mandela would have to undertake to conduct himself "in such a way that he will not have to be arrested".

"It is not the South African Government which now stands in the way of Mr Mandela's freedom," he said.

"The choice is his. All that is requested from him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument, a norm which is respected in all civilized countries of the world."

Mr Botha referred to a recent visit paid to the jailed leader by the British peer, Lord Bethell, who is also a British member of the European Parliament and a member of the European Working Group on Human Rights.

Lord Bethell had asked for Mr Mandela's release, as had many others, including President Kaizer.

Mantanzima of the Transkei.

Lord Bethell and the Mail on Sunday, which published his findings on visits to two South African prisons and Mr Mandela, had requested the release of Mr Mandela.

"They are neither the first nor the only ones to make such a request to the South African Government."

"Two eminent black leaders, President Mantanzima and Chief Minister Buthelezi (of Kwa-

Mr P W Botha: "The government is prepared to give sympathetic consideration to President Mantanzima's requests, but it seems that Mr Mandela and his associates prefer to stay in prison rather than being released in their country of origin."

Zulu), also called on me to sentences in South Africa, released in Transkei."

"In fact, President Mantanzima has for years been appealing to the South African Government to have Mr Mandela and a number of other citizens of the Transkei, who are serving prison and their families with

suitable houses in order to resume a normal family life."

"He also indicated that these people would not act contrary to provisions of any law should they be released," Mr Botha said.

"The government is prepared to give sympathetic consideration to President Mantanzima's requests, but it seems that Mr Mandela and his associates prefer to stay in prison rather than being released in their country of origin."

"My government is not insensitive to the fact that Mr Mandela and others have spent a very long time in prison, even though they were duly convicted in open court."

Even Lord Bethell had rejected the ANC and unreservedly rejected violence as a means to achieving political aims.

"As I have indicated, the government is willing to consider Mr Mandela's release, but I am sure that Parliament will understand that we cannot do so if Mr Mandela himself says that the moment he leaves prison he will continue with his commitment to violence," Mr Botha said.

"All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument. This is, after all, a norm which is respected in all civilized countries of the world," Mr Botha said.

Mrs Helen Suzman, (PFP Houghton) asked Mr

Botha whether this offer applied to other prisoners apart from Mr Mandela.

He replied that it did, as did the conditions for release.

● On Wednesday in the House of Assembly the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, responded to current speculation — that the government was considering releasing the jailed ANC leader — by describing calls for his release as "an old ANC story". — Sapa



MR NELSON Mandela, the jailed African National Congress leader, is unlikely to accept President P W Botha's release offer unless the ANC is legalised.

This was the impression in political circles today following Mr Botha's statement in Parliament yesterday that the Government would consider the release of Mr Mandela provided he unconditionally rejects violence as a political instrument.

A source close to Mr Mandela today also pointed out that he had consistently maintained that, unless the ANC was legalised, what the movement calls its "armed struggle" would continue.

In Government circles, too, there were doubts about whether Mr Mandela would accept the President's condition.

### Offer to ANC

He will not be willing to cut himself off from the ANC by accepting conditions for his own release.

On the other hand, the Government recently made an offer to the ANC that it would be willing to talk if it abandoned violence as a policy.

Nationalist politicians pointed out today that a recent article by Lord Nicholas Bethel on a visit to Mr Mandela gave the impression that Mr Mandela still supported the "armed struggle".

According to that article, which was published in a British newspaper, that was why the human rights organisation Amnesty would not campaign for his release.

But there has also been a suggestion that he would be willing to have the ANC call a truce while it was negotiating with the Government.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, has said that Mr Botha's speech would be relayed to Mr Mandela and others in jail.

### Cause of violence

When questioned by Mrs Helen Suzman MP in the Assembly yesterday Mr Botha said his offer could be extended to certain other political prisoners.

She said: "It should be understood that South Africa has much to gain if Mandela is free. It would remove a major rallying point against this country."

Mrs Suzman said that some of the other prisoners she had in mind to be covered by Mr Botha's offer were a number sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 at the Rivonia sabotage trial, such as Dennis Goldberg, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, A Kathrada and Raymond Mhlaba.

Others sentenced to life at that trial were Elias Matsaedi and Andrew Mlangeni.

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, welcomed Mr Botha's announcement.

He said: "This is a far more reasonable and tolerant attitude than has been the case before. The final choice as to what Mr Mandela should do about this offer is, of course, his own."

"It is significant that the offer is extended to other so-called political prisoners as well. I believe it would be appropriate for the State President to apply this approach to banned individuals and organisations such as the ANC and PAC."

"If this is combined with a clear programme of action to dismantle apartheid and discrimination, I believe the climate for the politics of negotiation rather than confrontation and violence will improve dramatically."

Mr Allen Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, welcomed the move but said it was regrettable to note from the President's announcement that Mr Mandela was apparently still committed to violence.

Meanwhile, the United States has expressed the hope that the South African Government will engage in a dialogue with the ANC.

# Mandela unlikely to accept P W offer

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

AKS 1/2/85

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## Botha's offer to Mandela

From Page 1

along these lines, we in the ANC would declare a truce."

The leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said Mr Botha's offer was a far more reasonable and tolerant attitude than the Government had shown in the past.

He said Mr Botha should apply the same approach to banned individuals and organisations such as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Mr Suzman, who has campaigned for Mandela's release for many years, said assuming that Mr Botha's offer to the jailed ANC leaders carried no conditions other than an abandonment of violence, then their non-violent opposition to apartheid could continue.

"I hope it is in this light that Mandela and the others will consider the offer and make their decisions," she said.

But sources close to the ANC leadership in Lusaka rejected the offer.

The Lusaka source said the decision was up to Mandela, but the ANC was not satisfied with Mr Botha's conditions.

The national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Terror Lekota, said the UDF wanted Mandela's unconditional release. If he accepted the offer, he would have to distance himself from the ANC.

In a statement in Cape Town, the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said according to recent authoritative sources, including the Minister of law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mandela had in no way renounced violence as a political weapon.

● The Rand Daily Mail yesterday applied as required by law to the Prisons Department for permission to publish a photograph of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, but the request was refused.

# Symbol of apartheid

By ANTON HARBER  
Political Reporter

AFTER 22 years in prison, Nelson Mandela has become more than a political figure. He has become an international symbol of the fight against apartheid and the suppression of that fight by the National Party Government.

Today, his face and his personality are hardly known to South Africans. For 22 years, none of his words have been published in the country and even his photograph may not be published.

Yet this has not prevented him from becoming a major symbol, the subject of numerous local and international campaigns and the recipient of many international honours.

He has even had the unusual distinction of being the subject of a hit song, "Free Nelson Mandela", which made a number of European hit parades last year. It was banned in South Africa.

Rhulihlala "Nelson" Mandela was born into the Tembu Royal House in the Transkei in 1918. Like so many major African leaders, he studied at Fort Hare University from 1938, although he was expelled after two years for his part in a student protest.

He moved to Johannesburg where he studied law by correspondence and later at the University of the Witwatersrand.

When young members of the African National Congress formed the Youth League in 1944, they included in their numbers some of the men who would come to dominate black politics for the next few decades.

Apart from Mandela, they included Mr Oliver Tambo, current president of the ANC in exile, Mr Robert Sobukwe, who became president of the PAC, and some of the men jailed with Mandela, such as Walter Sisulu.

The Youth League played a key role in radicalising and "Africanising" the ANC during the late 1940s and early 1950s, replacing the moderate leadership of Dr A B Xuma with that of Dr James Moroka.

Although Mandela at first played a subordinate role in the Youth League, he was named national secretary in 1948 and in

By JEANETTE MINNIE  
ON APRIL 20, 1964, the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, made a statement from the dock during the Rivonia Trial at the Supreme Court in Pretoria.

Extracts from the statement were reported in the Rand Daily Mail the following day. These are some extracts from that report:

● Mr Mandela said: "During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white

domination and I have fought against black domination."

● Africans wanted a share in the whole of South Africa. They wanted security and a stake in society.

Above all they wanted political rights. The whites' fear of granting these could not be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which would guarantee racial

## RELAXING THE RULES OF PRISON

Mall Reporter

THERE has been a relaxation of visiting and other restrictions placed on Nelson Mandela in the past 18 months.

● In about July last year, he was allowed his first contact visit with his wife Winnie since his imprisonment.

● In about September last year he was allowed his first contact visit with his daughter Zinzi.

● In about October last year, he was al-

lowed his first private visit and non-family friend. He is Mr Benjamin Pogrand, editor of the Rand Daily Mail.

● He was also allowed another nature shortly afterwards by Professor H W van der Merwe at the Abe Bailey Centre for Studies at the University of

● He has also recently been allowed to listen to radio broadcasts.

1949 the youthful trio of himself, Tambo and Sisulu joined the ANC national executive committee.

Mandela and Tambo later opened up a joint legal practice in Johannesburg.

Tom Lodge, an academic and author of a recent book on black politics, described him thus: "Mandela was a tall, aristocratic-looking man with a remote but commanding personality. He had not been one of its (the Youth League's) main theorists, despite his intellectual abilities."

"In the events which followed the ANC's adoption of the Programme of Action, Mandela would prove himself to be a pragmatic and astute strategist."

American academic, Professor Gwendolyn Carter, described him thus: "Tall, athletic, with a commanding bearing and dominating personality".

At first he was known, like many of the Youth League leaders, as being distrustful of links with the Communist Party and the SA Indian Congress. However, he later changed these views and became a prime proponent of a broad, united opposition to the Government.

In late 1950, he was elected national president of the Youth League and in the Defiance Campaign in 1952 was volunteer-in-chief.

As a result, he appeared in the dock at the first of his many trials. This time he was given a nine-month suspended sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act and was banned for six months.

Despite his banning, which prevented him from leaving Johannesburg and holding any public meetings, he held the position of national deputy president of the ANC under Chief Albert Luthuli.

However, a new banning in 1955 restricted him by forcing him to leave the ANC for

For a long period in the 1950s he exercised a key leadership role entirely in secret. He oversaw the implementation of the M-Plan, which

tempted to decentralise and split the organisation into an extensive network in anticipation of Government repression of the organisation.

The M-Plan was in fact his plan.

From 1956, he was one of the defendants in the massive Treason Trial and others — had to wait until 1961 before he was finally acquitted.

During the 1960 emergency and its rival offshoot, the R Congress, were banned.

When Mandela's own banning began in 1963, he made a statement at the historic All-In Africa Conference in Natal and called for the advent of the Republic with a three-day, stay-at-home strike.

He went underground to avoid arrest — acquiring the pseudonym "Black Pimpernel" — and continued his leadership of the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

## What Mandela said during

domination and I have fought against black domination for all.

● Mr Mandela said: "The Government has always sought to label all its opponents as communists. But, as I will show, the ANC is not and never has been a communist organisation."

● The fight of the African people was against real and not imaginary hardships. Basically they fought against two features which

were entrenched by legislation. The one was poverty and the other the loss of human dignity. No 'agitators' were needed to teach the African people these things.

● Mr Mandela said: "I planned it (sabotage) as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppres-



# d struggle

## Rule of the gun, says Meer

Mail Correspondent

DURBAN. — Dr Farouk Meer, acting president of the Natal Indian Congress, said President P W Botha should first renounce the violence perpetrated by his Government on the people of South Africa before calling on Nelson Mandela to renounce violence.

"Mandela always believed in peaceful change and he only resorted to violence when all peaceful options became closed to him because of the policies of the Nationalist Government.

"The South African state exists not by the consent of its people but by the rule of the gun.

"If there is a clear commitment to move away from apartheid, security laws are repealed, exiled leaders are allowed to return and freedom of speech is restored, then we are sure Nelson Mandela will be only too pleased to renounce violence."

Mr Imran Moosa, publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, said last night that the organisation saw no reason for conditions to be attached to the release of any political prisoner.

Azapo had always maintained that the Government had absolutely no right to imprison anybody for their political views.

## Nelson, Winnie and Biko blocks

London Bureau

LONDON. — The banned ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie are to be honoured by having blocks in a major Hertfordshire housing estate named after them.

The Labour Party controlled Watford council also wants to honour Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko's memory by naming a block after him.

The majority Labour group of councillors will give final approval to the

# On violence: words of the ANC leader

Mail Reporter

NELSON MANDELA'S current position on violence is contained in an interview published on Sunday in the British newspaper The Mail on Sunday.

The interview was conducted by Lord Nicholas Bethell, a British Member of the European Parliament, who became the first journalist to publish an interview with Nelson Mandela since he was imprisoned almost 21 years ago.

This is what Mr Mandela told Lord Bethell during an interview at Pollsmoor Prison:

"The armed struggle was forced on us by the Government. And if they want us to give it up, the ball is in their court. They must legalise us, treat us like a political party and negotiate with us. Until they do, we will have to live with the armed struggle.

"It is useless simply to carry on talking. The Government has tightened the screws too far. Of course, if there were to be talks along these lines, we in the ANC would declare a truce.

"Meanwhile we are forced to continue, though within certain limits. We go for hard targets only, mili-



MR ISMAIL AYOB  
Mandela's lawyer

tary installations and the symbols of apartheid. Civilians must not be touched.

"This is why I regret what happened in Pretoria on May 23, 1983. A bomb went off and more than a dozen civilians were killed. Something must have gone wrong with the timing. It was a tragic accident.

"The aim for buildings and property. So it may be that someone gets killed in a fight, in the heat of battle, but we do not believe in assassinations. I would not want our men to assassinate, for instance, the major here. But all this can end as soon as talks begin. It would be humiliating though for us simply to lay down our arms unconditionally."

Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, asked to comment on the latest offer, said the jailed ANC leader had always been consistent in his views that the ANC's armed struggle would continue until the ANC was legalised, treated like a political party and the Government negotiated with it, reports ANTON HARBER.

Mr Ayob added: "Mr Botha said that Mandela and his associates preferred to stay in prison rather than be released in their country of origin. Mandela's view would be that his country of origin is South Africa, not a homeland."

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sion of my people by the  
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● Strict instructions were  
given to Umkhonto (we  
Sizwe) that they were on no  
account to kill or injure  
people in their attacks.  
Umkhonto members were  
forbidden to go into opera-  
tion carrying arms.

● They believed that unless  
responsible leadership  
were given to canalise and

In December 1961, Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the ANC, began its campaign of sabotage. Mandela evaded arrest until August 1962, when he was jailed for five years for incitement and leaving the country illegally.

The following year, he was brought from prison for the famous Rivonia Trial. Along with Sisulu and others, he admitted guilt and was jailed for life for guerrilla activity and for being a member of the high command of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Mandela's second wife, Winnie, has also remained in the world spotlight. In 1970, she and 19 others were charged and acquitted under the Terrorism Act.

She was first banned in Soweto and later banished to the small Free State town of Brandfort.

Mandela has received numerous international awards and honorary degrees. Numerous campaigns have made him probably the most famous political prisoner in the world.

In 1981, a Johannesburg newspaper, the Sunday Post, launched a Free Mandela petition. In 1982, Free Mandela Committees were launched around the country and they put the issue of the imprisonment of Mandela and others on the political agenda.

In spite of his age, Mandela is apparently in good health, rising before dawn every morning to do two hours of exercise.

Mandela has reportedly had many offers of conditional release, but appears to have snubbed them all.

It is understood that Mr Jimmy Kruger, then Minister of Justice, visited Mandela and made him an offer as early as 1977.

Last year, Mr Kaizer Matanzima, Prime Minister of the Transkei and a nephew of Mandela by Tembo custom, apparently made an offer of conditional release, provided Mandela would stay in his territory.

The offer was reported to have been repeated late last year.

In April last year, he said through his lawyers: "If the ANC is legalised and participates in the constitutional development of the country, then there is no need for violence, but the conditions which led up to violence must be removed."

control the feelings of the people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of the country.

Secondly, they felt that as all lawful methods of expressing opposition to the principle of white supremacy had been closed, sabotage provided the African people with their only means of defying the Government. The alternative was to accept a permanent state of inferiority.



UK backs plan to release Mandela

# ANC leaders included in freedom offer

RMS 1/2/85

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By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN.

AS THE CONSIDERABLE implications of the Government's offer to release Nelson Mandela and other jailed ANC leaders became apparent last night, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, called for the ban on Mrs Winnie Mandela to be lifted.

And in an unusually swift reaction, reports JOHN BATTERSBY from London, the British Government last night gave its backing to the offer, in terms of which the jailed ANC leaders would first have to unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument.

A Foreign Office spokesman said the release of Mandela "would be widely welcomed as evidence of the desire for reconciliation in South Africa."

"The British Government has consistently called for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa — including Nelson Mandela," the spokesman said.

Mrs Suzman said she believed Mandela's

● Symbol of the struggle  
— See Page 7

decision on the offer would be favourably influenced should Mrs Mandela be unbanned.

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Replying to a question from Mrs Suzman, he said the offer applied to other jailed ANC leaders as well.

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## Still playing the traffic





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"The Government is ... willing to consider Mr Mandela's release in the Republic of South Africa on condition that Mr Mandela gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives, but will conduct himself in such a way that he will not again have to be arrested," Mr Botha said.

He said he was sure Parliament would understand that Mandela could not be released should he say that the moment he left prison he would "continue with his commitment to violence".

"It is therefore not the South African Government which now stands in the way of Mr Mandela's freedom. It is he himself. The choice is his.

"All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument. This is, after all, a norm which is respected in all civilised countries of the world," Mr Botha said.

On Wednesday, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, seemed to rule out any possibility of Mandela's release. He said calls to free the ANC leader were "an old ANC story".

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, told the House that the offer would be conveyed to the jailed ANC leaders, and their reactions would be passed on to the Government.

A week ago, Mandela told a visiting British Peer: "The armed struggle was forced on us by the Government. And if they want us to give it up, the ball is in their court. They must legalise us, treat us like a political party and negotiate with us. Until they do, we will have to live with the armed struggle.

"Of course, if there were to be talks

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# ANC rebuff on Mandela offer

Cape Times 1/2/85



Dr. Slabbert ... reasonable attitude



Mr P W Botha ... the choice is his

## Political Staff

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, announced during the no-confidence debate yesterday that he was willing to consider releasing ANC leader Nelson Mandela provided he unconditionally rejected a strategy of violence.

However, ANC sources said it was up to the South African Government to renounce violence first.

Mr Botha said the offer was conditional on Mandela giving a commitment that "he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives".

"It is therefore not the South African Government which now stands in the way of Mr Mandela's freedom. It is he himself. The choice is his. All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument."

● STANLEY UYS reports from London that sources close to the ANC leadership in Lusaka do not expect Mandela to accept the offer.

### 'Made it clear'

The sources said Mandela had made it clear that he was not prepared to accept a conditional release.

They said the ANC view was that the "apartheid State" had been responsible for violence in South Africa and that the ANC simply responded to this violence by launching the armed struggle.

It was up to the South African Government, therefore, to renounce violence first.

However, the sources said President Botha's offer yesterday was an advance on the earlier offer to release Mandela provided he accepted confinement in Transkei.

The President's offer follows repeated calls both at home and abroad for the jailed leader's release, and the disclosure earlier this week that Mandela was prepared to call a truce and negotiate with the government if the ANC was unbanned.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said later that Mandela and other political prisoners would be given a copy of Mr Botha's speech and any reaction from them would reach the government through official channels.

● JOHN BATTERSBY reported from London that the British Government last night gave its backing to the offer.

In an unusually swift reaction, a Foreign Office spokesman said the British Government would welcome Mandela's release.

"We believe that Nelson Mandela's release would be widely welcomed as evidence of the desire for reconciliation in South Africa."

"The British Government has consistently called for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa—including Nelson Mandela," the spokesman said.

### Condition endorsed

British Government sources made it clear, however, that they condemned violence in South Africa from which-ever quarter it came—thereby endorsing President Botha's condition that Mandela would have to reject unconditionally violence as a political instrument.

Reaction within South Africa to Mr Botha's offer has generally been positive, although spokesmen for a number of parties have suggested that it ought to be accompanied by an assurance that apartheid would be dismantled.

The national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said the UDF had doubts as to the "practicality" of the conditions set for Mandela's release.

### 'All prisoners'

"In our judgement, only the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the dismantling of apartheid structures will bring about stability and peace in South Africa."

The media convener of the Cape Action League, Mr Armen Abrahams, said CAL had no comment on Mr Botha's statement "except to say that we support demands for the unconditional release of all political prisoners".

● Dr Farouk Meer, acting president of the Natal Indian Congress, said President Botha should first renounce the violence perpetrated by his government on the people of South Africa.

"Mandela always believed in peaceful change and he only resorted to violence when all peaceful options became closed to him because of the policies of the Nationalist government."

"If there is a clear com-



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Carl Tey Jr.  
1/1/85

From page 1

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mitment to move away from apartheid, security laws are repealed, exiled leaders are allowed to return and freedom of speech is restored, then we are sure Nelson Mandela will be only too pleased to renounce violence."

● Mr Imran Moosa, publicity secretary of the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo), said last night that the organization saw no reason for any conditions to be attached to the release of any political prisoner.

Azapo had always maintained that the government had no right to imprison anybody for their political views.

● The PFP's veteran civil-rights campaigner, Mrs Helen Suzman, said she hoped the offer would open the door to a new era of non-violent opposition to apartheid.

"Of course, if the government were to accept the truce offer by Mandela in exchange for the unbanning of the ANC, then South Africa would be even closer to negotiating with a leader accepted by black people."

● The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, welcomed the "far more reasonable and tolerant attitude" being shown by the government towards political prisoners.

"I believe it would be extremely appropriate if the government applied

this approach to banned individuals and organizations like the ANC and the PAC.

"If this is combined with a programme of action to dismantle apartheid and discrimination, I believe a climate for the politics of negotiation rather than confrontation and violence will improve dramatically."

● The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, welcomed the move but said it was "regrettable to note that according to the State President, Mr Mandela was still committed to the question of social change by means of violence".

● The chairman of the opposition Solidarity party in the House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingham, said Mandela could be assured that there would be "genuine reform", and called for the general amnesty of all political prisoners and the lifting of banning orders.

● The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said Mandela was a "self-proclaimed communist" and it was consequently not in the interest of State security that his release be considered.

● The secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, welcomed the President's offer.



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# Political forum 'could make big contribution'

Post Reporter

THE political forum recently announced by the State President, Mr P W Botha, could make an invaluable contribution to constitutional progress in South Africa, says the chief executive officer of the Urban Foundation, Mr Jan Steyn.

However, much depended on its structure, the absence of any pre-conditions and the climate which it created through its activities, he said.

Mr Steyn said the Urban Foundation had long believed that "a viable system of (black) local Government could be the

cornerstone of an evolving constitutional dispensation".

He said the State President's reaffirmation of this principle was welcomed, especially in view of the fact that it were clearly emphasised that these structures were not to be regarded as a ceiling, but as a point of departure for political participation and a say at higher levels.

In welcoming the forum "as a communication channel to supplement the activities of the Special Cabinet Committee", he said opportunities in South Africa for constructive dialogue between black and white

were rare.

He said the problem with the Special Cabinet Committee was that it was seen as a Government institution operating within the framework of Government policy.

Mr Steyn said he regretted that the fact that the forum was chaired by a political figure — from whatever party — could reduce its acceptability as an effective instrument for change.

He said the symbolic importance of freehold title rights for blacks "cannot be overestimated".

"It will not be wise to delay the imple-

mentation of this major step forward which eliminates one of the remaining aspects of institutionalised discrimination," he said.

He said influx control had a serious negative effect on race relations and was a constant affront to human dignity.

Mr Steyn also welcomed the important reference to a central Ministry of National Education responsible for policy and standards for all population groups, saying he was sure it would be welcomed by educational authorities, teachers, parents and pupils alike.



# ANC leaders

BY ANTON HARBER  
Political Reporter

## Govt silent on names of 'other' jailed

THE Government was not saying yesterday which jailed ANC leaders other than Nelson Mandela would receive their offer of conditional freedom.

And a spokesman for the Mandela family said that if Nelson Mandela wanted to react to the Government's offer of conditional freedom, he should be allowed to do so directly and not through an intermediary.

It is believed that the offer will include at least the seven men jailed with Mandela in the famous Rivonia trial.

When Mr P W Botha, the State President, made the offer in Parliament on Thursday, he said it applied to the other ANC leaders as well, but did not specify which.

Spokesmen for the State President, the Department of Justice and the SA Prison Services were unable to say yesterday who was included in the offer.

However, Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokesman on Law and Order, who originally asked Mr Botha in Parliament if the offer applied to the other ANC leaders, said yesterday that she thought it included at the very minimum those jailed with Mandela.

This would include:

- Walter Sisulu, originally from the Transkei and a former secretary-general of the ANC. Sisulu was a key leader of the ANC in the late 1940s and 1950s, who — like Mandela — moved from being a firm "Africanist" and anti-communist to a major proponent of broad political unity. He is 73 years old and his health is rumoured to be uncertain.
- Govan Mbeki, also a former member of the Umkhonto we Sizwe High Command, is at 74 the oldest of the Rivonia trialists. His health is also reported to be uncertain. A former journalist, he is known for views that are more left-wing than many of the other ANC leaders.
- Denis Goldberg, 51, was the only white convicted during the Rivonia trial. A member of the Umkhonto High Command, he was also known for strong left-wing convictions.
- Ahmed Kathrada, 54, who played an important role in the Defiance Campaign of 1952. He served an earlier sentence and a severe banning order, before going underground to join Umkhonto and being arrested at Rivonia.
- Elias Mokoaleli, 60, was a trade unionist who served briefly as chairman of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions. He also sat on the Transvaal provincial executive of the ANC and joined Umkhonto in 1962.

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This would include:

- Andrew Mlangeni, 58, a former ANC regional secretary. At the Rivonia trial, he admitted carrying messages for Umkhonto, but denied being a member.
- Ramond Mthlaba, 64, from Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape. He was an active trade unionist and a member of the Communist Party. He was a member of the Cape executive of the ANC before its banning.
- Mr Ismail Ayob, a Johannesburg attorney who acts for the Mandela family, said yesterday: "Surely Mandela should be entitled to be heard directly?"
- Previously, Mandela has had to reply through his lawyer or a member of his family. He has not been allowed visitors from the Press and until recently could not be quoted.
- Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday issued a strong statement on the conditional offer to her husband.
- However, Mrs Mandela is banned and may not be quoted in South Africa.
- Mrs Mandela has received special permission in terms of her banning order to leave the small Orange Free State town of Brandfort tomorrow.
- She will be in Soweto to attend the funeral of her sister, Mrs Iris Niki Xaba



# Warrants out for 4 leaders

Mali Reporter

THE POLICE have issued warrants of arrest for Mr Thami Mali and three other persons who failed to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this week on charges under the Internal Security Act relating to economic sabotage.

Mr Mali was the chairman of the Transvaal Stayaway Committee which last year organised a successful two-day work stayaway involving up to 800 000 workers.

The three other people who failed to appear in court are Mr Temba Nontlantanane, an organiser of the Municipal and General Workers' Union of SA; Mr Oupa Monareng, president of the Soweto Youth Congress, and Mr Peter Makgoba.

The men are out on R2 000 bail each.

The failure of the four men to appear in court this week has led to speculation that they may have left the country.

● A fifth accused, Mr Moses Mayekiso, Transvaal secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, appeared this week.



C. Herald 2/2/85

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# Council vote was 'arbitrary'

IN their open letter the four chairman express their "extreme disappointment and disgust" at their treatment and voice their "extreme displeasure at the very antagonistic comment and emotional outbursts" directed at the Management Committees.

They go on to say that they were denied access to tapes of the debate.

The open letter goes on to say: "However, notwithstanding the 'lily white' image which your Council is attempting to project we are not fooled by this facade as any intrusion into the 'white' laager by people other than white will be stoutly rejected because of vested interests and therefore we view your discussion... as hypocritical and cowardly."

"(It) was adopted under unfair advantage in the seclusion of a full Council meeting. Why (they) could not be present when invited to the Management Committees/Executive Committee meeting on December 17 1984 to put their views and to have these challenged is beyond comprehension. No, rather those concerned chose the cowardly way out to give vent to their emotions (for this is all that it is) behind the protective skirts of the Council sitting."

"There is also a strong streak of hypoc-

**MANAGEMENT Committees exist in a twilight world: widely rejected by the people they purport to serve (coloureds and Indians) and often snubbed by the people they are supposed to advise (white City and Town Councils). The Cape Town City Council's recent move to disregard new regulations aimed at "improving relations between Management Committees and local authorities" drew an angry reaction from the chairmen of the Athlone, Rylands, Wynberg and Kensington committees, which fall under the control of the Cape Town City Council. They have now written an open letter to the Council stating that the provisions of the Regulations — those relating to improvement of communication — were not followed. The consensus required by the regulations, say the chairmen, was not reached — and the Council eventually gave the thumbs-down to wider co-operation with the management committees.**

risy in the decision when one views the disparaging remarks passed by certain Councillors. These Councillors referred to the low percentage poll in Management Committee elections, a fact which is not disputed but could be defended, if need be.

"The true question which really should be posed should not centre round the percentage poll cast but rather be asked 'when does the elected candidate have the full support of the ward he represents?' Is it not when more than 50% of the voters have supported them? If this is so, and a closer look at the percentage polls at Council elections were taken, then surely Council must admit that the majority of the sitting Councillors do not enjoy the support of the voters since the votes cast have been less than 50% of the possible amount of votes that could be exercised. So let us not fool ourselves about being representatives of the electorate."

"It was also said that in a particular Management Committee area no election took place as people were not interested in contesting a seat on the Management Committee. This point is taken, but then it must also apply to the Councillor for Claremont who was elected unopposed. Are we then to assume that people of Claremont were also not interested in standing for election to Council? We want to appeal to Councillors not to try and fool us as they are only fooling themselves."

"Furthermore, much comment was passed on the efforts and representations made by Council for the return of all citizens of Cape Town to the Common Voters' Roll. The Association of Management Committees also contributed to this ideal/viewpoint and made its view quite clear to the various Commissions set up by the Government to investigate this vexing question. In fact on the Schlebusch Commission we had

members of the Association made our stand for Direct Representation on a non-racial basis in Local Authorities emphatically clear.

## IMMORAL

"Having said that, we must refer to opinions expressed at Council meetings which described the present Constitutional Development in the country as being immoral. If this is not being hypocritical in the extreme then we will never know what is. Haven't these very critics made themselves available for election to this immoral system? There are those who have even contested a seat on a political level within the immoral system. Funny how sauce for the goose is not necessarily sauce for the gander. Councillors have been elected by a white electorate and Management Committee members by the coloured and Indian electorate. This is the reality of the situation."

"If Councillors then believe in true morality let them resign their

seats on the Council and we can assure you the Management Committee members in the Cape will do likewise. But while you are prepared to be elected by whites and serve on an all-white Council taking decisions on matters affecting the lives of coloured and Indian people, be informed that the Management Committee members will retain their positions."

"If we pretend not to be hypocritical let all of us resign to uphold principles which we hold in such high esteem. Surely this will be remembered as the Day of the Real Vow and not something inscribed on a plaque hanging in the dark passages of the City Hall."

## ARBITRARY

"We view your decision as arbitrary and unilateral as it was not taken jointly with the Management Committees in terms of the Regulations and the Administrator has been advised accordingly."

"Furthermore, as your Council had taken its decision to the exclusion of the members of the Management Committee, it would be appreciated if you would include this letter on the white paper Agenda of Council in order that your Councillors may be aware of the feelings of the Management Committees which unfortunately cannot be verbally directed at them through no fault of their own."



# Botha 'no' to a vote for blacks or 4th chamber

304A 144 S 12w 2/2/85

The State President, Mr P W Botha, last night rejected one-man-one-vote and the creation of a fourth chamber of parliament for blacks.

In a nationwide SABC-TV interview Mr Botha elaborated on the Government's plans for the future political development of the country's black people.

He said the aim of the new strategy was a "stable country" and the Government was willing to negotiate on certain problem areas in a "flexible forum."

But Mr Botha said several aspects were "non-negotiable." These included:

- The "non-abdication" of the country's white people.
- The rejection of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state; and
- The impossibility of a fourth parliamentary chamber for black people.

He said a forum to negotiate about the political future of blacks would take place on an ad hoc basis according to guidelines but without a set agenda.

The forum was being established only for those in favour of evolutionary change, and who rejected violence as a political tool.

He said that despite expected and unavoidable criticism the Government had proved its commitment to reform by granting full political rights to Asians and coloureds.

Mr Botha said he had linked freehold rights for South African blacks with property rights in the national states because they were inseparable in any attempt to promote small businesses on a regional basis.

Commenting on influx control measures Mr Botha said the regulations needed to be adapted to do away with "unnecessary irritations".

## IMPRESSED

On the subject of South Africa's new parliamentary system, Mr Botha said he was impressed with the sense of responsibility evident in the white house in the past week.

In the chamber for coloureds there had been criticism but this had been constructive.

While attending the Indian chamber he had been struck by the responsible attitude of speakers, even during the no-confidence debate. — Sapa



# Botha reform faces white complacency, black scepticism

CAPL Times  
2/2/85  
304A

PRESIDENT Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament seemed to signal an important change of direction away from Verwoerdian apartheid.

But does it provide a basis for peace in South Africa?

In an article on this page a few days ago Hermann Giliomee, noting the importance of the speech, also drew attention to the muted and lukewarm reception it had evoked, not to speak of wholesale rejection by blacks.

One reason for this, he suggested, is the fact that South Africans are pre-occupied just now with economics rather than politics. Economic survival fills the horizon. Political questions seem academic and remote.

True. But there is more to it. Apart from economics, it seems to me, there is a general perception that whatever President Botha may say or do he will not endanger Afrikaner Nationalism's monopoly of political power.

He will not place white South Africa's control of its destiny in jeopardy. At root, nothing will change. This is what people really believe — and so they are not very excited.

## Pressures

Some lower-income whites do feel that their position is threatened, no doubt. But most South Africans, black or white, do not for a moment believe that any significant diminution of white privilege and power is in the offing.

Few people expect far-reaching change, not for a very long time to come. Those who follow public affairs interpret Mr Botha's speech as a reaction to pressures from business and the Reagan administration who needed something on paper to forestall the disinvestment lobby.

For different reasons, neither the mass of whites nor of blacks expect much to happen. President Botha faces a credibility gap.

This widespread scepticism does him less than justice. His statement, in spite of its evasions and ambiguities, was genuinely reformist and conciliatory in tone. It was manifestly well-intentioned.

The same can be said of his undertaking to release Nelson Mandela from prison if he is prepared to renounce violence and the so-called "armed struggle".

Yet, on the strength of their experience of previous statements of intent, blacks expect very little in the way of concrete results.

And who can blame them? They have seen how the apartheid bureaucracy, when asked to produce new legislation to reform the pass laws, for example, comes up time and again with more restrictive provisions than before.

They take note of President Botha's remarks that directives have been sent to all departments having "daily human contacts" with blacks saying that attention must be given to the improvement of attitudes. All departments will be required to submit plans to this end.

Anyone who has observed the general tone of such "daily human contacts" between blacks and the lower echelons of the apartheid bureaucracy or police force will commend President Botha for a courageous step. So too will those observers who have seen from close quarters how the police set about restoring law and order in a disturbed black township. Archbishop Hurley was reflecting a widespread perception when he said this week that blacks feel on occasion that the police are not pursuing law and order as much as carrying out hostile actions against them.

## Attitudes

Programmes of re-education in inter-group attitudes are long overdue but are a mammoth undertaking. Racially prejudiced attitudes are part of this country's social fabric, unhappily. Lower-level officialdom is curt and dismissive if not on occasion downright abusive and insulting in dealings with blacks. In some aggravated circumstances the insults and abuse are accompanied by cuffs and blows or worse.

Racially prejudiced attitudes are not a purely South African phenomenon. White South Africans, English and Afrikaans-speaking alike, are not a uniquely discourteous or brutal race of men. Nor are they unique in having inherited colonialist attitudes of racial superiority from their ancestors. Such assumptions of superiority are prevalent in societies with a colonial past, especially those in which the institution of slavery has been entrenched. Historians have noted that attitudes of superiority invariably accompany an expanding imperial culture of the kind which colonized South Africa in successive waves from the 17th century onwards.

The Southern States of America have exhibited similar patterns of atti-

## Political Survey



Gerald Shaw

tude and behaviour, although eased somewhat from the white point of view by a less threatening ratio of black to white.

## Hang-ups

Blacks are hugely sceptical that the day-to-day attitudes of whites towards blacks can be easily or significantly changed. As blacks see it, many whites do not doubt that blacks are their inferiors and owe them a special deference. Blacks who do not conform are "cheeky kaffirs".

In other areas of promised reform, such as land ownership, blacks expect endless hang-ups and frustrations in their efforts to take advantage of President Botha's qualified pledge of freehold rights.

They note the pledge to re-examine the question of citizenship. But here, too, they are thoroughly sceptical. As far as they can see, the Ciskei will continue to be a squalid and brutal autocracy and the Transkei, on a somewhat larger scale, will continue in much the same way, both countries serving as dumping-grounds where the unemployed, landless and poverty-stricken masses can starve out of sight, without hope or prospect of better things to come.

If some form of dual citizenship is offered in a confederal South Africa, will this give blacks the right to move around freely in the land of their birth, selling their labour in the best market and having a say in the laws that govern their lives?

Africans, from bitter experience, are not optimistic. There is not much disposition among them to believe that the pro-

posed forum for blacks will be anything more than a high-level debating society. They do not see it becoming a forum for genuine negotiation between the government and representative black leaders.

What all this shows is that a climate for negotiation simply does not exist. If President Botha means business, he will have to set about purposefully creating such a climate. Three legislative steps would need to be taken in advance, at the very least, before serious negotiation of black political rights could begin to be on the cards.

## Unrest

Firstly, influx control and summary pass law arrests would have to go — followed by group area and any other legislation inhibiting blacks from acquiring freehold property anywhere in the country. Finally, South African citizenship would need to be restored to all who have lost it without their full and free consent.

The Verwoerdian edifice is collapsing and the country is plagued by economic uncertainty and endemic unrest which rumbles on from one month to the next. Reliance on police and military force offers no answer. Yet the prospects for negotiating peace between blacks and whites are remote. Whites are complacent, by and large. And blacks are despairing, resigned or cynical, according to disposition.

President Botha's speech struck the right conciliatory note. Yet it failed to convince black or white or to convey a sense of urgency. Is there no way forward? Probably the most positive development, if intelligently pursued on all sides, is President Botha's offer to release Nelson Mandela if he forswears violence.

This provides a starting point. If this initiative is seriously meant and is to get anywhere, it will call for the unbanning of the African National Congress, as urged in a leading article elsewhere on this page today.

It seems obvious that Mandela is not going to renounce the ANC's armed struggle unless there is some assurance that this organization will then be free to pursue its objectives in peace as a legitimate political party.

If Afrikaner nationalism is a legitimate creed, so too is African nationalism. Unless the two competing nationalisms can reach a political accord their struggle will tear the country apart.

There is now a chance to create a genuine atmosphere for negotiation, a chance that may not occur again. Whatever we might think of the means employed, the ANC has been decisively out-flanked by the South African Defence Force's covert operations in the region, having been denied the secure, contiguous land bases in neighbouring territories which sustained the guerilla campaign.

From the point of view of white (and Afrikaner Nationalist) interests, now is the time to strike a bargain with black nationalism, operating from a position of considerable strength.

As domestic unrest becomes endemic and the tide swings in favour of economic sanctions abroad, this strength will steadily erode.

The urgent task is to counter both black scepticism and white complacency. Deeds will count rather than words. There is a lot to do. Why not start by unbanning the ANC?



# THE SPRINGBOK RUITERS



Theuns Stofberg ... ex-Springbok rugby captain

FOUR rugby Springboks, the "chief censor" and the "chief spy" are among people who are or have been involved with the Ruitervag (RW), either as members or as representatives of the organisation's senior partner, the Broederbond.

The Springboks were Naas Botha, Darius Botha, Edrich Krantz and ex-Springbok captain Theuns Stofberg, who were members at the time of the Springbok tour of New Zealand in 1981.

The Springbok manager, Professor Johan Claassen was a "Hooftwag" — Broederbond member assigned to keep an eye on Ruiters.

The coach, Mr Nette Smith, was a "Hulpwag" — a member of the Broederbond who, owing to his expertise in his field, delivers lectures at RW meetings and stands in for "Hooftwagte" in their absence.

The Botha brothers were later expelled from the Ruitervag, Naas due to his "lack of interest", according to sources within the Ruitervag. The Ruitervag has stated as one of its strategic objectives that decision-making positions on sports bodies be taken over to prevent the ar-

Sporting heroes, censors and spies are named as the SUNDAY TIMES continues its probe into the secret group aimed at young Afrikaners

By HANS PIENAAR

ranging of mixed sport meetings, in order to protect the Afrikaner's cultural identity. The chief of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard, was a member of the Ruiterraad (chief executive), but resigned when he was appointed by the then Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, to take over the newly-formed NIS in June 1980. He retained his membership of the Broederbond, however.

Other prominent members of the Ruitervag, according to documents in the possession of the Sunday Times, include Professor Geert de Wet, professor of economics at the Rand Afrikaans University, Dr Jannie Pieterse, ex-chief secretary of the Transvaal National Party, and Mr Johan Geertsma, marketing manager of the Saambou Building Society. The selection of probable candidates for RW membership is done at Wagpos (local cell) level. Candidates are scrutinised for their "Afrikanerskap"

and involvement in church and community activities.

Ruiters have to be members of one of the three "sus-tenkerke" — the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Hervormde Kerk or the Gereformeerde Kerk — and not older than 38.

As soon as the Wagpos has confirmed a candidate's suitability, forms are filled out for each applicant — without their knowledge — and sent to the RW's head office.

The head office uses the name of the "Instituut vir Jeugnavorsing" as a cover. When they reach the age of 33, many Ruiters become members of the Broederbond.



NAAS BOTHA Lacked interest



DARIUS BOTHA Turfed out



NELLE SMITH A "Hulpwag"

A PARALLEL "Broederbond" for whites, coloureds and Indians was touted as a matter of the greatest urgency in a report by the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council — the chief executive of the Ruitervag — in mid-1981.

The committee, consisting of Mario Bekker, now a Johannesburg lawyer, and Geert de Wet, now Professor of Economics at the Rand Afrikaans University, was appointed by the then RW President, Mr Roelf Meyer, Nationalist MP for Johannesburg West.

Options for the new constitutional dispensation were set out in the report, which included the secession of the southern Cape Province under a "Confederated Government in a 'Confederation of States'".

Under the heading "Sine Qua Non", the report stated that the launching of a confidential organisation for "like-minded persons speaking another language and gradually also like-minded persons, but of a different colour" was a matter of the greatest urgency.

## Quashed

"Such an organisation should be utilised as a source of influence and can (and has to) be controlled from our organisations", referring to the Broederbond, of which most Ruiters become members. "We cannot see how sincere and frank political cooperation could develop amongst the various groups if a confidential organisation

Plan for a mixed-race, subservient Broederbond

tion does not exist to pave the way across colour lines.

"Of necessity such an organisation would have to be politically-orientated, inspired by a common desire for peaceful survival and co-existence in South Africa."

The report was quashed by the conservative faction in the Presidentsraad, and the matter never cropped up again, according to sources and documents in the hands of the Sunday Times.

A "register of contact persons" in the coloured and Indian Communities was mentioned in the RW's "Strategic Plan, as adapted in 1983".

These would include persons on a national and provincial level, all of whom would have to be passed by a selection committee before their names were made available to members.

The "ethnicity of the coloureds" was one of the matters on which the RW had reached consensus during the dissension in its ranks after the launching of the Conservative Party,

at a report of the RW President said in 1983. In the April 1982 "Saalsak" (RW circular) the Ruiterraad stated that they could not be regarded as "brown Afrikaners" and could never participate in the culture of the Afrikaner.

## Adamant

It was adamant that several "crucial factors" indicated the establishment of a "separate group identity" amongst coloureds.

The encouragement of this coloured group identity was stated as one of the prime objectives in the "Strategic Objectives".

The RW voiced its strong opposition to the admission of Indians in the Free State, according to a motion accepted at a Free State Streekwagraad (regional meeting of Ruiters) on November 13, 1982.

All efforts by "opposition elements" to admit Indians to the Free State should be resisted as they have no sympathy with the maintenance and development of the Protestant legacy of whites in South Africa, the motion said.



## RUITERWAG MEMBERS AND CANDIDATES FOR TOP POSITIONS

**AMONG** the names the Sunday Times has obtained are the following:

### Candidates for the Ruiterraad posts:

C Loots (Maritzburg lawyer)  
D Kok (engineering assistant, Secunda)  
A I Odendaal (lawyer, Newcastle, Natal NP  
Chief Council)  
J F Pienaar (minister, deputy chairman  
National Council for Alcoholism)  
M D Randlehoff (magistrate, Ladysmith)  
J V Roux (personnel manager, Welpruit)  
J J van der Walt (lawyer, Ermelo)  
G T Zaaiman (contract manager, Leslie, SA  
Institute of Civil Engineers member)  
Prof C R de Beer (Deputy Dean, faculty of  
law, Potchefstroom University)  
Dr F W A Malder (lecturer, Potchefstroom  
University)  
J H L Scheepers (lawyer, Vryburg Com-  
mando major)  
M W Theunissen (medical doctor, captain  
SADF Reservists)  
C W Venter (auditor, Lichtenburg)  
P C Moller (dentist, Randburg)  
D S Pienaar (lawyer, Johannesburg)  
P J J Prinsloo (lecturer, Vanderbijspark)  
J J Reynaars (advocate, Johannesburg)  
J J B van Niekerk (engineering adviser,  
captain Kempton Park commando)  
C J van Zyl (assistant manager)  
A M L Bakker (lawyer, Johannesburg)  
A P J Benken (minister, Council for Ecu-  
menical Affairs member)  
A S Celliers (lecturer, Kooopoot)  
J B du Plessis (minister, Springs)  
D T P Jurgens (building contractor, Benoni)  
S Krige (minister, chairman Beeld holi-  
day camp)  
J Kerkmoor (accountant, Elsburg mayor  
n 1980)  
F R Ahlers (engineer, Pretoria)  
R du Toit (minister, member Synodal  
legal commission)  
I Perrella (agricultural researcher, Pre-  
toria)  
L Flisner (lawyer, Verwoerdsburg)  
D Fourie (legal adviser, Verwoerdsburg)  
H Gerretsema (marketing manager, Saabon)  
F Hayward (civil engineer, Pretoria)  
J P Niemandt (student, ASB president)  
J Rieker (student, deputy ASB presi-  
dent)  
Stahbert (engineer, Pretoria)  
J vd M Stoelberg (lecturer, Pretoria)  
F van der Merwe (minister and deputy  
chairman Junior Rapportryerskorps)  
J van Wyk (administrative officer)  
S Boshoek (student, Pretoria)  
A Belpert (lecturer, Port Elizabeth)  
J H Swart (minister, Kimberley)  
J van der Merwe (minister, Kuruman)  
P Doman (minister, Bellville)  
De Roux (ministerial private secretary)  
R Naude (medical doctor, Bellville)  
A Vorster (lawyer, Cape Town)  
M Ansemp (teacher, Bloemfontein, Free  
State NP Chief Council)  
W A Daniels (lawyer, Bloemfontein)  
M Laubscher (lecturer, Bloemfontein)  
de State NP Chief Council, president OFS  
Agricultural Union)  
S Baayman (minister, Frankfurt)  
R Samuel (lawyer, Bloemfontein)  
K Schlebusch (farmer, Hennenman)

**Editorial Staff:** Jaaks: Piet Mulder, Chris Flamer, Dr Jannie Pieterse;  
**Finance Committee:** Ruan Odendaal, Kobus Laubscher, Piet Delpoit;  
**Planning Committee:** Schalk Pienaar, Jurie Swart, Jannie Pieterse, Alex Dannfuss;  
**Constitutional Committee:** Piet Vorster;  
**Members Committee:** Chris Flamer, Johan Geertsma, H W Naudé Botha;  
**Standing Committee:** Alex Dannfuss, Jurie Swart, Schalk Pienaar, Johan Geertsma, Naudé Botha.

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**(Browderbond), C Swanspoel (Breder-**  
**bond), L D Barnard, W P Doman, C G**  
**Pienaar, J H Geerisema, M U Strauss, P W A**  
**Mulder.**

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J (Bakkies) Bessan (Accountancy, Xandu, UFE)  
C (Christo) Brunette (Carpentry and Metalwork, Xandu, UFE)  
J (Pieter) Pelzer (Pharmacy, Potchefstroom)  
P (Louis) Steyn (Pharmacy, Potchefstroom)  
G (Tozzie) Tozzlen (Accountancy, Pretoria)  
W (Wynand) Malan (Accountancy, Enonop, Pretoria)  
(Leen) Geel (Theology, Mopanie, Pretoria 9922)  
G Burger (Accountancy, Pretoria)  
L (Lourens) Du Ploey (Accountancy, Ixenhout, Pretoria)  
G (Johan) Stadler (B Sc, Ollenhout, Pretoria)  
J (Philip) Nieman (Engineering, Dagboek, Stellenbosch)  
(Johan) Fourie (Law, Stellenbosch)  
H du Preez (B Sc, Eendrag, Stellenbosch)

P v E (Pietra) Uys (Commerce, Nafnba,  
Stellenbosch)  
J (Jacq) Louw (Economy, Stellenbosch)  
J S G (Stefan) Bouwer (Theology, Stellen-  
bosch)  
J H (Hannes) Hattingh (BA, Helderberg,  
Stellenbosch)  
C (Christo) Klopper (Law, Helderberg,  
Stellenbosch)  
C E (Ocker) Meyer (Theology, Helderberg,  
Stellenbosch)

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H F (Herman) Hugo (Free State)  
J L (Jan) Van Rooy (computer programmer, Potchefstroom)

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**F S (Paul) Theron** (training officer, Iscor, Newcastle)  
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**J H (Johan) Venter** (investment consultant, Escam, Kempen Park)  
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**J G S (Hannes) Van der Walt** (civil engineer, Springs City Council)  
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(Dries/Mucho) Klomp (personnel officer,  
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mandatee recommended)  
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Aar Mills)  
(Reyno) van der Bijl (milliner, De Aar  
Mills)

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B (Dirk) Hanekom (SADF intelligence officer, Pretoria)  
J (Johan) Smal (SAP instructor, SAP College, Pretoria)  
M J (Nees) Kriel (SAP official, SAP College, Pretoria)  
R (Nico) Basson (SAP instructor, SAP College, Pretoria)  
J M (Johan) Ooep Du Plessis (SAP Detective W/O, Rustenburg)  
J A (Andries) Koster (prison warder, Ladysmith)  
V E (Victor) d'Assonville (SADF, Potchefstroom)  
J A (Adri) Croncamp (National Serviceman from Citrusdal/Bamberton)

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 O (Oskie) Brits (Farm manager for Mr  
 Christo Botha, Heidelberg, Tvl)  
 P (Piet/Saads) Uys (Heidelberg, Cape)  
 P J J (Piet/Takkies) Uys (Heidelberg, Cape)  
 J W R (O Johannes/Klein-Jan) Swanspoel  
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 W A (William) Van de Vyver (Adelaide)  
 P J L (Flip) Zynman (Bethal)  
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 mist, Christiana)  
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way, Hertzen and Horak, Pretoria)  
G (Hennie) Theron (Justice's clerk,  
Indhoek)  
P (Chris) Nel (magistrate, Vryburg)

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**Seven days  
that shook  
the laager**

# ITS, IT'S NOT DEAD YET!

(304A)

S. Times

3/2/85

By BRIAN POTTINGER  
Political Correspondent

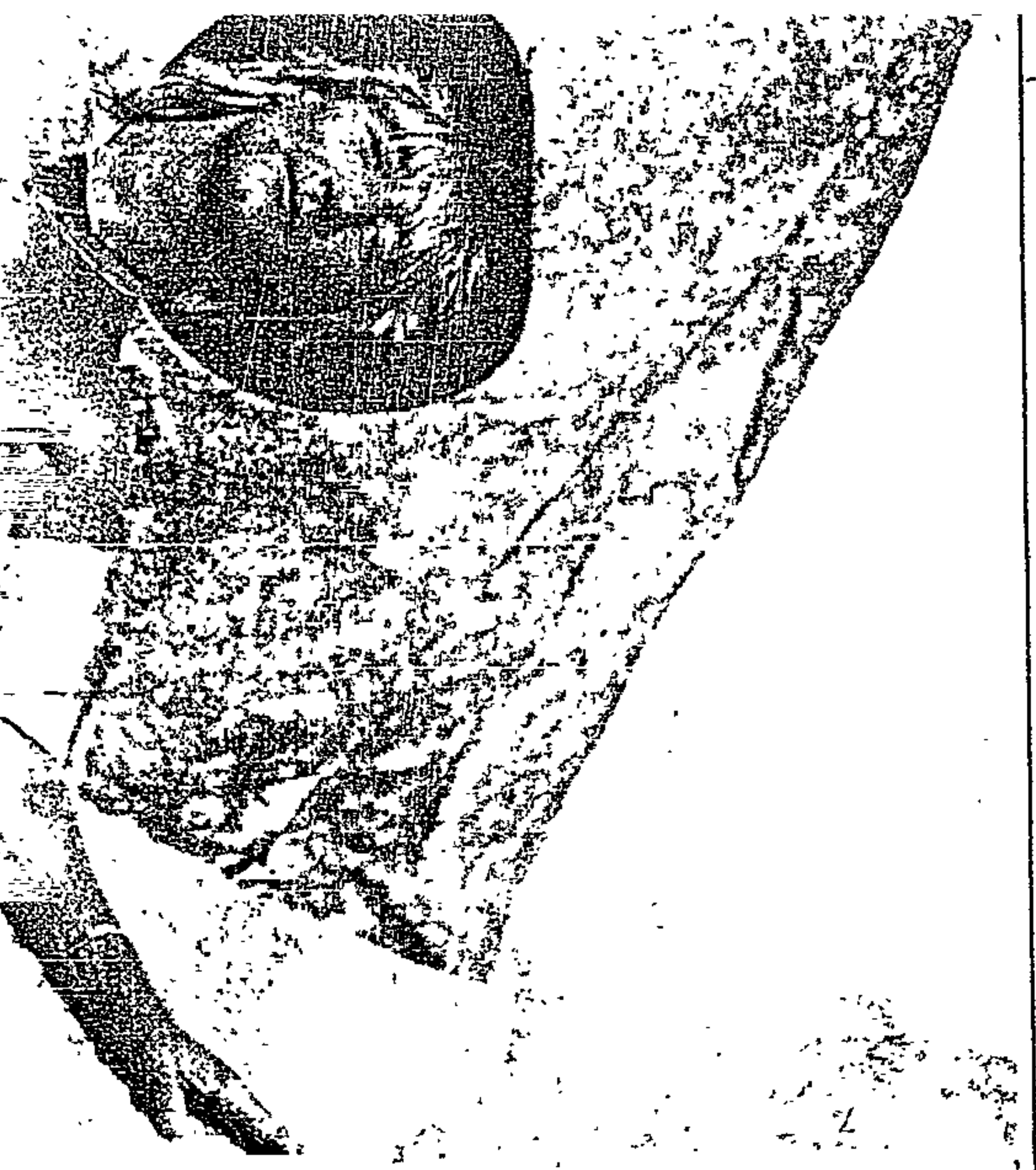
**SOUTH AFRICA's race politics have been dramatically rewritten within the space of a week — seven days that shook the laager.**

Among the amazing developments in one of the most important political weeks in the past 30 years were:

- A pledge by President Botha that the debate on black constitutional options is open-ended.
- A Government commitment to include non-homeland blacks in interlocking constitutional structures with whites, coloureds and Indians.
- A conditional offer of amnesty to political prisoners.
- Suspension of forced removals pending a review of government policy.
- Freehold title for urban blacks and a review of citizenship rights and influx control.

Thus have many of Afrikaner nationalism's holiest cows been consigned to pasture, and by week's end it had brought significant encouragement from establishment black groups, the progressive white Opposition and Western countries.

**Disco wedding lands  
dominee in trouble**





Thus have many of Afrikaner nationalism's holiest cows been consigned to pasture, and by week's end it had brought significant encouragement from establishment black groups, the progressive white Opposition and Western countries.

But black resistance groups — deeply suspicious of government motives — have dismissed the moves as "cosmetic" and yet another ploy to fracture black unity.

And the white far right has damned the policy shifts as the end of white survival.

## Optimism

The "package" unveiled by instalments this week — is a government make-or-break effort to shatter the spiral of polarisation between the authorities and the highly mobilised black groups such as the UDF.

Its immediate effect has been to introduce an edge of optimism into what a week ago was a universally gloomy political and economic picture.

The announcements represent different elements of the same ideological shift: away from the goal of independent homelands as a political panacea and towards a broader South Africanism.

The political significance of the initiative dwarfs even the tricameral constitution and other largely symbolic gestures such as scrapping the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts.

Broad guidelines for the initiative were apparently decided three-quarters of the way through last year, but the Government deliberately decided not to unveil them then, it wanted the infant tricameral parliamentary system to be regarded as part of the initiative.

The Government also would not signal concessions at the height of the urban black unrest because this might have been interpreted as weakness.

## Strategy

The intensity of the black opposition to the new constitution apparently surprised the Government and persuaded it to make a forceful statement of intent.

By week's end the dimensions of the ideological shift could still not be properly grasped by political opponents and observers, largely because of a deliberate government strategy to keep the forthcoming debate as open-ended as possible.

"Bottom lines are becoming endangered species," one government constitutional expert jokingly observed this week.

Government sources suggested that the package spelt out by President Botha had been orchestrated to hit the right buttons:

- A major address on black constitutional development in its broadest terms last Friday.

- A largely symbolic gesture of conciliation towards the African National Congress, the most powerful anti-establishment political force in the country.

- All followed by a concrete concession — a conditional suspension of forced removals announced by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education.

This weekend a rather stunned Parliament and clearly elated government constitutional planners were considering the prognosis for success.

It is generally believed

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It is generally believed that the informal negotiating forum to be established by the Government will draw the support of a number of establishment black leaders — including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

Government sources indicated, however, that it was probably unrealistic to ex-

pect groups such as the United Democratic Front to seek participation at this stage. The amnesty offer by the President has meanwhile drawn intense domestic and international attention.

Although jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela may not accept the terms — some believe he will first insist on the legalisation of the ANC — it has given dramatic impetus to other initiatives aimed at bringing ANC members and representatives of the ruling party together in the near future.

The offer of amnesty to other Nelson Mandela is offered as long as he participates peacefully in the political process, but treason charges are simultaneously being processed against members of the ANC-oriented United Democratic Front for activities which they claim were open, peaceful and political.

The suspension of forced removals — there have been many hints of such a step in recent months — has meanwhile been widely acclaimed by progressive opposition groups.

In real terms it means the sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of tens of thousands of settled "black spot" communities will be lifted. But concern is expressed about the implications of the statement: squatter resettlement will still entail the shifting of tens of thousands of rural-resident people, and the proviso that communities will be moved if their leaders so opt has been greeted cautiously.

There are many examples in the history of forced removals where puppet leaders have taken unwilling residents to the resettlement areas.

# SA's race policies are rewritten

From Page 1

## Scepticism

to call a historic conference could meanwhile have a divisive effect in the ANC — soon to plot its future strategy after the virtual collapse of its military capabilities.

Some observers even believe the President's offer to release Mandela may have been part of a deliberate plan to bolster the old-guard nationalist elements in the ANC against the communists and younger militants who are pushing for an all-out assault against civilian targets in South Africa.

But in resistance circles there is also scepticism about the offer.

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# WILL THE BIG DEAL!

A CLOSE analysis of State President PW Botha's so-called new deal for African people shows that it is no deal at all.

This is the view of Joint Rent Action Committee secretary Ian Mkhize and senior UDF officials in Natal.

Mr Mkhize said the new deal emphasised that the white minority had no intention of sharing political power with the people who really matter — the two-million African people.

"From all accounts, Mr Botha's so-called new deal will make certain that political power continues to be dominated by the white minority," said Mr

PRESS TRUST

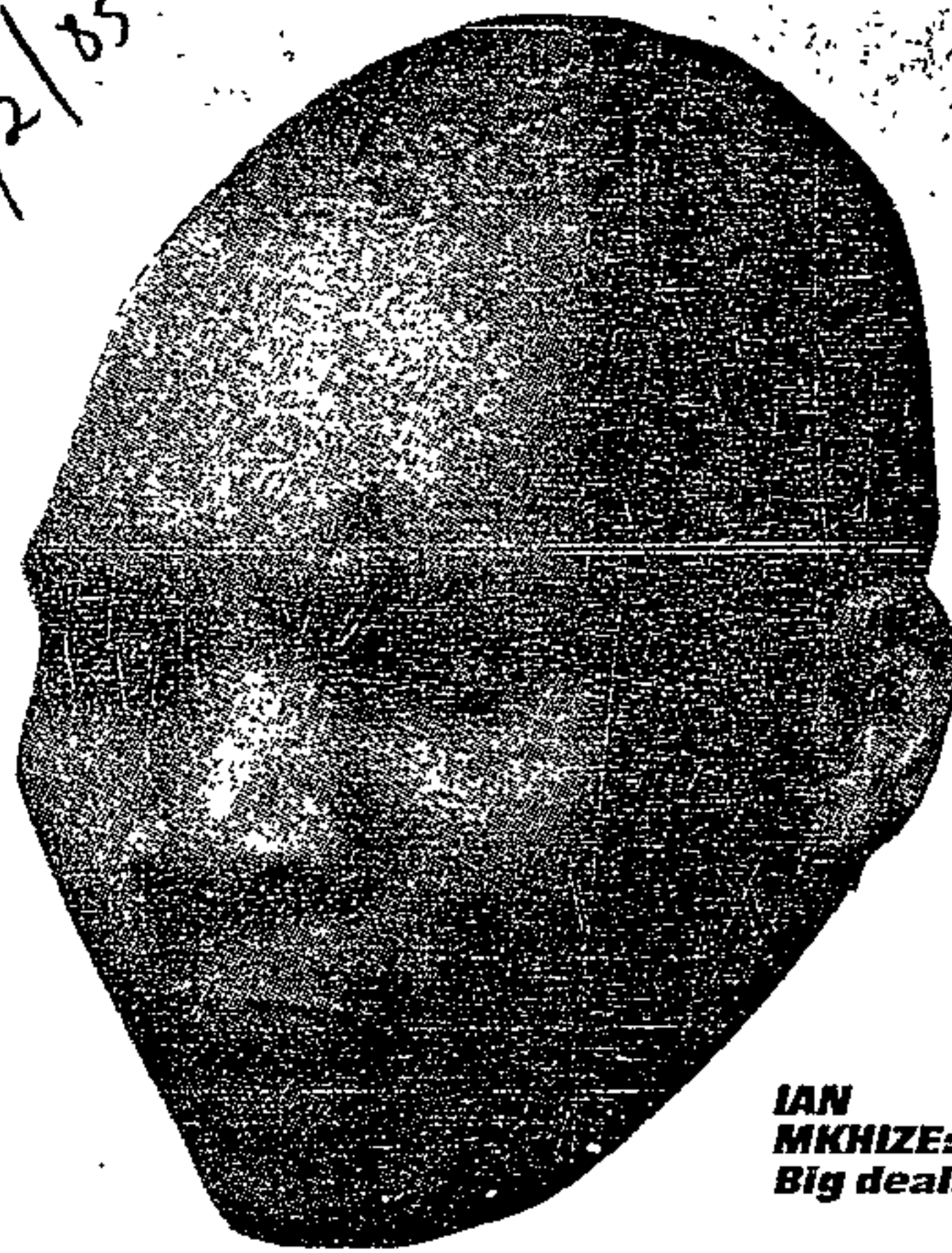


PW BOTHA: New deal.

Mkhize.

"Politics will still be streamlined according to race, with white, Indian and coloured people having their own ethnic parliaments and Africans their bantustans, and a negotiating forum.

"Botha's deal will also not only divide the African majority according to tribal and ethnic lines, but also into urban and homeland Africans.



IAN MKHIZE: Big deal.

"White South Africa is already a colonial power in its own right — because of the creation of so-called independent bantustans and the economic subjugation of countries such as Swaziland.

"Her new design to divide the African people into urban and homeland citizens would entrench her col-

onial position — not only to subjugate the African people but also to pursue her policy of divide and rule."

Mr Mkhize is strongly opposed to the incorporation of Durban townships into KwaZulu.

"We want a full say in the land of our birth," he said.

By MUDINI MAIVHA

TOWNSHIP "peace-keeping" forces could be used as personal armies to protect councillors.

This fear was spelt out at an Alexandra Residents' Association conference in Sandton, at which Dr P Frankel spoke on "The Politics of Police Control in South Africa.

Community guards would not benefit township residents in the South African context, he said.

They are being created with political considerations — they are intended to protect Government laws, most of

## Guardians or guards?

which have been rejected by black people.

Although the South African police have black members, it is a white-controlled institution which enforces white concepts of order, said Dr Frankel.

The whole population does not accept the rules and values enforced by the police.

The Government uses the police to control people, he said

The way in which the majority is controlled has changed with the change in character of Afrikaner leadership, said Dr Frankel.

Instead of "kragdadigheid" — the brutal application of power — the Government is now using subtle ways to divide and rule, not only along ethnic lines, but along class lines too, he said

This new strategy de-

manded the creation of a strong black "middle class", who would be less militant and easier to control.

This strategy recognises that black people must be part of the economic structure and that they must have an outlet for political expression — the community councils.

But, because community councils don't enjoy legitimacy, are composed of "opportunists" and "don't deliver the goods to the community", they need direct police support to survive, said Dr Frankel.

It is believed that the SAP will have direct control over them.



# 'ANC has always wanted to talk'

THE AFRICAN National Congress this week gave cautious backing for Nelson Mandela's statement that he was prepared to call a truce if the organisation was unbanned. ~~111~~ 304A 3/2/85

An ANC spokesperson told City Press that the organisation had always been prepared to talk to the South African Government, but it had resorted to the armed struggle because "we had nobody to talk to."

But the spokesperson said the ANC could not comment specifically on Mandela's statement because "Mandela is sitting there in Pollsmoor Prison and we are not certain what he really said."

"We would like to get it directly from him and, if possible, we would like to talk to him ourselves."

He said the ANC would issue a more detailed statement at the weekend.

But, he added, the ANC would only talk to this country's Government if the agenda for discussion was the total eradication of apartheid.

He said if the South African Government

From PRESS TRUST

*C. Press*  
was prepared to discuss the dismantling of apartheid — and not just the cosmetics — the organisation would be willing to talk.

"We have always been prepared to talk. Our willingness to talk is history itself."

"We only resorted to the armed struggle because we had nobody to talk to."

He said the ANC viewpoint was that, because black people had been excluded from decision-making processes, it always considered the South African Government as an illegal regime.

"Liberation from apartheid and the creation of a democratic unitary state is our aim."

"But we do not believe that the South African Government has anything meaningful to discuss at this stage."

"We are not prepared to discuss bantustans and other divisive designs," he said.

.....



CAPE TIMES 4/2/85

# Naude: No justice in apartheid

By DI MEEK

THE new constitution was a violation of all Christian principles, the recently unbanned Afrikaans theologian, Dr Beyers Naude, said on Friday night.

Dr Naude, former director and founder of the banned Christian Institute and now general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, was speaking at a session of the University of Cape Town summer school entitled "Who are these Protestants?"



Dr Beyers Naude

The discussion took the form of an interview with Professor Charles Villavicencio of UCT's Department of Religious Studies and co-author of the book "Apartheid is a Heresy".

Dr Naude spoke openly about his life as a loyal member of the Ned Geref Church and devout supporter of the Broederbond until he started to question how one could live as a Christian in an apartheid society.

By 1957, and following Sharpeville, he had decided that he could "in no way justify apartheid on ideological grounds".

Asked what his counsel to the government would be now, Dr Naude said:

"I would first of all want to say to the government: If you claim to be Christian, if you claim that this country is based on Christian principles as the new Constitution clearly and solemnly declares, then make that claim and make it authentic. Because what is happening today is a violation of those Christian truths and those Christian principles.

"You (the government) cannot talk about justice and continue with this system, because it is unjust. You cannot talk about love and continue with a policy where you devastate and destroy the lives of thousands of families.

"If you claim to be a Christian government in a Christian country and say we are striving for peace, you cannot talk about that if you build that peace on a false foundation. Because peace can only be built on the basis of justice for all people. That would be my message."

## 'Tragedy of major proportions'

"And if the government is willing to hear it and me, there is hope. But if not, then we are facing a tragedy of major proportions in this country.

"The polarization will increase, the bitterness of the majority of the people will break, and eventually the situation will be arrived at where we will try to talk to them and they will turn around and they will tell us: When we pleaded with you and when we came to you, when we offered ourselves, you did not want to hear. Now it is too late."

He said it was of vital importance that those who claimed to be Christian asked themselves: What does our Christian faith tell us about influx control, discriminatory wages, young students prepared to die in protest at Bantu education? What does it tell us about the exclusion of the whole black community from the nation?

## 'Basic principle of reconciliation'

"Do we realize what we did when we accepted this new Constitution, did we realize that we violated the serious fundamental principle of justice, that by excluding the entire black community we entrenched the principle of ethnicity and violated the basic principle of reconciliation?" he asked.

Dr Naude said he believed without doubt that the theological justification of apartheid was a heresy.

He said he felt a deep sorrow and deep concern for the Ned Geref Kerk because it was moving into a situation of tragic isolation. As a result, the Afrikaner people were suffering.

The serious dilemma in which the NG ministers today found themselves was that they were confronted by a situation in which the official church leadership had committed itself to an ideological viewpoint. They were misleading the Christians in the Afrikaans churches.

"But the day will come when young ministers will stand up and face up to it and ask: How in God's name could you ever have done that to us?"



# Civil service discrimination slammed by Labour Party

ARC 45 4/2/85

Political Staff

MANY coloured civil servants are earning less than R300 a month, says a committee of the Labour Party calling for an end to discrimination in the Public Service.

While coloured civil servants must receive priority in appointments to "own affairs" State departments, more promotional facilities must be opened to coloured people in "general affairs" departments.

This is the recommendation of the five-man committee of the Labour Party in the House of Representatives, headed by Mr Abe Williams, MP for Mamre.

During debate in the House this week, members deplored the fact that thousands of coloured civil servants are thought of as "temporary" because they are working in jobs regarded as "white" posts.

## League

The absence of coloured representation on the Commission for Administration — which determines civil service salary scales and conditions of employment — was also criticised.

The Labour Party committee noted that there was a Public Service Association for whites and a Public Service League for coloured civil servants, who number about 26 000.

The committee said that among the matters requiring urgent attention were coloured representation on the Commission for Administration, effecting a training programme designed to allow "each population group to manage its own department", greater opportunities for bursaries, and the elimination of racial discrimination in the Public Service.



# Muted black response to PW's 'forum' plan

GRAHAM LINSKOTT reports on reaction so far by black newspapers to President P W Botha's announcement of steps to negotiate the political future of the black majority

BLACK newspapers have shown a spread of reaction to President P W Botha's announcement of a new forum to discuss the political future of blacks, ranging from qualified approval to outright rejection.

Ilanga said the establishment of a negotiating forum to involve blacks would be a step in the right direction and that it meant a fundamental change in the National Party's prior attitude which arrogated to itself the power to decide what was best for blacks.

The Sowetan Sunday Mirror said blacks should politely refuse to have anything to do with the so-called new deal. It was ridiculous that they should be let in through the back door when they were considered equal in the payment of the taxes necessary to bail the Government out of its mismanagement.

And City Press warned that although Mr Botha's speech caused a sensation in white circles, it raised very little enthusiasm in the black community.

As long as the Government

continued with unilateral decisions affecting blacks, the rejection would continue.

Ilanga said it was to be regretted that Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation and Development, had said the negotiating forum would be for urban blacks. This proved once again that the Government thought its homelands policy was viable and would eventually be accepted by the blacks living in the homelands.

"The ruling Nationalist Party must be living in a fool's paradise if it still hopes that some day all the homeland leaders will opt for the Pretoria-type independence."

The Sowetan Sunday Mirror said blacks did not wish to be part of the Government's new deal, even if it was made more palatable with a carrot of freehold rights.

"These things, if they had been granted to us as our right, and years ago, would have seen South Africa today perhaps equal in economic strength to some of the best Western countries. We have the people. We



President Botha

have the natural resources. All we need is an honesty to regard everybody in this land as rightful citizens with full rights. But that seems like a dream.

"If people do not wish to work towards the honest realisation of a dream, fate has a way of offering a nightmare. This is what we will be experiencing in South Africa. And the nightmare would be made worse because of the great po-

tential the country has," the newspaper said.

"Apartheid has lulled South African whites into the type of comfort they will die to protect. It has led numerous blacks to such bitter strains that they would be equally prepared to risk all to change it. That is the agony of apartheid. And it's a tragedy."

City Press said that under normal circumstances it would have seen Mr Botha's speech as a message of hope. Only 10 years ago he would have been branded a radical leftist.

Yet the Government had to take into account that the speech roused very little enthusiasm among blacks.

"We are at a time in our history when we reject decisions made for us - we want them made with us."

The newspaper added: "Mr Botha seems bent on pleasing President Ronald Reagan. He must accept that Reagan is irrelevant to the issue. It is us he must please - and that is going to be his greatest challenge."

ARGUS 4/2/85 (304A)



RJM 4/2/84 304A

# PW aide denies that SA talked to the ANC

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

MYSTERY surrounds a report — by the well-known freelance journalist, Mr Hennie Serfontein, in the Sunday Star yesterday — that Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, will be unconditionally released from prison within months.

The report reiterated claims that the ANC and the South African Government have been in direct contact over the past six weeks.

Yet the talk about talks has been repeatedly denied by the ANC and by President P W Botha, and was again denied yesterday.

A spokesman for the State President's office said: "President Botha has said to the ANC they should discard violence before the Government will talk to them. The State President does not talk to terrorist agencies who foment violence."

And President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the man named as the "key personality in the whole affair", told the Cuban magazine Prisma in December that it was not the right moment for the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, to speak to South Africa.

"They should not try to talk with Oliver Tambo, because he is leading the

fighters, and it is not the right moment, because if he talks with Pretoria his followers will lose confidence in them.

"Anyway, I don't think Tambo is thinking of talking with them now."

Mr Serfontein said yesterday that the imminent release of Mandela and two other ANC leaders detained with him, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Walter Sisulu, followed "sensitive, hush-hush talks" between the SA Government and the ANC.

He said the matter had been discussed at length with President Kaunda, President Samora Machel of Mozambique, and Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe.

The report was credited to "impeccable, well-placed Frontline sources".

Rand Daily Mail sources in the Frontline States said yesterday that it was plausible that Frontline leaders had put pressure on South Africa over the continued imprisonment of Mandela and the other two leaders.

But they rejected out of hand reports that the ANC had had direct dealings with the SA Government.

Mr Serfontein has now claimed in three leading reports in different newspapers that the ANC is holding direct talks with South Africa.



Streek: Since you met President PW Botha on the Botswana border, (on April 30, 1982) there have been a number of developments in Southern Africa, particularly in Angola and Mozambique. Were you satisfied with these?

Kaunda: I met the then Prime Minister with the objective of trying to explain to him what I understand the Southern Africa situation to be. Indeed, we have since had a number of meetings. Unfortunately these have not achieved what was intended.

I have to refer to the question of the agreement between Angola and South Africa which was held here in Lusaka. That meeting was designed to get South African troops out of Angola. And, to enhance the chances of getting the Namibian question resolved. On the other hand the Nkomati agreement

# I see no progress by SA — Kaunda

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ZAMBIA'S President Kenneth Kaunda discusses South Africa and the sub-continent in a wide-ranging interview with BARRY STREEK. The first part of the interview, conducted in Lusaka, appears today, and further extracts will be published tomorrow.



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was designed to bring peace to Mozambique and bring more understanding between South African and Mozambique.

South African troops are still inside Angola. The last information we had was that they are 20km from the border, but still inside Angola.

We move onto the question of Namibia. Nothing has moved.

Over the issue of Nkomati, while I believe several meetings have been held between the Mozambiquan and South Africa authorities, the situation is getting worse inside Mozambique, while Mozambique has stopped the ANC from operating on Mozambiquan soil. So, it is obviously a one-sided agreement.

With what I have outlined, you see there is no room for me to rejoice over the meetings that have taken place as far as results are concerned.

Streek: The implication of your reply is that you are not very hopeful about the future in terms of these kinds of developments.

Kaunda: That is what I am saying. We have tried to work together but it has not born fruit at all. So really, what is the basis of being hopeful? None at all. The facts speak differently. We have been expecting something and that something has not happened because South Africa has not moved the way we hoped she would.

Streek: On Angola, the obvi-

that will bring fruition to what we have been expecting.

Streek: As far as you are concerned it is really up to South Africa ...

Kaunda: Certainly. South Africa is the centre of all these things. If South Africa moves out of Angola, if South Africa says we are going to move now on the question of Namibia, you will get movement. If South Africa stands still, there will be no movement and it means more innocent men, women and children will die in Angola and Namibia.

Streek: The South African Press reports the ANC is making use of Botswana as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa. While the South African Government has accepted in the past that there are no ANC bases in Botswana, the implication of these reports is that guerrillas are coming from either Zambia or Angola. Do you perhaps feel they are aimed at putting the squeeze on Botswana in the same way as has been done in Swaziland and Lesotho?

Kaunda: I can't understand what is involved in these reports. My guess would be that this is really intended to frighten Botswana and to make her sign an Nkomati-type agreement with South Africa. Botswana has said there is no need for her to do that because she has no evil intentions against South Africa. She cannot support ANC bases on her territory because she can't afford it. The population is below one million. Her forces are

heid. As long as apartheid remains the order of the day in South Africa, no matter how powerful she may be in political terms, economic terms, social and cultural terms, scientific and technological terms, matters of defence and security, there is no way we can accept South Africa willingly. No way at all.

Streek: During the period leading up to the Botswana border talks and those over Angola last year, the Zambia and South African governments seemed to be getting closer. Is this still the case?

Kaunda: Our desire to fight apartheid in a non-violent way has been frustrated from time to time.

Soon after independence I offered to send Zambian diplomats to South Africa. This was rejected by the South Africans.

And there were contacts in the late-60s between the late Mr Vorster and myself.

This was in our determined desire to help ease the situation there by fighting apartheid peacefully. We exchanged a few letters and Mr Vorster decided at one stage to release that correspondence.

What he did not know was that there was nothing for me to hide. Each time I wrote to him, I informed two of my closest friends, President Nyerere and President Obote.

So when Mr Vorster threatened to release that correspondence, to show, in his own words, I was a "double-dealer", when that happened, President Nyerere phoned and said all you need to do is release those letters. In fact, by that time our Central Committee had already decided to do that. And we released this in an information note, which we called "Dear Mr Vorster".

After that, he saw that he had to deal with Zambia.

I remember a friend of mine, a white businessman, telling him that, look if you wanted to understand independent Africa, you had to understand Zambia.

So, Mr Vorster put out feelers again. I said I had nothing to hide. It was he who revealed those letters, so if he wanted to deal with me, let him come out tell me what he wanted to discuss.

These contacts led to the

So I said, of course, why not? The meeting was arranged quickly and we met.

I was very clear with President Botha and said there was no way he could expect to pass this cup. He had got to accept it if he wanted to stick to apartheid.

I can remember saying to President Botha: "I look at this thing here. It is like all of us — the Nyereres, the Machel's, the Santos's, the Masires, the Mugabes, the Kaundas, the Bothas, the Leabua Jonathans, all of us — are like men in a small canoe."

"When we started off we had a good engine, but that engine has packed up. We are now using paddles which are breaking one by one and the canoe is rushing helplessly towards the cataracts over there. It will collapse and all of us will perish."

He said this was the first time he was hearing an African leader say that all of us were involved. I said "of course". There is no way an explosion can take place in South Africa, and Zambia expect to remain untouched. It would be unrealistic.

So, while principles are involved we are also involved with our own security. When you speak of South Africa, she has a role to play of bringing peace not only between Zambia and South Africa but also to the region as a whole.

What I have said here was that in all our dealings between South Africa and Zambia, Zambia has maintained a very principled stand. It is peace we are concerned with.

Our relations still remain what they have been: talking business.

At the moment there has been no business, because the great and important questions remain unanswered.

We support Samora Machel over Nkomati because we know without Nkomati we would already have seen a bantustan in Mozambique.

It is a retreat — but every good general must retreat when things are tough in order to recoup. That is how I look at Nkomati, but President Samora looks at this differently. He genuinely wants to co-operate with South Africa.

Until there is progress on key issues there is no point in meeting President Botha again?

Kaunda: I can see no progress. If I can see progress, there is room then for discussing other matters





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Streek: The implication of your reply is that you are not very hopeful about the future in terms of these kinds of developments.

Kaunda: That is what I am saying. We have tried to work together but it has not born fruit at all. So really, what is the basis of being hopeful? None at all. The facts speak differently. We have been expecting something and that something has not happened because South Africa has not moved the way we hoped she would.

Streek: On Angola, the obvious intention of the Joint Monitoring Commission was to reduce conflict in Angola and as you say there does not seem to be much progress in that direction. What more should be done by South Africa in specific terms?

Kaunda: At the meetings held between Angola and the South Africans, which were assisted by the US and ourselves in providing meeting places and so forth, we discussed certain issues. What we had hoped to see done is that South Africa would respond favourably to the demand by the Angolans and the rest of mankind that they withdraw from Southern Angola and that they allow the implementation of resolution 435.

Streek: Mr Frank Wisner from the US has been in Southern Africa recently and has been from here to Angola. Is there any hope in terms of Namibia flowing from these visits?

Kaunda: From our discussions there was absolutely nothing to indicate that we

could expect movement

that will bring fruition to what we have been expecting.

Streek: As far as you are concerned it is really up to South Africa...

Kaunda: Certainly. South Africa is the centre of all these things. If South Africa moves out of Angola, if South Africa says we are going to move now on the question of Namibia, you will get movement. If South Africa stands still, there will be no movement and it means more innocent men, women and children will die in Angola and Namibia.

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You have mentioned Zambia. We have an office of the ANC here, but we have no military bases for the ANC. So, there can be no way in which these forces, the so-called ANC forces, can come from Zambia. I am afraid these are made-up stories designed to embarrass Botswana.

Streek: Has there ever been any pressure put on you by the South African authorities to restrict the activities of the ANC inside Zambia? Or Swapo for that matter?

Kaunda: Not that I know of. They have no cause to do so.

Streek: Despite the current economic climate, South Africa plays a dominant role in the economy of the region. Are there any steps South Africa should be taking?

Kaunda: I think the point here is that the entire OAU has said South Africa is an independent state.

Our quarrel is with apart-

ting closer. Is this still the case?

Kaunda: Our desire to fight apartheid in a non-violent way has been frustrated from time to time.

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So, Mr Vorster put out feelers again. I said I had nothing to hide. It was he who revealed those letters, so if he wanted to deal with me, let him come out tell me what he wanted to discuss.

These contacts led to the meeting at the (Victoria Falls) bridge. That dealt with the question of Zimbabwe, then Rhodesia.

We had realised the British were helpless in terms of bringing changes in Rhodesia. So, my colleagues and I decided to deal with South Africa.

Indeed, that meeting achieved something in that it led to the release of the authentic leaders of the nationalists in Southern Africa — the Nkomos, the Mugabes, and others, who had been detained for a long time.

Because of Smith's tricks, we were quite sure the plan we had would have brought about majority rule in Zimbabwe in stages. This would have been achieved but Smith frustrated this.

By that time, the nationalist leaders were out, so they planned the strategy of fighting the liberation war. I spoke to one of your colleagues and said this thing was going to explode.

He asked me if I would like to tell that to Mr Botha

helpless. It will collapse and all of us will perish."

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At the moment there has been no business, because the great and important questions remain unanswered.

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It is a retreat — but every good general must retreat when things are tough in order to recoup. That is how I look at Nkomati, but President Samora looks at this differently. He genuinely wants to co-operate with South Africa.

Until there is progress on key issues there is no point in meeting President Botha again?

Kaunda: I can see no progress. If I can see progress, there is room then for discussing other matters which might bring us closer. But because there is no progress, I see no reason why I should meet him.



# Pik is piqued by the Frontline view

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday firmly rejected the views expressed this week by the President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, on developments in Southern Africa.

He said President Kaunda was "not fair" in his comments and they "reflect a deep misunderstanding of recent developments in Southern Africa".

Mr Botha criticised President Kaunda at a specially convened Press conference which he said he had been asked by President P W Botha to give.

He said he was neither surprised nor angry with President Kaunda because the Zambian leader had expressed similar views in three meetings they had held last year.

At the press conference, Mr Botha rejected President Kaunda's view that the Nkomati Agreement was "one-sided", denied that there had been no progress on Namibia, and said President Kaunda apparently wanted "the unconditional capitulation of the Government to the ANC".

President Kaunda was apparently "not aware of the historical constitutional developments which are taking place in South Africa".

"The evolutionary progress which we are making is not rapid enough for him."

"It is not good enough to offer Mr Mandela his freedom, provided that he renounces violence," Mr Botha said.

## By BARRY STREEK in Cape Town

"What he expects of us — the whites, coloureds, the Indians and black nations of South Africa — is the renunciation of our respective rights to national and group self-determination."

"Dr Kaunda accepts the whites as Africans. In other words, he accepts their right to permanence in South Africa. They also wish to feel secure in the land of their birth. They also are entitled to govern themselves according to their norms which are not better or worse, not superior or inferior of their fellow Africans but which clearly differ."

"President Kaunda may make dire threats concerning our future. He has made them before."

"We are still at peace and we continue to make progress in addressing our complex problems."

"But there is a threatening disaster in Africa. Hundreds of thousands of people are dying. But they are not dying here."

"They are dying in the very countries which President Kaunda holds up to us as an example for our salvation."

"Indeed, there are one and a half million foreign workers in South Africa, the majority of whom are here illegally."

"The time has come for the leaders of

Africa to reflect on why this is so," Mr Botha said.

Although President Kaunda had stated there had been no progress in South West Africa/Namibia, "this is not so", Mr Botha continued.

In January 1984, the then Prime Minister had called on the people of Namibia to demonstrate their willingness to produce a viable political solution and for the political leaders to decide what they were doing.

Within four weeks, the Multi-Party Conference issued a Declaration of Basic Principles and in April they issued a Declaration of Fundamental Rights and Objectives.

They successfully called for the release of Tlovo ja Tlovo and in May last year they met Swapo under the chairmanship of President Kaunda and the Administrator-General.

"President Kaunda is perfectly aware of the reasons for the failure of those talks."

"He knows that Swapo refused, at the last moment, to sign a compromise declaration which would have signalled agreement on a number of important issues."

"However, just before the last session of the conference, Nujoma had talks with a certain 'foreign envoy'," Mr Botha claimed.

"Thereafter, his attitude changed dramatically. He ended his final speech with a diatribe against the white members of the MPC."

Mr Botha said Mr Nujoma, the Swapo

leader, had said he could not guarantee what would happen to the whites of the territory and said "I cannot guarantee their safety — it is your fault".

He had also accused them of "having the blood of Namibians on their hands and on their hair".

"Progress had also been made on the one remaining obstacle to an internationally recognised independence of Namibia — the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola," Mr Botha said.

In October and November 1984, South Africa and the United States discussed Angolan proposals for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops and South Africa was able to report that progress had been made in respect of "broad consensus on a number of important principles, although a considerable gap remains in respect of the timing and modalities of Cuban withdrawal".

"Efforts to narrow that gap are remaining."

"South Africa continued to work for negotiated settlements."

"Twice during 1984, the Administrator-General investigated the possibility of arranging a cessation of hostilities with Swapo."

"On both occasions Swapo turned its back on this possibility."

"It is a pity that President Kaunda has not used undoubted influence and goodwill to persuade Swapo to cease its senseless campaign of violence and to investigate, instead, the possibilities of peace," Mr Botha said.



Streek: There were some reports that you had offered to arrange talks between the South African Government and the Frontline states as a group. Were the reports true and if this is the case has there been any progress in this direction?

Kaunda: I said I would be very happy to attempt to arrange such a summit if I thought something useful could be achieved.

For us, the only useful thing that could come out of that summit would be to arrange for the burial of apartheid. Even if it means just a beginning to dig the grave of apartheid, I would be quite happy to arrange that meeting.

Angolan, Mozambiquan, Lesotho, Botswanan and Zambian leaders have met South African leaders. And yet we are seeing no results and no movement towards the ideal goal.

In bilateral discussions we are not achieving anything. A summit would be to see what we can achieve peacefully to remove apartheid in South Africa. We would therefore accept South Africa within the family of nations.

There was no other motive in saying I could organise a meeting between Mr Botha, my colleagues and myself, than thinking something could be achieved in it.

Streek: You referred to your offer to exchange diplomats after independence. Would you be prepared to exchange diplomats now?

Kaunda: The reason for my deciding to exchange diplomats was to try to help achieve majority rule in South Africa peacefully.

# Kaunda: My plea to SA's leaders

The ANC had still been fighting a non-violent struggle when we were about to achieve independence.

I understood the thinking of South African leaders in the ANC — Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and others — very well, and I thought by establishing diplomatic relations between Zambia and South Africa, this would help the non-violent struggle along.

But since then the ANC has failed to achieve results through non-violent methods. They are now fighting liberation wars and as such the situation has changed completely.

I would see no use in proposing to President Botha that we establish diplomatic relations at this stage.

Streek: Trade between Zambia and South Africa has increased in recent years, particularly reflected by the availability of South African goods here in Lusaka. Would you like to see this increased?

Kaunda: You probably know we have a partnership which we inherited from our colonial days between Anglo American and ourselves.

South African investments have been here, long before we were born as a nation and they are still here. We had a number of Afrikaner nationals here at independence and they are welcome, as long as they accept our policies of non-racialism.

In this respect there has

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda discusses relationships between Zambia and South Africa, investments and the future of South Africa in the second and last part of an exclusive interview in Lusaka with the Mail's BARRY STREEK.

been longstanding investment in Zambia.

But we have not deliberately encouraged new South African investments into Zambia.

In terms of trade which is growing between South Africa and Zambia, this is certainly not out of choice. Our western trading partners have their outposts in South Africa.

Even when we prefer to buy from them they refer us to their outposts in South Africa. So, trade is certainly against our political desires, which is to cut trade links with South Africa as we did with the then rebel colony of Rhodesia but we are under pressure.

Because we are landlocked our goods are very expensive if we get them elsewhere. We must buy from the cheapest source and that is South Africa.

Soon after our independence we began to reduce economic ties with South Africa, but when the rebels declared their own independence unilaterally we were forced to cut off links with the rebels and go back to South Africa.

Streek: In the book, "Kaunda on Violence", and in the speech of Prime Minister Mundla to welcome the Bulgarian Prime Minister, support for the ANC was expressed and its military campaign against South Africa. What exactly is Zambia's official position in regard to the ANC and its strategies?

Kaunda: We make the point that we recognise South Africa as an independent country.

If the colonial powers do not want liberation to come peacefully and non-violently, and if the colonised people decide to fight it out we have no right to stop them.

And so Zambia's stand remains the OAU stand. Where it is possible the struggle is non-violent. In this respect, ANC history shows clearly they stood for a non-violent struggle.

We remember the treason trials and they came as a result of people deciding to fight a non-violent, non-racial struggle, which I thought was fantastic.

But when the Nationalist Government clamped so heavily on a people who

were not violent, what choice have they except to try to meet violence with violence? And that is exactly what the ANC is doing.

Those who condemn apartheid must condemn Idi Amin and the so-called Emperor Bokassa (formerly head of the Central African Republic) and all other tyrants.

So, in this respect we support the ANC.

We asked President Botha — I called him a sincere man publicly — to remove apartheid and go down in history as a man who did so much to remove apartheid and bring genuine peace to South Africa.

Streek: You have expressed pessimism about events inside South Africa. Is this still the case?

Kaunda: When a people are oppressed, they can be oppressed by their own colour, or a different colour. We will not accept that anywhere.

You cannot suppress the feeling God put in man. He says we have made you after our image, God's image of love and power. So, man's image is a source of power and nothing on earth can suppress that power.

It is godly because it is God's declaration that we have made you after our own image. It is not a question of military might.

Our plea to the South African leadership today is: Allow for peaceful change. Because if you don't, it is going to explode.

There are millions of people in South Africa who are held down by a handful of millions.

Yes, South Africa has military might. Yes, the police and the civil service is there. Yes, it has economic power. All that will go to pieces one of these days, not very long from now.

I warned the West in the name of Zambia about Mozambique and Angola. I warned the West in the name of Zambia about Zimbabwe.

I pray to the Good Lord that my analysis of the situation is wrong, because if it isn't you will lose thousands of people, hundreds of thousands of people. We lost 40 000 and more in Zimbabwe. We are going to lose more than that number in South Africa.

I told the late Mr Vorster on the bridge that this thing was going to explode. He told me I did not know what I was talking about.

We lost 69 in Sharpeville and in Soweto 10 months after I spoke to Mr Voster we lost over 600 — 10 times the number in Sharpeville. Are we waiting to see 40 000 times 10 in South Africa?

An explosion in South Africa will make the French Revolution look like a Sunday morning children's picnic. What is more, I don't see that being very distant from now unless we can do something together to change from apartheid to majority rule.

In Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta was called the "Leader of Darkness", and before he died he was known as a world leader of non-racialism.

Tanzania, black and white. Uganda, black and white. Malawi, the same thing. Here we are black and white. Mozambique, where they fought a spirited war, black and white. Angola, after a war, black and white.

Let us take a former British colony, Zimbabwe. Not only are white and black living together but the actual architect of that war, Ian Smith, is sitting in the same parliament with Robert Mugabe.

The African people of this continent are very forgiving. They don't forget, because we can't forget history. Here I was called "a black mamba" in Northern Rhodesia. I walked with a long staff and they said "today it is a staff, tomorrow it is a panga".

We were told here in Zambia if only we could raise a Nyerere, it would be right. When the war was at its height in Zimbabwe, we were told "if only we could raise a Kaunda". I am sure we will be told "if only we could raise a Mugabe in South Africa".

And yet, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, and a lot of those African leaders I know are noble men and women.

We have them here and we say grace together. And these are the people our South African brothers and sisters are afraid of.

We can't understand that.



# Hansard dates the offer to Mandela

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

PRESIDENT P W Botha's formal offer to release Nelson Mandela, provided that he renounced armed struggle, would be conveyed to him as soon as the Hansard containing the offer was published, the Department of Prisons said last night.

When the relevant Hansard is published, copies will be made available to the heads of prisons where security prisoners serving life sentences are held, and the prison heads will, in turn, make them available to prisoners who have already served a "long time" in prison.

"Their reaction, if any, will be sent through the usual channels to the Government."

Bound and revised copies of Hansard are usually published between 10 to 14 days after a speech is made in Parliament.

Unbound, unrevised copies, however, are available almost immediately.

In another development, the Department of Prisons yesterday turned down a request by the Rand Daily Mail to interview Mandela.

The request was made immediately after Mandela was interviewed by Lord Bethell, the British politician, writer and freelance journalist, about a fortnight ago.

A long article was published soon afterwards in a London newspaper.

The Mail request was turned down because it was contrary to Prisons Department policy to allow journalists to interview individual prisoners, Lieutenant-Colonel D J Immelman, said.

It was put to Col Immelman that it was inconsistent to refuse the Mail's request in the wake of granting a British journalist permission to interview Mandela.

Col Immelman replied: "It must be pointed out that (Lord Bethell) conducted an orientation visit to prison institutions in his capacity as a member of the British House of Lords and as chairman of the European Parliament Human Rights Group."

He added: "The fact that Lord Bethell is a freelance writer and an occasional journalist is totally coincidental as far as this visit is concerned."

Mrs Helen Suzman, of the Progressive Federal Party, helped Lord Bethell get permission to visit Mandela.

She said last night: "To the best of my knowledge the department did not know that he was a writer. I urged the department to give him permission because he was chairman of the European Parliament Human Rights Group."

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# I won't deal with violent ANC PW Botha

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7/2/85  
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## Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha today made it clear he was not prepared to deal with the African National Congress because of its commitment to violence.

Mr Botha was commenting in a statement on an interview with ANC President Mr Oliver Tambo.

In the interview, for which the Government has approved publication, Mr Tambo said there was no alternative to the armed struggle against the Pretoria regime and that the ANC would intensify its campaign of violence as long as apartheid existed.

Alternatives to the peaceful struggle had failed, Mr Tambo said.

President Botha today repeated the conditions which he set down last week under which he would enter negotiations with the ANC.

He said he was not prepared "to deal with people or groups who plan and execute acts of violence."

## ANC INTENTIONS

According to Government sources permission for the publication of the interview was given to clear up confusion about the intentions of the ANC.

Progressive Federal Party chairman Dr Alex Boraine recently endorsed calls to the Government to hold talks with the ANC.

Government sources have also indicated that they see little need for talking to the ANC as they feel they have the organisation "on the run".

The claim is based on the denial of bases to the ANC in Mozambique following the Nkomati Accord, as well as the clampdown on the ANC in Swaziland and Lesotho.

The Government is also clearly hoping to score a propaganda victory with its conditional offer to release Nelson Mandela.



# No option but arms, says ANC

CAPL Times 7/2/85

HARARE. — There is no alternative to armed struggle against the "Pretoria regime", and the African National Congress will intensify the struggle as long as apartheid prevails, the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, said in an interview.

All peaceful attempts at change in the past had failed, he said.

"Therefore we say to remove armed struggle the regime should first remove apartheid which is the cause of the armed struggle."

## 'Violence'

The system had been responsible for sending millions of people into barren lands where, he said, they were only queuing up for death. The bantustans were themselves an act of violence, so it was wrong to think his organization would abandon the armed struggle, he said.

"In any case, even if there were any talks, and if we thought the time had come for talks with the Pretoria regime, we would not abandon the armed struggle. We would simply carry on."

Mr Tambo said the ANC would not talk to "the regime about the fate of our country before the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the other leaders imprisoned with him".

On the recent offer by President P W Botha, to

release Mandela on condition he renounces the use of violence, Mr Tambo said it was significant only to the extent that it was a new condition, which Mandela would once again reject.

It was not clear why "we who are the victims of violence are expected to abandon our violence when the regime pursues us with worse violence".

On the recent proposal by Mr Botha that Africans living in the urban areas should have different status from those in the homelands, Mr Tambo said all that it represented was another idea for bantustans in the urban areas.

He said whatever the regime was trying to build — including its so-called constitutional reforms — was being built upon the foundation of apartheid which at any rate was cracking.

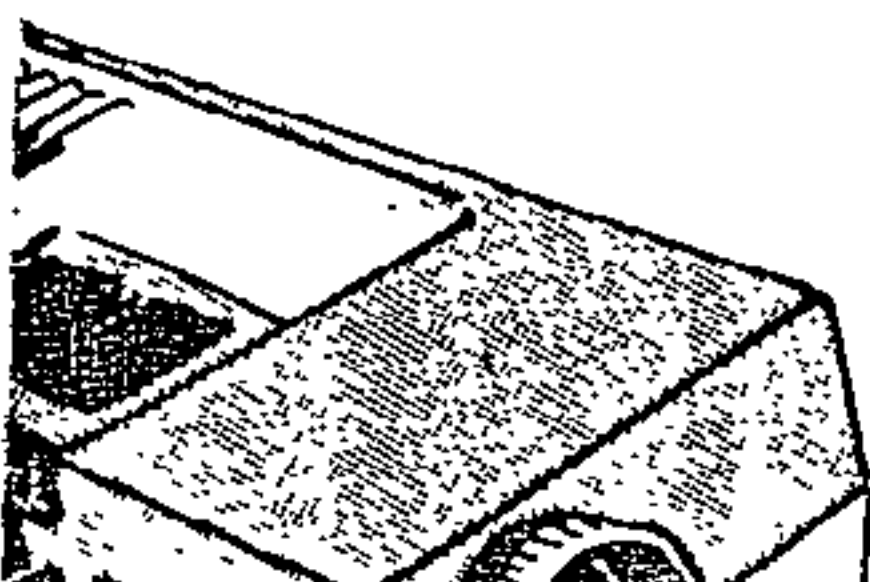
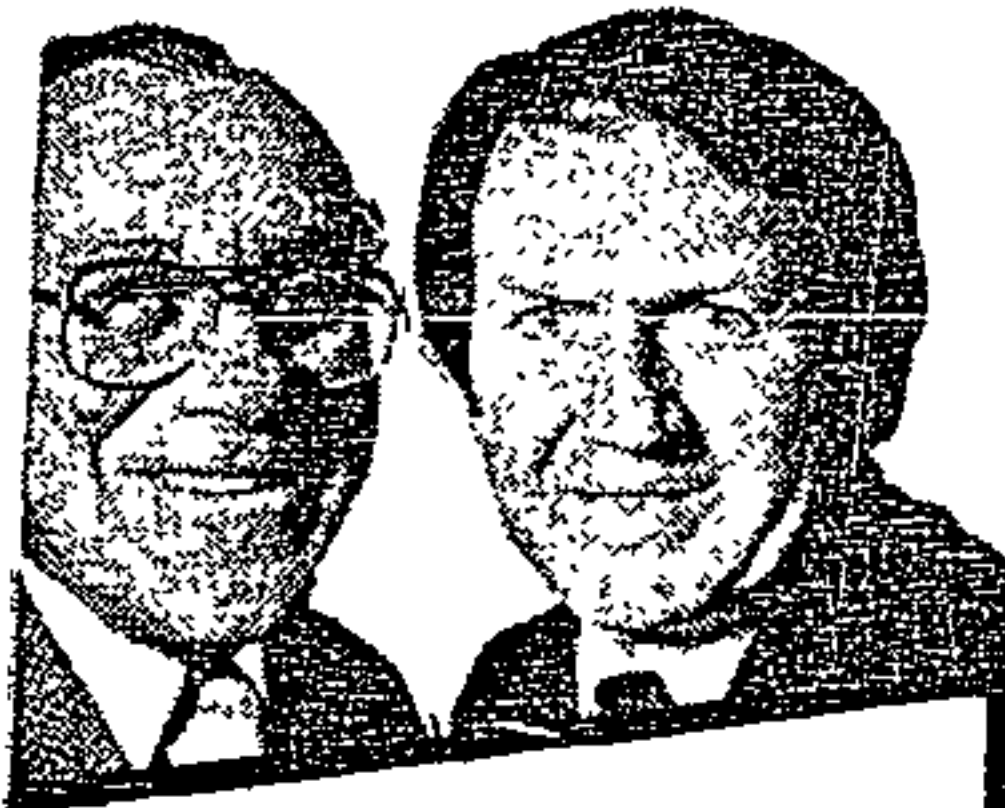
The "so-called urban Africans" would not be deceived by the ploy which only represented the regime's belief in apartheid and its determination to defend it.

Asked whether the apparent lull in the armed activities of the ANC was because the Nkomati Accord was beginning to have some effect, he said there had been more military activities in South Africa by the ANC after the Nkomati agreement than before.

Armed struggle was a part of the ANC's strategy which consisted of international mobilization in support of the struggle; the internal activities of the people and their unity of action in resistance to apartheid.

"The recent upsurge of mass resistance, coupled with the numerous strikes, the resistance to the constitutional amendment and the opposition to the coloured and Indian election for the tricameral Parliament, form an essential part of the armed struggle," Mr Tambo said.

The ANC had never believed the neighbouring African states should offer their countries as rearguard bases for the armed struggle in South





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# The armed fight will go on — Tambo

HARARE. — African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo has warned that even if the ANC sat down for talks with the South African Government they would not abandon the armed struggle until apartheid was ended and Nelson Mandela and other black leaders were released.

In an interview published in the Zimbabwe Herald on Monday Mr Tambo insisted there was no alternative to armed struggle against the "Pretoria regime" and the ANC would intensify it as long as apartheid prevailed.

All the peaceful alternatives had failed in the past, he said.

"Therefore we say: to remove armed struggle, the regime should first remove apartheid which is the cause of armed struggle."

The system had been responsible for sending millions of people into barren lands where, he said, they were only queueing up for death.

The Bantustans were themselves an act of violence, so it was wrong to think his organisation would abandon the armed struggle.

"In any case, even if there were any talks, and if we thought the time had come for talks with the Pretoria regime, we would not abandon the armed struggle. We would simply carry on."

"We would not talk to the regime about the fate of our country before the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the other leaders imprisoned with him," Mr Tambo said.

On the recent offer by the President of South Africa, Mr P W Botha, to release Mandela on condition that he renounces the use of violence, Mr Tambo said it was significant only to the extent that it was a new

Mr Tambo is banned and may not be quoted in South Africa. At the request of SAPA, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, exercised his right to give permission for this report to be published in South African newspapers. The Rand Daily Mail does not normally seek such dispensation because of the danger of news manipulation. It is obvious that permission may be given only because it suits the Minister and his Government.

However, in view of the significance of the report, the Mail has set aside these reservations in this case.

Readers should note that South African newspapers may be prohibited from publishing further statements or elaborations by Mr Tambo, no matter how relevant. Should this happen, the Mail will inform its readers of the situation.

condition, which Mandela would once again reject.

"Up to now, and for many years, Mr Mandela has been offered release on condition that he went to live in the Bantustans; to endorse and recognise the so-called independent Bantustans. But consistently he has rejected the condition."

Pretoria should know by now that Mandela was a man whose life was governed by strong principles and if they want to talk to him about armed struggle, Mr Tambo said, then they would talk to him as a free man.

It was not clear, he said, "why we, who are the victims of violence, are expected to abandon our violence when the regime pursues us with worse violence".

Of the recent proposal by Mr Botha that Africans living in the urban areas should have different status from those in the Bantustans, Mr Tambo said all this move represented was another idea for Bantustans in the urban areas.

He said that whatever the Government was trying to build — including its so-called constitutional reforms — was being built upon the crumbling foundation of apartheid.

Asked whether the apparent lull in the ANC's armed activities was because the Nkomati Accord was beginning to have some effect, he said there had been more military activity in South Africa by his organisation after the

□ To Page 2

## 'End apartheid to end fighting'

□ From Page 1

agreement than before.

Armed struggle was only a part of the ANC's strategy which consisted of international mobilisation in support of the struggle, the internal activities of the people and their unity of action in resistance to apartheid.

Armed struggle needed all the three fronts in order to be successful.

"The recent upsurge of mass resistance, coupled with the numerous strikes, the resistance to the constitutional amendment and the opposition to the coloured and Indian election for the tricameral Parliament, form an essential part of the armed struggle," Mr Tambo said.

The ANC had never believed the neighbouring African states should offer their countries as rear-guard bases for the armed struggle in South Africa.

"We planned our military activities in the knowledge that the Frontline States were vulnerable," he said.

Asked what significance

he attached to the growing opposition to apartheid in the United States, Mr Tambo said it was significant for the future of the "racist regime" and was complementary to, and not a substitute for, the internal struggle against apartheid.

"It undermines the calculation the racist regime made that it was going to have another four years of uninterrupted blissful relations with the Reagan administration."

On the argument by some Bantustan spokesmen that economic sanctions against South Africa would bring more suffering to the African people, he said that that was an "old song" telling the Africans to accept enslavement to avoid suffering.

"It is an argument being repeated by people in South Africa who are by definition puppets of the regime whose word only has meaning to the exploiters and the companies which want to live off our cheap labour in the pretext of giving us jobs when they are reinforcing the apartheid system," the ANC leader said. — Sapa.



'Researchers aim to boost Govt'

# Black leaders condemn HSRC's new findings

304A (MVA) Stew  
8/2/85

Black leaders Dr Nthato Motlana and Dr Sam Saloojee have accused the Human Sciences Research Council of trotting out research aimed at boosting the Government's credibility.

They say there is growing suspicion in black communities about HSRC surveys.

The two leaders were commenting yesterday on a new Council survey of urban black opinion which found clear support for the new constitution.

The black leaders said these findings were totally unrepresentative of true opinion in townships.

The survey is the latest in a controversial Human Sciences

By Sue Leeman,  
Pretoria Bureau

Research Council series which in recent months has turned its poll spotlight on the African National Congress, security laws, race laws, unrest and elections and even the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Dr Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association, said the new survey was just another case of kite-flying on the Government's behalf.

"The Government needs some kind of respectable organisation to turn public thinking," he added.

"By clever phrasing of

meaningless questions, you get exactly the answers you want.

"This report is meaningless and brings the council into disrepute."

Dr Saloojee, national vice-president of the United Democratic Front, said the more politically aware township resident would no longer take part in such surveys, believing them suspect.

Past Human Sciences Research Council findings, he went on, had not been borne out by the ballot box.

However Dr Nic Rhoodie, responsible for the new survey, said successive council surveys on attitudes to socio-political

issues had all yielded similar results and had been borne out by research elsewhere.

He denied that the council was chiefly concerned with producing research which would place the Government in a good light.

The council, he said, merely tested and recorded public opinion.

He admitted that his researchers had met a certain amount of suspicion in black communities and conceded that some questioning procedures did not yield easily decipherable results.

His new survey was carried out last July.

## And here is what the researchers reported

Most urban blacks are against school boycotts, says a Human Sciences Research Council survey.

It also says that most urban blacks feel foreign disinvestment in South Africa would hurt blacks most and economic pressure rather than apartheid is causing most hardship.

In the survey researcher Dr Nic Rhoodie found that most urban blacks who knew some-

thing about the tricameral Parliament were strongly opposed to the new system because it excluded them.

The survey covered nearly 1 500 blacks over 18 in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area. It found that:

● A substantial 64 percent regarded economic pressure as their biggest problem; 21 percent felt apartheid was their most serious problem.

● Just over 56 percent felt black pupils were wrong to boycott classes; 35,8 percent approved of boycotts.

● About 27 percent believed white Government institutions and leaders were responsible for the boycotts; about 25 percent blamed pupils and their representative councils.

● Over 60 percent said they

felt blacks would suffer most through disinvestment; 14 percent thought whites would be more affected.

● About two-thirds of the 48 percent who said they knew something about the new Parliamentary system regarded it as bad; about a third of the 23 percent favouring the new system believed coloured and Indian participation would lead to black representation.



RAWLEIGH WARNER JNR

# Constructive investment

Things have changed a great deal since 1972, the last time Rawleigh Warner Jnr was in SA. Compared with the first of his four visits to the country more than 20 years ago, changes may seem close to a transformation. But not quite.

To a man like Warner, 63, this matters. He is chairman and chief executive officer of Mobil Corporation, whose Mobil Oil Corporation is the second-largest oil company in the US (taxed profits last year: \$1,27 billion, down 15,5% on the previous year). Mobil is probably the largest US corporation invested in SA; at current values, its stake runs to about \$400m.

As such, the corporation has been in the front row of the firing line of US anti-apartheid action for the past 10 years or so. It was also one of the first US multinationals to fight back to lead by example in not only endorsing the Sullivan Code of employment principles, but also supporting the drive with money and effort. In the heightened consciousness in the US of the increasingly unacceptable face of apartheid, Mobil, as a

pioneer equal-opportunity employer, has much that it can throw back at concerned activists without feelings of self-consciousness.

Nonetheless, anti-Pretoria sentiment in the US has gained a momentum of its own, fanned for a time by copious media exposure, but now, in the nature of passing fashion, fast fading from television prime-time newscasts. But the determination of groups like Randall Robinson's TransAfrica is undiminished (FM February 1).

According to Warner, cities and states are adopting motions which are placing a heavy strain on the fiduciary duties of pension fund managers. For example, New York City is holding a gun to the head of any number of US multinationals in whose common stock the city is invested. The Catch-22 threat is that unless US corporations invested in SA can issue a categorical written denial that their products are procured by the SA police and the military, the city is bound by resolution to offload corporate holdings.

In all conscience, even if he wanted to, Warner is unable to furnish such a denial since information of this nature, certainly as it applies to petroleum products, is classified and could bring the company into conflict with the law if it sought to comply with New York's demands.

In fact, how many of 350 US companies — many of which are in *Fortune's* Top 500 category — invested in SA would be in a position to issue such a denial? If they cannot, they must be struck off New York City's investment portfolio. Is this in the best interests of employees who must share in the fortunes of state and city funds?

Warner's perspective on this question is not confined to Mobil. He is a director of a number of other US blue chips: AT & T, Amex, Caterpillar Tractor, Chemical New York Corporation and Chemical Bank, and the Signal Companies.

## Government officials

By and large, he seems happy with the outcome of his current visit of about 12 days. After meetings with government officials, academics and a wide range of opinion-formers, he is impressed with one thing: there can be no going back on the process of change and the commitment to change enunciated by President P W Botha in his opening address to Parliament.

"It is clear to me that whatever processes of political and social change have been set in motion, they should be accompanied by appropriate industrialisation. What is needed more than anything at this time to bring blacks into the community and the common wealth is growth and the jobs and housing that it brings," says Warner.

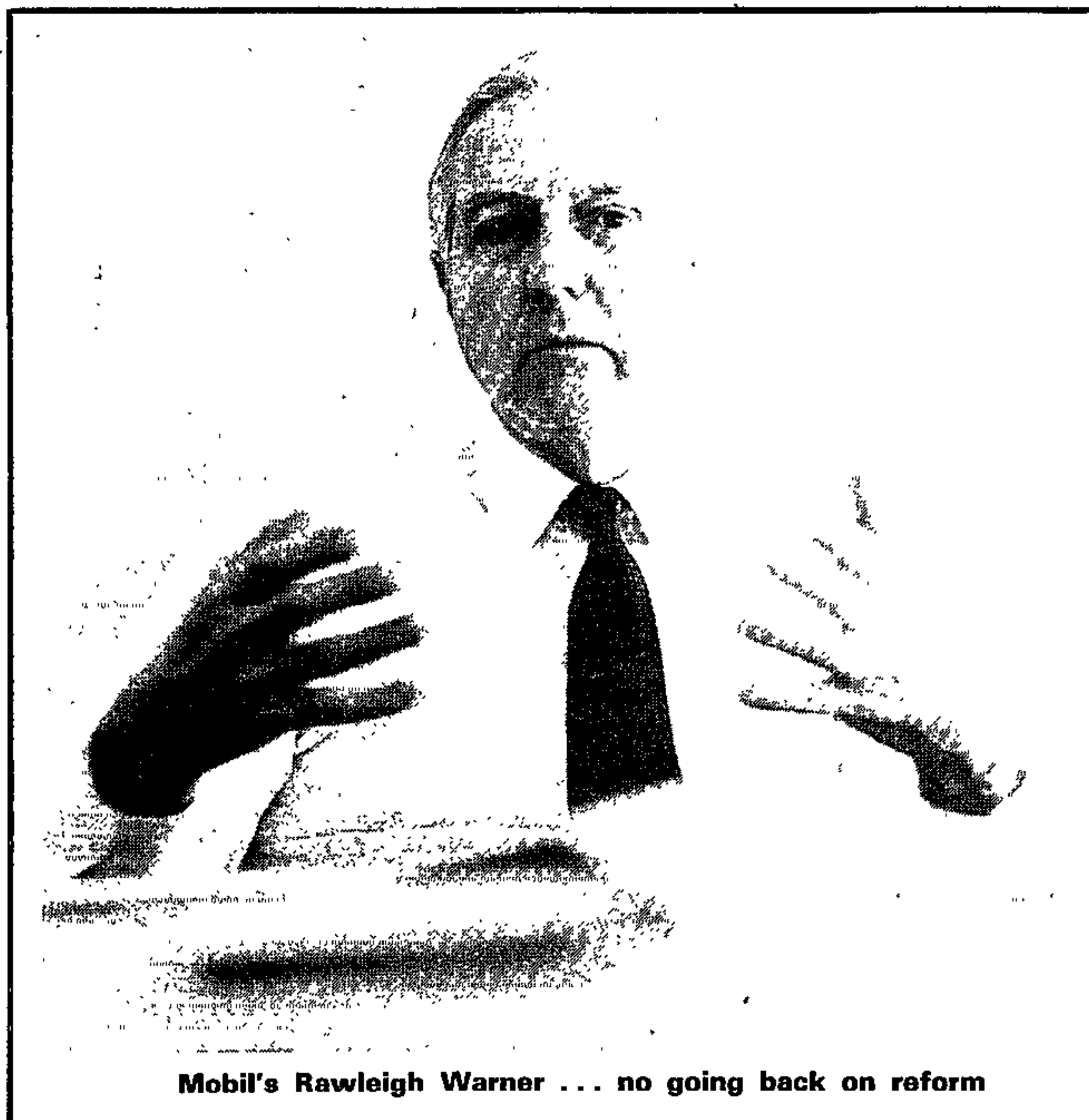
DENNIS DE LA CRUZ

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## Spirit of La Mancha

Dennis de la Cruz (45) is a man alone. And that was brought home to him in dramatic style last week during his baptism of fire in Parliament when, as leader of the tiny, three-man opposition in the House of Representatives, he delivered his motion of no confidence.

It was in many senses an historic occasion. A coloured politician, standing in the former Senate chamber, proposing a vote of no confidence in the National Party (NP). But from the moment he rose, members of the Labour Party (LP), who overwhelmingly dominate the House, opened fire. De la Cruz was heckled, interrupted and mocked. A lesser man might have folded. But, although he admits he was



Mobil's Rawleigh Warner ... no going back on reform



## Whites 'will still have rights'

THE ANC accepts that white people have a right, for historical reasons, to be in South Africa.

And it would like white people to stay in South Africa, even if there is majority rule and ANC government.

The belief that an ANC government would want to drive whites into the sea was firmly rejected.

It was also denied that white people would lose their property and cars under an ANC government.

But, it was emphasised, no one would be permitted to retain their positions of privilege because of their colour.

Although there has been some division in ANC ranks about its open membership, the organisation remains committed to individual membership of all races.

It has been argued that the ANC has to promote the concept of integration both within the body and at grass-roots levels.

It has also rejected the exclusive black policies of the black consciousness movement, but some ANC officials believe that, for the time being, the leadership of the organisation will have to remain in African hands.

The ANC remains committed to the Freedom Charter which was signed in 1955, and in that document it was stated that "key industries" would be nationalised.

However, the ANC position is that all decisions about future structures, including economic structures, would have to be taken by a government and parliament elected by all South Africans.

Only then would any decisions be taken about the possible nationalisation of industries.



OLIVER TAMBO ... tough stand against dialogue

THE four-pronged strategy of the ANC to overthrow the South African Government is to be reassessed at a special congress of the organisation in the next few months.

The date and the venue of the congress have yet to be disclosed, but it will be the largest and most significant get-together of the ANC since 1969, when a similar conference was held.

Delegates from all ANC branches throughout the world are to attend the conference, which is expected to be held in Africa, possibly Tanzania.

A number of position papers and documents have already been prepared for discussion before the conference and, I was told by ANC officials, they are aimed at intensifying pressure on the

## Strategy is to be reassessed

South African Government.

The ANC's approach shows that it sees no hope in the Government's recent policy reforms and that it does not believe there is any chance of any deal with the South African Government emerging, even if its jailed leader, Nelson Mandela, is released from jail.

Its four-pronged strategy is based on reinforcing its underground structures; promoting mass action by people inside South Africa; bolstering its armed attacks; and isolating the South African Government internationally.

The various elements of this broad strategy are to be assessed at the conference.

Although it believes that some of President PW Botha's supporters are now realising that majority rule is inevitable, it also believes the pressure on the Government should be increased.

The only possible solution to escalating tensions and violence, I was told, would be for the Government to legalise the ANC and to negotiate directly with its leaders.

According to the ANC assessment, escalating conflict seems inevitable.

## Olive won't

THERE IS not the slightest chance, at present, of direct talks between the South African Government and the banned African National Congress, as far as the ANC is concerned.

Even the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela the ANC's jailed leader would not be sufficient for it to change its opposition to negotiations with the Government.

Leaders of the organisation — which was outlawed in 1960 — hold the Government responsible for both its banning and its campaign of violence.

And they believe the onus is on the Government to take steps to enable it and other political bodies to function freely and normally before there is any point to negotiations.

This tough stand against dialogue was emphasised to me last week in the Zambian capital of Lusaka in a

## 'Conta

THE ANC is coming under pressure from certain African circles to abandon its reluctance to negotiate against "soft targets".

Although no particular names were named in my interviews in Lusaka, it is apparent that some circles that the ANC's strategies have not succeeded. The ANC has been waging violence since the early 1960s.

However, I was told, the ANC had firmly rejected these suggestions.

The organisation, it was said, would not extend its activities into children or cinemas or other strategic targets.

Indeed, the intensification of activities is one of the themes discussed at a special ANC conference in the next few months' time.

The ANC wants to extend its activities beyond guerrillas beyond who have fled South Africa.



8/2/85

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

RAN

# Oliver Tambo's ANC won't talk to SA . . .

THERE IS not the slightest chance, at present, of direct talks between the South African Government and the banned African National Congress, as far as the ANC is concerned.

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Leaders of the organisation — which was outlawed in 1960 — hold the Government responsible for both its banning and its campaign of violence.

And they believe the onus is on the Government to take steps to enable it and other political bodies to function freely and normally before there is any point to negotiations.

This tough stand against dialogue was emphasised to me last week in the Zambian capital of Lusaka in a

series of interviews with ANC leaders and officials. Little is usually reported in South Africa about the African National Congress, illegal since 1960. A rare glimpse into the organisation is, however, provided by this series of reports by the Mail's Barry Streek: he went to Lusaka last week and interviewed leaders of the ANC. The Mail is publishing these reports in the belief that they contain information of importance to South Africans

## BARRY STREEK

series of interviews with ANC leaders and officials.

Among the people I saw was ANC president Oliver Tambo, who gave his first-ever interview with a South African journalist working inside South Africa since he went into exile 25 years ago.

During the interviews, which — barring the one with Mr Tambo — were all conducted in a Lusaka hotel, it was emphatically denied that there had been any direct contact between

the South African Government and the ANC.

There has been Press speculation that feelers for talks have been put out and one report claimed that two Government officials had seen ANC officials in Lusaka in December last year.

President PW Botha denied these reports in a statement last year . . . and this denial was unequivocally confirmed in the interviews.

It is also clear that the

exiled organisation is totally unimpressed by recent reforms in Government policies because it sees no progress towards majority rule in which all South Africans have a vote in a single state.

Indeed, the ANC is planning a conference within the next few months, possibly in April, in which it will consider various means to intensify its campaign against the South African Government.

The exiled leaders also believe that Nelson Mandela will not accept any release offer unless it is unconditional.

From the interviews, it became clear that:

- It thinks recruiting for Umkhonto We Sizwe, its army, and its underground structure needs to be intensified;
- The organisation still bases its policies on the 1955 Freedom Charter.

In spite of Press reports that changes in the ANC's leadership were in the offing, it is expected that Mr Tambo will remain president and Mr Alfred Nzo will remain the secretary-general.

Speculation that Mr Thabo Mbeki, the son of the jailed Mr Govan Mbeki, was the new "crown prince" in the ANC was dismissed.

## is to assessed

The various elements of this broad strategy are to be assessed at the conference.

Although it believes that some of President PW Botha's supporters are now realising that majority rule is inevitable, it also believes the pressure on the Government should be increased.

The only possible solution to escalating tensions and violence, I was told, would be for the Government to legalise the ANC and to negotiate directly with its leaders.

According to the ANC assessment, escalating conflict seems inevitable.

## 'Contained' violence

THE ANC is coming under increased pressure from certain African countries to abandon its reluctance to use violence against "soft targets".

Although no particular countries were named in my interviews with ANC officials in Lusaka, it is apparently felt in some circles that the existing military strategies have not succeeded, although the ANC has been waging its campaign of violence since the early Sixties.

However, I was told, the ANC leadership had firmly rejected these pressures.

The organisation, it was said, would not extend its activities into bombing school-children or cinemas or similar acts, but would continue to sabotage buildings and other strategic targets.

Indeed, the intensification of its military activities is one of the items to be considered at a special ANC conference in a few months' time.

The ANC wants to extend its recruitment of guerrillas beyond young students who have fled South Africa and into work-

ers and people in the rural areas.

It claims to have increased its recruitment of women into the ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe, its military wing, over the past year.

It was made quite clear to me that the ANC would not give up its campaign of violence.

And the South African Government's offer to talk to the ANC if it abandoned violence was firmly rejected.

It was argued that if the ANC laid down its arms, without the Government confining the army to barracks and disarming policemen, this would amount to a surrender, not a truce, by the ANC.

● In spite of newspaper reports to the contrary, I was told that Joe Slovo was not the commander of Umkhonto, nor was he a member of the ANC executive. Mr Slovo was an influential member of the ANC army, but he took orders like everyone else in the military wing.

The Umkhonto commander, I was told, is Joe Modise.



# Key talks on Nkomati

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE joint SA-Mozambique security commission met in Pretoria yesterday for talks of critical importance to the future of the Nkomati Accord.

No formal statement was issued on the talks by the Department of Foreign Affairs, except to confirm that they took place and to repudiate speculation that the US Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, would attend as an observer.

The arrival of Dr Crocker in South Africa on the eve of the talks was nevertheless seen as evidence of American concern about the ongoing civil war in Mozambique, despite official US descriptions of his presence as a "routine visit" con-

cerning the US role as mediator in the South West Africa dispute.

Continued and even escalating attacks by rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR) have put the existence of the Nkomati Accord in jeopardy, with Mozambique Government officials accusing South Africa of not fulfilling its treaty obligation to curb the MNR.

The latest accusation came from President Samora Machel, who is reported to have charged Pretoria with being "unable or unwilling" to enforce the accord.

Dr Crocker's visit to South Africa comes in the wake of talks last month in Mozambique between his deputy, Mr Frank Wisner, and Mr Machel, which resulted in an American agreement to assist Mr

Machel's besieged regime militarily.

Dr Crocker will formally meet the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, today. It is certain that Mr Botha will brief Dr Crocker fully on developments at yesterday's talks.

According to well-placed observers, the South African delegation planned to use yesterday's security commission meeting to assure the Mozambique team that Pretoria was, and is, committed to making the Nkomati Accord work.

Among the points due to have been stressed were: the cessation of all military aid from South Africa to the MNR since Nkomati; the termination of all MNR activity from SA soil, including the broadcasting of propaganda; the concerted ef-

fort by Pretoria to bring an end to the civil war by acting as a mediator, and the attempt by Mr Botha to dissuade African countries suspected of assisting the MNR to desist from doing so.

But the Mozambique delegation is believed to have had some tough questions on its agenda for the meeting.

● Mozambican troops killed or captured 35 MNR rebels in operations near Maputo between January 20 and February 5, the state-run Mozambican AIM news agency said in a dispatch monitored in Lisbon, yesterday, reports UPI

AIM said two rebel camps were destroyed in the operations near the towns of Namacha and Manhica in southern Maputo province.



# Can negotiation politics head off violence in SA?

GPE Trials  
9/2/85  
2044

THE debate in the Assembly this week on Mr Albert Nothnagel's private member's motion was an important step forward in accustoming South Africa to the politics of negotiation.

The debate brought forth some degree of consensus between the Botha administration and the official PFP Opposition on how to proceed in domestic politics in turning the country away from violence.

President Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament, which showed some movement away from Verwoerdian rigidity, has been welcomed by Dr van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition. And Dr Slabbert, in his contribution to this week's debate, was positive and constructive.

Mr Nothnagel's motion called for the participation of all in the government's constitutional initiatives and for the unconditional abandonment of domination, violence and boycotts.

It seems that President Botha's speech, as subsequently elaborated upon by Messrs Gerrit Viljoen and Chris Heunis, has impressed the Opposition as a good beginning.

## Informal convention

Mr Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, in his contribution to this week's debate, stressed that anyone — "all population groups" would be eligible to take part in the new forum for negotiation with blacks, not only "urban Africans". What is more, Mr Heunis was at pains to point out that the new forum should not be equated with the abortive black advisory council of a few years ago which blacks rejected out of hand.

The forum is to be a flexible, non-statutory body for negotiation with blacks. If there are to be no particular restrictions on who may take part — obviously they should be credible leaders in their communities — it now seems possible that the forum could develop into an informal national convention in which representatives of all South Africans will negotiate the country's future.

If Mr Heunis's words can bear this interpretation, this is an important step forward. Mr Nothnagel is to be congratulated on introducing a most fruitful parliamentary exchange.

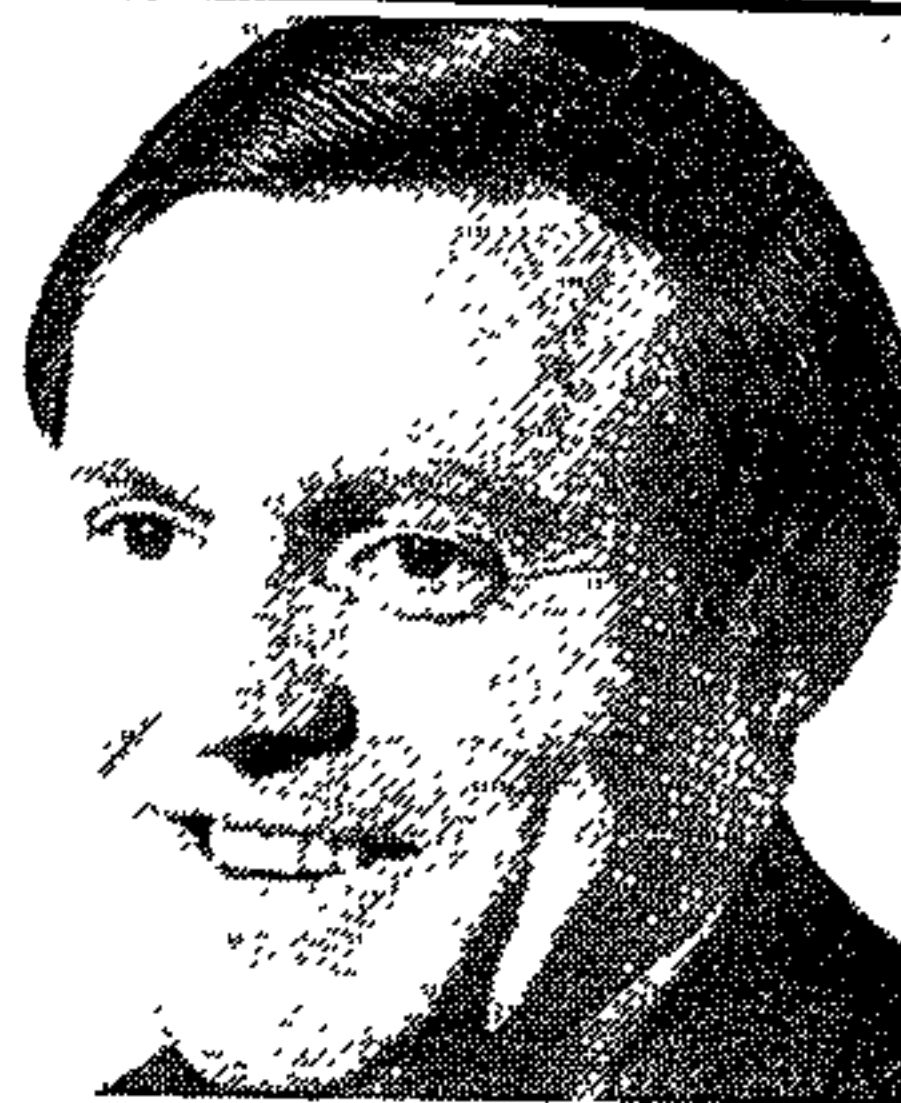
But what are the chances of

## POLITICAL SURVEY

By GERALD SHAW



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert



Mr Albert Nothnagel

the negotiators and peace-makers seizing the initiative?

The first obstacle to overcome will be to persuade any credible black leaders at all to take part. They have had their fill of "new deals" that came to nothing, promises to soften influx control etc.

Ultimately, the exercise will stand or fall on the chances of getting the African National Congress involved in discussions with the Botha administration. This latter objective is not yet practical politics, although it is closer now than would have seemed possible a year or so ago.

Professor H W van der Merwe has done the nation a service in arranging contacts with the ANC, starting some sort of preliminary dialogue through the media. What has emerged is that the ANC's position on negotiations is as every bit as intransigent as the Botha administration's, with both sides setting conditions which vitiate any chance of such negotiations getting under way. If anything, the ANC is taking a harder line than the government.

This is invariably the case when negotiations are first mooted in these situations and it need not be accepted as the last word. But a lot of political spadework lies ahead.

Even to get the negotiating forum off the ground will be a formidable undertaking, let alone to get the ANC involved. As Dr Van Zyl Slabbert pointed out in Mr Nothnagel's debate this week, and as he demon-

strated in the book he wrote with Professor David Welsh, "South Africa's Options", the first thing to do is to create a climate which is favourable to negotiation.

What would seem to be indicated here is rapid movement to put flesh on the bones of President Botha's promise to remove the "negative and discriminatory" elements of influx control and equally speedy recognition of South African citizenship rights for blacks. If, in addition, the Immorality Act and Mixed Marriages Act, the Group Areas Act and race classification, and a host of other offensive discriminatory statutes are scrapped, there is no doubt that the climate would be transformed. Negotiation would be a viable proposition.

There is also the whole field of black education. If this country's massive defence expenditure could be diverted into education, in part at least, here too a transformation would take place.

Then, of course, the ANC would need to be unbanned and allowed to take part in legitimate political activity.

What counts against the chances of getting the politics of negotiation off the ground is the snail's pace of legislative reform. There is to be yet another select committee into the Immorality and Mixed Marriages acts, this time involving all three houses of Parliament, and heaven knows when these measures will finally be dropped from the statute book.

If this is the best the Botha administration can do, how many years will it take to get rid of the Group Areas Act and race classification? And to scrap influx control?

The hopeful thing is the developing consensus on the need for open-ended negotiation which is shared in the Botha government and the PFP Opposition. There is much less consensus at present in the conduct of regional policy, particularly the role of the SADF in this area. The PFP feels very strongly that the situations in SWA/Namibia and Mozambique have been grossly mishandled.

In spite of this important area of disagreement, there seems to be a greater mutual confidence between government and opposition this session than ever before. This is probably prompted by the country's dire economic condition, as much as anything else, and by the threat which increased unemployment and galloping inflation pose for peace and order in the Republic.

## Coalition talks not practical

But the Botha administration still seems reluctant to allow itself to become too dependent on PFP support in the Assembly, fearing a loss of support to the Conservatives and HNP, in the Transvaal particularly.

If it is serious about the politics of negotiation, however, the Botha administration will need to press ahead with the reform legislation which is essential to provide a climate for negotiation. In time this could lead to some kind of arrangement developing in Parliament between government and Opposition so that legislation scrapping offensive apartheid laws can be expedited.

It is not practical politics to talk in terms of coalition, however. There are critical areas of disagreement. What degree of consensus may be reached in the specifics of domestic policy is not yet clear. The Botha administration, while displaying a new open-ended flexibility, has not yet clearly spelt out its constitutional goals in a statement of intent.

Yet the outlook is not uniformly bleak. The chill economic winds may yet do some good if they help to concentrate the minds of the politicians.



## WEEKEND FOCUS



The old Good Hope Theatre, refurbished for more than R3-million as the President's Council.

THE multi-million-rand President's Council opened in the historic and revamped Good Hope Theatre in Cape Town this week to an almost total lack of interest from Press or public.

Perhaps it was because the first debate by the cast of 60 assorted economists, academics, farmers, politicians, social welfare experts and teachers was unlikely to produce fireworks.

They had, after all, the specific mandate to find consensus on something as seemingly irrelevant — in these momentous times — as the lack of motivation and discipline in our youth.

JOHN MacLENNAN was in the gallery when the curtain went up.

# The President's unanimous men

w/c ARGUS 9/2/85 304A

**A**LL the President's men — and they include two women — listened attentively to the tale of the two Marais.

It was being told by Peter Marais, who is coloured. He is also a former pop singer, the son of a charwoman, and his burning desire is to fulfil his mother's prediction that he will one day run this country.

In the meantime he has arrived in this forum by a fluke of political in-fighting. The members of his party in the House of Representatives, who voted him into a job which will earn him more than R40 000 a year, have now split off and to all intents and purposes he is a one-man political organisation.

In his captive audience was another Marais: Piet "Weskus". White, former MP, Nationalist and long-standing bairer of the more liberal opposition.

The two were among those finding consensus on a motion which seemed to have been devised especially to keep councillors busy in these the first days, as they practised their new role as a lightning conductor for the tricameral system.

## The "other Marais"

Peter Marais (coloured) told the council the problems of youth related directly to lack of opportunity and a poor environment.

He couldn't tell, he said, the number of times he had rung for a job interview knowing full well he had the qualifications for it. But when he turned up in his suit, announced himself as "the" Marais who had telephoned, an embarrassed official would tell him the job was reserved for a white.

"You see," he told the council, "I found out I was one of the 'other Marais'."

Piet "Weskus" (white) laughed at the funny bits, nodded in agreement at the serious side — such as the unnamed philosopher who was quoted by "other" Marais as having said: "I do what I do because I am what I am and I am what I am because of my environment."

Nobody disagreed with his thesis, which was that every person wanted to believe that his country needed him and depended on him.

## Agree in public

In fact, nobody in three days of debate spoke against the motion and it is difficult to imagine they ever will disagree in the public focus.

The work that could produce friction is not done in the beautifully restored old chamber. Its plush steel-grey seats are arranged in concentric horseshoes which make for a psychological sense of togetherness, and the councillors are not grouped by party, profession, colour, or any other criterion.

There is no Government representative, no Leader of the Opposition, nothing to remind one of the confrontation style of Westminster. Here, under a peaceful and vaulting pink and white ceiling, they are expected to agree in public after arm-wrestling in the privacy of the committee rooms.

So it is that former Nat Crown Prince Connie Mulder sits with a bland face next to one-time colleagues who happily saw him out of the party over the Info debacle and listens attentively to the tribulations of the "other Marais" while his record shows he is personally more concerned with the future survival of the white man, never mind the problems facing the average coloured job-seeker.

And keeping a watchful eye over the peaceful if not completely boring proceedings is the chair-



Keeping a watchful eye over the proceedings is the chairman Dr Piet Koornhof.

man, Dr Koornhof — or Lord Piet, as he dubbed himself jokingly while explaining before the session that he saw the council as a sort of House of Lords.

The real work will be done by the three committees — on economic, constitutional and social wel-

fare matters — which will sit all year. They are now dealing with group areas, the free enterprise system and the establishment of cultural centres. It is envisaged the full council will gather to wield the rubber stamp only about four times a year.

The council will investigate matters referred to it by President Botha and it can also investigate any other matter it deems in the interests of the country. The council is also designed to provide the new tricameral system with an "out" in the event of an impasse developing over any legislation among the three houses.

The State President can refer this contentious legislation to it with suggested amendments and it will become law when the largely Nationalist council predictably approves it.

## Consensus on consensus

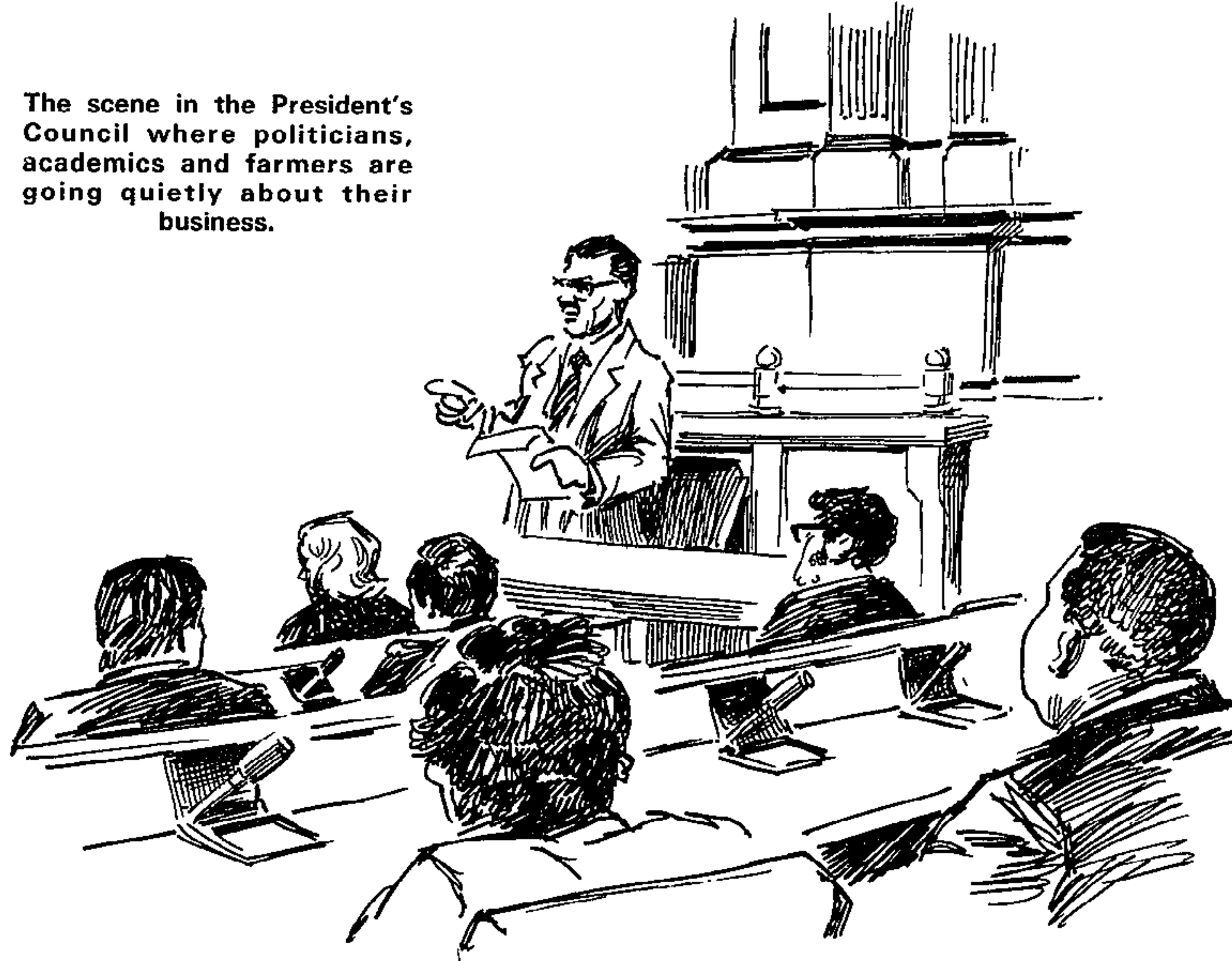
Chief Whip Bill Horak professes himself highly impressed with the first week's events. When one considered there were representatives of eight political parties, then "there is a very high level of co-operation. People do express their opinions, but there is ... a move away from the confrontation style of doing things. There seems to be a very genuine desire to reach consensus and compromise."

During the agreement I attended, the Press gallery was packed with two reporters and the spectators' area jammed with three women whom I took to be members' wives.

They watched as the council unanimously approved a motion proposing an in-depth inquiry to identify and remedy the underlying causes of crime, violence and — you name it: divorce, promiscuity, illegitimacy, drug abuse, alcoholism, gambling, road accidents.

Later this month the council will seek consensus on consensus itself, when they consider a motion which says, if I may paraphrase it very tersely, that consensus is a very good thing.

The scene in the President's Council where politicians, academics and farmers are going quietly about their business.





THE RUITER NET (CONTINUED)

# Computer check is ordered

304A 7/2/85 S. Times

THE Defence Force is investigating allegations that the Ruiterwag (RW) has been using personnel computers at Defence headquarters to keep track of Ruiters who have been sent to various bases in the country.

And Mr Philip Myburgh, MP for Wynberg and former PFP spokesman on Defence, has indicated that the matter will be taken up in Parliament.

News of the RW using the Defence Force's personnel computers for the organisation's own ends was first exposed by the Sunday Times.

The information was conveyed to the SADF for comment, and later a secret RW document detailing the computer access by members of the Wagpos Paratus in Voortrekkerhoogte was also submitted.

According to the document, access to SADF computers enables the Paratus Wagpos to supply details to the RW head office in Johannesburg on the whereabouts of any national serviceman within seven days of an inquiry.

## Cover

The Ruiters going in to the SADF computers convey the information under the name of the "Instituut vir Jeugnavorsing" (Institute of Youth Research) as a cover.

The document was cautious to point out that access could not be guaranteed ad infinitum, but claimed that it had already tracked down several servicemen with the aid of the computer.

It proposed a direct link

## Defence Force starts probe

between the RW chief secretary in the RW headquarters and a Paratus council member with the exclusive task of tracing servicemen.

In 1983 the Paratus Wagpos was the largest in the RW with 41 members, consisting largely of itinerant servicemen in the Pretoria area.

Meanwhile, other documents in the possession of the Sunday Times reveal that the RW has targeted certain bodies in the new local government dispensation for undermining.

Bodies that are unacceptable to the organisation should be destroyed if possible, according to the Strategic Objectives and Strategic Plan of the RW as revised in 1983.

And Ruiters are given instructions to concentrate on the following bodies for the purposes of infiltration:

- Junior Afrikaanse Sakekamers (Junior Afrikaans Chambers of Commerce) to extend the RW's influence from the cultural field to the economic field.

- Sports administrative bodies.

- The media, especially local newspapers.

The plan, detailing the organisation and objectives for the future, states that its "acknowledged existing front organisations" like the Junior Rapportryersbeweging, have inherent limitations, limiting the RW's influence in fields such as economics.

A new front has to be opened, that of the Junior Afrikaanse Sakekamers, which could develop into a "very important strategic front" as part of an "interest group committee", especially for dialogue with people of a different colour ("anderskleuriges"), according to the plan.

● **Battle for the  
Soul of the  
True Boer:  
See Page 20**

X



10/2/85 5.1ing

"BOERESIELKUNDE" they call it — that commonsense wisdom with just a hint of duplicity that is used to manipulate an antagonist into a desired position.

Some of the best examples of the art can be judged from the legendary exploits of that supreme Boer psychologist, Oom Paul Kruger.

Perhaps the word should acquire a new meaning in this day and age, when the soul of the Afrikaner has an ego and an id of another sort: that of the Broederbond and its junior off-shoot, the Ruitervag.

It is a psychology fraught with paradoxes and dilemmas, ensuring that however well-intentioned confidential activities might become, they always turn out on the side of chauvinistic conservatism and intellectual paralysis.

The essential qualities of this psychology cast doubt on the apparent strategy and rationalisation of "verligtes" who stay on in the Ruitervag — supposedly to steer it in the right direction.

## Paradox

A central paradox in the organisation is revealed in the word of farewell published in the Saalsak (circular of the Ruitervag) when Mr Dries Herbst, for 15 years the chief secretary, had just been appointed to a "more senior post" in the Federasie van Afrikaner Kultuurvereniginge.

Mr Herbst, the eulogy read, "had given certainty to so many Ruiters on what it meant to be an Afrikaner".

Yet, new members are selected in a long and thorough examination of their "Afrikanerskap".

In other words, if they had not been regarded as true Afrikaners already they would not have been in line for the privilege of learning exactly what a true Afrikaner is.

This immediately raises the question of why have exclusive secret organisations like the Ruitervag and the Broederbond been created in the first place.

# Destined to be forever behind the times: the youth group which claims custody of the Soul of the True Boer

By HANS PIENAAR  
Sunday Times reporter who has been investigating the activities of the Ruitervag

The answer seems to lie in a need to create a distinct them and us situation.

Obviously, not every Afrikaner can become a member of one of these organisations, otherwise the whole "volk" would have to go underground.

Moreover, secrecy dictates that an enemy has to exist, even if he has to be invented.

Initially that was unnecessary. Organisations like the Sons of England and the Freemasons were sufficient justification.

But once these organisations had been neutralised by exposure, the us/them syndrome took over.

A whole phalanx of philosophies and ideologies were identified as having only one aim: the destruction of "our" philosophy, that of Christian Nationalism.

Much later even, in the Eighties, a whole section in Saalsak called "Ismer en kie" was devoted to "volksvreemde" (alien) philosophies like liberalism, humanism, and pragmatism

(which was even written into its Strategic Plan as a target, even though one of the heroes of the RW, Mr B J Vorster called himself a pragmatist).

But the syndrome is most powerfully expressed in relation to fellow Afrikaners.

For the new member, the mass of Afrikaners outside the movement must have some kind of weakness, like exchanging their True Boer values for those of the materialist consumer society.

It furnishes the Ruitervag with the deviation.

## Deviant

The exclusivity of membership suggests that non-members are potentially deviant, which opens the way to the pleasures of being a chosen leader.

For every Ruitervag is led to believe he is destined for leadership, by virtue of his selection in the first place.

But where there is a deviation, there must also necessarily be a norm.

To justify the existence of an entire organisation, this

cannot be merely a vague reference to identity; a set of clearly-recognisable characteristics of Afrikanerskap has to be drawn up as an indisputable basis for action — and a means of identifying new members.

And the only distinct basis of recognising Afrikanerskap, and potential members, is provided by the symbolic postures of religion and politics.

Symbolism leads to dogma, and just as the Freemasons need their dogma so, too, does the Ruitervag need an absolutist view of Afrikanerskap to exist.

From the start then, because of its confidentiality and the need for justification, the Ruitervag by definition is a stultified, narrow-minded organisation.

What is supposed to be a think tank becomes a sluggish mud bath in which political originality — of which there is some evidence, to be fair — is easily defeated by the technicalities of constitutions and resolutions.

That is why it is destined to be forever behind the times.

It cannot reject the hare-brained impracticalities of the Oranjeprojek — the investigation of the possibilities of a homeland for Afrikaners — because it has to agree that the project is in

line with its strategic objectives: that of ensuring the "freedom of the Afrikaner".

When the Afrikaner churches are attacked for their condonation of apartheid, the us/them syndrome and its objective of eliminating "volksvreemde" influences dictate that this deep moral crisis should be interpreted in terms of an attack on the Afrikaner.

It cannot afford to examine the situation on the merits of the arguments.

There always is this holding back, not necessarily because of the evil-mindedness of its members, but because the psychology of confidentiality dictates it.

As a think tank, the RW paralyses itself, but the mistake should not be made that it is an inefficient movement.

Its efficiency lies precisely in an extension of its own paralysis to its front organisations.

## Absolute

For instance, the RW's control over the Afrikaanse Studentebond is all but absolute — there is no doubt about that from RW circulars.

The minute that control was achieved, the ASB became a stultified, dogmatic organisation too, merely echoing decisions that had been taken already in secret.

The same paralysis extends to its propagandistic targets at schools.

Together with the dogmatic approaches of Afrikaner educationists — most of whom are products of the Broederbond-Ruitervag mould — the RW's use of so-called leadership courses and youth congresses has to be blamed for the recent assessment by academics that Afrikaners students fall behind their English-speaking peers in the ability to think creatively.

That is the ultimate irony.

Far from serving the cause of Afrikaner advancement, the obsessive secrecy and manipulation of the Ruitervag and, by extension, the Broederbond, has retarded its natural growth.



# TO SHARE... OR NOT TO SHARE?

SOUTH AFRICAN politics are edging towards a crossroads which, after centuries, could draw our divided and fragmented society together into a more cohesive and legitimate system for all groups.

It could also take a turn towards heightened conflict, polarisation, strife and economic decay. The wisdom of all political leaders in the next five years will be tested as never before.

This trend of events is most clearly crystallised in the President's conditional offer to release Nelson Mandela, and certain other political prisoners, held for almost 25 years.

This dramatic offer has been both welcomed and rejected (by both the CP, on the right, and Azapo on the left) amid considerable uncertainty and confusion. The diversity of possible implications can boggle the mind.

Before considering the uncertainties, the more rational and logical issues must be listed.

## Robust

Political processes in South Africa can never become "normal" while the ANC and its leaders are in prison or in exile.

The South African political anatomy is, very robust in the white, brown and black sectors, but with the ANC excluded there is a vital organ missing.

The ANC illustrates the persistence of history. As the longest-established nation-wide black political tradition, it cannot be replaced. This is not to say that very viable black leadership cannot be found elsewhere.

It is simply that the other parts cannot function properly and with full legitimacy while so symbolic a part is missing.

There are significant communities and classes in black South Africa which will refuse, in perpetuity, to be represented by anyone other than the ANC. 'Absent' leaders, like De Gaulle or Khomeini, acquire a mystique and charisma of baffling power.

Widespread international recognition of the ANC means that the credentials of other black leaders are constantly questioned abroad. Other significant spokesmen for black South Africa are not listened to as they should be.

While excluded, the ANC

*304A*  
*10/2/85*  
**It is the question  
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the black vacuum  
is to be filled**



**By LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER**

Director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal

bly symbolise — the ANC.

All too easily, the South African Government can look at relatively small turnouts at their township meetings and condemn them as self-appointed leaders.

The symbolic replacements of the ANC, whether they wish to or not, operate with part of the historic image of the ANC. The UDF, for example, has had to deny publicly that it is an internal formation linked to the ANC.

With this image, such organisations can create excitement and expectations, but the question arises as to whether or not they have the coherence and the linkages with black communities to negotiate with the Government and gain acceptance for the compromises which negotiation will inevitably lead to.

## Distorted

While the ANC and its leaders are exiled and imprisoned, it is left with very little alternative but to adopt a strategy of insurgency.

Its own leadership and

defuse the possibility of violent conflict.

In the same context (trap might be a better word) the Government is forced to harshly condemn the ANC for acts which no government can tolerate.

Dennis Beckett (Frontline, February 1985) summed up the consequences: "Every time Minister Louis le Grange opens his mouth to denounce the ANC, he leaves more people with the subconscious idea that the ANC is the ordained alternative."

"If the ANC had hired Le Grange as a public relations officer he could not have done a better job for them."

## Reality

Public images of black politics are affected in other ways as well. Opinion polls are a political reality. These polls always show the ANC with very substantial support, and clear majority support in some areas of the country.

Yet, while it is banned and its leaders are excommunicado, serious analysts never know what this means. Opinion polls com-

society theoretically committed to Western democratic values, we have no moral right to exclude so significant an actor as the ANC.

What are the uncertainties that this prospect holds? They all relate to the fact that the framework of Government policy and that of the ANC are still very far apart.

## Crucial

Is negotiation possible, even if the ANC rejects violence? To release Mandela and not negotiate with him and his colleagues would defeat the whole purpose of his release.

One may point out that, as yet, the Government has not negotiated on South African constitutional matters with the Buthezi Commission. It did not negotiate with the Urban Councils Association of South Africa on the new black municipal dispensation.

It has negotiated with Mozambique and other surrounding states and on the issue of Namibia. As yet, however, it has not negoti-

ated over white affairs, and overriding white power in the common affairs of the country.

Since other black leaders, like Chief Buthezi and the Committee of Ten, have refused to negotiate within such a framework, it is hardly likely that the ANC would find it acceptable.

The crucial question, then, is whether or not the policy framework of the Government is shifting sufficiently to open the door to negotiations.

In essence, the question is whether the Government is willing to negotiate about real power-sharing (which is not necessarily one-man-one-vote).

The effective answer cannot be given at this juncture, not even by the Government itself. But the Government certainly has moved right to the very threshold of the decision.

A similar sort of question can be put to the ANC leaders, and all other black and brown leaders in South Africa.

Will they be prepared to negotiate within a framework which could imply real power-sharing in all South Africa, but which will preserve for a white ethnic bloc the coherence and ability to effectively limit threatening demands?

## Limits

At this stage, the resolution of South Africa's conflicts, whatever the precise constitutional form might be, depends on both the white Government and significant black leadership — which must include the ANC — accepting a framework of real power-sharing, but with entrenched limitations on the overriding power of any group or class vis-à-vis any other.

This is the "politics of accommodation", to borrow a phrase from the Dutch political scientist Lijphart.

It means simply that all groups have full political status and citizenship, and that all major groups are constitutionally and politically strong enough to have to be included in all common decision-making.

No group, however, is constitutionally and politically able to override any other group. From this framework, open non-ethnic democracy can gradually emerge, as it has done in the Netherlands, Austria and in a sense in the USA.



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Widespread international recognition of the ANC means that the credentials of other black leaders are constantly questioned abroad. Other significant spokesmen for black South Africa are not listened to as they should be.

While excluded, the ANC thus creates a vacuum in the political system which is filled by caretakers who are unable to accept full responsibility for the people they presume to lead.

Perhaps they themselves do not even know whether or not the attention they get from opponents of the South African Government both here and abroad is because of their own contributions, or because of the missing party they inevitably

IS THE QUESTION

*S. Times on press*  
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With this image, such organisations can create excitement and expectations, but the question arises as to whether or not they have the coherence and the linkages with black communities to negotiate with the Government and gain acceptance for the compromises which negotiation will inevitably lead to.

### Distorted

While the ANC and its leaders are exiled and imprisoned, it is left with very little alternative but to adopt a strategy of insurgency.

Its own leadership and traditions become distorted, if not hijacked by strategic necessity.

It is forced into a hot conflict, not only with the South African Government, but with other legitimate black leaders who, because they are internally located, have to adopt a totally different strategy.

In this sense it is probably very true to say that releasing the ANC to operate openly would or could

defuse the possibility of violent conflict.

In the same context (trap might be a better word) the Government is forced to harshly condemn the ANC for acts which no government can tolerate.

Dennis Beckett (Frontline, February 1985) summed up the consequences: "Every time Minister Louis le Grange opens his mouth to denounce the ANC, he leaves more people with the subconscious idea that the ANC is the ordained alternative."

"If the ANC had hired Le Grange as a public relations officer he could not have done a better job for them."

### Reality

Public images of black politics are affected in other ways as well. Opinion polls are a political reality. These polls always show the ANC with very substantial support, and clear majority support in some areas of the country.

Yet, while it is banned and its leaders are excommunicado, serious analysts never know what this means. Opinion polls compare like with unlike.

The ANC is endorsed as a symbol and a promise; other leaders are judged as fallible organisers struggling against political constraints.

Thus there can be no doubt that very powerful, rational arguments exist for the unbanning of the ANC and the release and return of its legitimate leaders.

Furthermore, as a

society theoretically committed to Western democratic values, we have no moral right to exclude so significant an actor as the ANC.

What are the uncertainties that this prospect holds? They all relate to the fact that the framework of Government policy and that of the ANC are still very far apart.

### Crucial

Is negotiation possible, even if the ANC rejects violence? To release Mandela and not negotiate with him and his colleagues would defeat the whole purpose of his release.

One may point out that, as yet, the Government has not negotiated on South African constitutional matters with the Buthelezi Commission. It did not negotiate with the Urban Councils Association of South Africa on the new black municipal dispensation.

It has negotiated with Mozambique and other surrounding states and on the issue of Namibia. As yet, however, it has not negotiated on any issue impinging on the political power of whites in the common area of South Africa.

The closest it has come is some negotiation (through the President's Council and a Cabinet Committee) with coloured and Indian politicians regarding the recently-established constitution.

This, however, was within a framework of the non-negotiability of anything other than full white con-

the common affairs of the country.

Since other black leaders, like Chief Buthelezi and the Committee of Ten, have refused to negotiate within such a framework, it is hardly likely that the ANC would find it acceptable.

The crucial question, then, is whether or not the policy framework of the Government is shifting sufficiently to open the door to negotiations.

In essence, the question is whether the Government is willing to negotiate about real power-sharing (which is not necessarily one-man-one-vote).

The effective answer cannot be given at this juncture, not even by the Government itself. But the Government certainly has moved right to the very threshold of the decision.

A similar sort of question can be put to the ANC leaders, and all other black and brown leaders in South Africa.

Will they be prepared to negotiate within a framework which could imply real power-sharing in all South Africa, but which will preserve for a white ethnic bloc the coherence and ability to effectively limit threatening demands?

### Limits

At this stage, the resolution of South Africa's conflicts, whatever the precise constitutional form might be, depends on both the white Government and significant black leadership — which must include the ANC — accepting a framework of real power-sharing, but with entrenched limitations on the overriding power of any group or class vis-à-vis any other.

This is the "politics of accommodation", to borrow a phrase from the Dutch political scientist Lijphart.

It means simply that all groups have full political status and citizenship, and that all major groups are constitutionally and politically strong enough to have to be included in all common decision-making.

No group, however, is constitutionally and politically able to override any other group. From this framework, open non-ethnic democracy can gradually emerge, as it has done in the Netherlands, Austria and, in a sense, in the USA. The possibility of the release of Nelson Mandela has brought this issue right to the forefront.

To avoid the road that leads to gradual decay in our society, his release and inclusion in political negotiation is essential.

Equally essential, however, is that all major South African leaders, black and white, accept a framework of accommodation and compromise



207 304A

2 The Cape Times, Saturday, 19



# The Minister, the MP, and men from the media

AT least one Deputy Minister, one Member of Parliament, one member of the Transvaal Provincial Council and several members of the media have been named as members of the Ruitervag or members of the Afrikaner Broederbond connected with the Ruitervag.

Mr Adriaan Vlok, Deputy Minister of Defence and Law and Order, was named as a former "Hoofwag" of the parliamentary "Wagpos" consisting mainly of civil servants, and Mr Willie Lemmer, MP for Schweizer-Renkke, as a member of the Ruitervag. Mr Andries Treblanche, MPC for Middelberg, was also named by Ruitervag sources as a member.

On the RW's selection lists also appear the names of Mr H S (Hennie) de Villiers (as private secretary to the Minister of Education and Training) and Mr S J (Steph) Van Bloemestein (as private secretary to the Minister of Transport Services).

The most prominent media-men connected with the Ruitervag are SABC-TV1 parliamentary reporter



MR ADRIAAN VLOK  
A former "Hoofwag"

Freek Swart, a member of the Broederbond, and newscaster and presenter of political programmes Colie van Coller, who was a candidate for the Ruiterraad in 1983.

Other Ruiters include director Dries van Heerden, former political reporter of Die Vaderland, former TV director Friedrich Stark, TV3 organiser Neels Pretorius, and sports organiser Tinus Burger.

Parliamentary correspondent of Beeld Hein Kruger's name also appears on a se-



MR JOHAN CLAASSEN  
Volkskas "trouble shooter"

lection list of the Ruitervag. The Ruitervag claimed in 1983 that it had 25 reporters among its members.

The two key figures in last year's "palace revolution" at the Transvaal Rugby Union, when Mr Jannie le Roux was ousted as president, Mr Jannie Ferreira of the Rand Afrikaans University, and Mr Johan Claassen, described as Volkskas "trouble shooter" at the time, were named as members of the RW and the Broederbond respectively.

## MORE RUITERS ARE NAMED

SOME of the candidates for Ruiterraad in 1983:

S J Cloete (Carletonville minister), D J Coetzee (Florida lawyer), G G Cronje (Kempston Park lawyer), A M de Bruyn (Randburg teacher), P A Hattingh (Benoni horticulturalist), C T Moller (Randburg student), C J P Niemandt (Randburg minister), J M Otto (Johannesburg professor), D S Pienaar (Germiston lawyer), J S Onderbergh (Vereeniging minister), F W Stark (Randburg Organiser TV 1, member of publications committee), J J Van Coller (Randburg SABC-TV 1 newscaster and director), S D De Kock (Stellenbosch lecturer), C D Fourie (insurance manager), H C Kotze (Potgietersrus farmer), J Kriek (Tzaneen lawyer), P W A Mulder (Potchefstroom senior lecturer), L Scott (Pietersburg teacher), H G Stoker (Potchefstroom student), J A Van der Walt (Potchefstroom teacher).

Named as Ruitervag members were:

Nic Koornhof (lawyer De Klerk and Van Ghent, Cape Town), M S Vlok (bailiff Pretoria), Quintus Pelser (advocate Pretoria), Daan Mills (advocate Pretoria), J R (Johan) Preller (lawyer Van Wyk and De Vries Johannesburg), Hendrik du Plessis (lawyer Couzyn, Hertzog and Horak, Johannesburg), Ferdi Quass (Broederbond member and lawyer Hofmeyr and Van der Merwe, Pretoria), Peet Coetzee (advocate Johannesburg and Broederbond member), Dirk van den Bergh (lawyer Couzyn, H and H Johannesburg), A T (Alwyn) Marx (lawyer Van Wyk and De Vries Johannesburg), A M (Marius) Potgieter (advocate Johannesburg and BB member), L (Leon) van Schalkwyk (advocate Johannesburg), H H (Maans) Steyn (advocate Johannesburg), J G (Johan) Wasserman (advocate Johannesburg), Johan Dreyer (lawyer Dreyer and Nieuwoudt Johannesburg), C H J (Cassiel) Badenhorst (advocate Johannesburg), Jan Dreyer (lawyer Hofmeyr and Van der Merwe Johannesburg), D J (Dirk) Coetzee (lawyer Retief, Coetzee and Schepers Johannesburg), H B Rhoads (lawyer Van Wyk and De Vries, Johannesburg), N J (Nico) Vermaak (lawyer F W de Klerk, Vermaak and Partners Klerksdorp).

A J du Plooy, Brackendowns, Alberton; M Grobbelaar, Rand Investment Club, Sandton; A J Esterhuizen, Brakpan; W F Wahl, Elsburg; C E Steyn, Witfield, P de Kock, Verwoerdpark; J H Klein, Alberton; J L Van der Walt, Brackendowns, Alberton; J Van Vreden, Dersley, Springs; J J Swanepoel, Crystal Park, Benoni; F J V Van Wyk, Atterville, Boksburg; C W J Krugell, Delmas, A D Coetzee, Germiston, P F Kruger, Van Riebeeck Park, Kempston Park; Dewald Botes, Johannesburg; J F Benade, Meredale, Johannesburg; S J Van der Walt, Johannesburg; W J Myburgh, Kempston Park; J D T Viljoen, Halfway House; Lt J C van Rooyen; Dr G H Burmeister, Heidelberg, Tvl.; Dr P J Snyman, Heidelberg, Tvl.; B B Terreblanche, Drie Riviere, Vereeniging; L Ferreira, Auckland Park; C Naude, Mayfair, Johannesburg; J M Esterhuizen, Kempston Park; P J S Fourie, Edleen, Kempston Park; J Z van Niekerk, Kempston Park; J B R Cameron, Leslie; S E Beeslaar, Nigel; C T Muller, Auckland Park; J G la Roux, Secunda; S L Kotze, Secunda, T A Van

Dyk, Petersfield, Springs; I W Vorster, Johannesburg.

The following is a random selection of members approved in 1983/4 (RW numbers mentioned when known).

### TEACHERS:

G (Prof) Pretorius (student Durban 9766), P (Pierre) Verster (Bronkhorstspuit 9746), W P (Dors) Venter (Steynsburg 9770), D J (Dirk) Marais (Queenstown 9906), G J (Gerrie) Herman (Warmbaths 9934), A (Alwyn) Enslin (Nylstroom 10227), A J (Andre) Latsky (Daniel Pienaar Uitenhage 10233), H C (Bollie) Boltman (student Windhoek 10217), J J (Jan-Kobus) Brand (student Windhoek 10218), W P A (Werner) Mouton (student Windhoek 10219), P J (Piet) Malan (Fort Beaufort 9892), M J (Tinus) Potgieter (Nigel 10242), J R (Johannes) Barnard (Paarl 10194), Z G (Gerard) Van Graan (student Johannesburg 10236).

### CIVIL SERVICE:

J J (Jan) Muller (nature preservation Marble Hall 9898), H S (Henni) Raubenheimer (diplomat Japan 9916), D J (Dirk) Brink (doctor Garankuwa Hospital 9693), D (Dawie) Janse van Rensburg (East Rand Admin. Board 9764), G W (Willie) Claassens (prosecutor Germiston 9907), F (Ferd) Le Roux (Inspector Dept Agric Goodwood 9914), A A (Anton) Van Niekerk (lecturer Stellenbosch 9900), N (Nico) Van Zyl (draughtsman SA Transport Serv 10237).

### National Intelligence Service:

F J (Frits) Malan (Pretoria 9749), C H (Ces) Van Tonder (Pretoria 9638), J S M (Sarel) Venter (Pretoria 9639), N (Nic) Rasmeyer (Pretoria).

### Finance and Insurance:

P (Paul) Kotze (insurance consultant 9649), H O (Hein) Eksteen (accountant Volkskas Colesburg 9713), C (Christo) Wild (programmer SA Perm Roodepoort 9891).

### PROFESSIONS:

C W (Wessel) Bester (accountant Benoni), J J (Jaco) Kachelhoffer (attorney's clerk Bloemfontein), G I (Ivan) Jacobs (civil engineer Prov Admin Bloemfontein), A (Andries) Domburg (architect Harismith), W A (Willem) Boonzaaier (legal advisor Durbanville), J J (Jan-Jurie) Fourie (dentist Oudtshoorn 9675), A T (Andre) Duvenhage (auditor's clerk Van Rensburg, Du T & Van E Vryburg 9743), L J (Louis) de Lange (doctor Kempston Park 9915), N H J (Nico) Lombard (attorney's clerk WJ Oikens Grahamstown 10211).

### MANAGEMENT AND BUSINESS:

H H (Hennie) Roodman (foreman Somchem Krygkor Kuisrivier 9751), M C (Thinus) Naude (PRO Pretoria 9775), N M (Nico) Prinsloo (estate agent 9745), H F (Fouche) Blignaut ("Amper Alles" Groblersdal 9886), W A (Willie) Blignaut ("Amper Alles" Groblersdal 9887), C J (Chris) Van der Walt (garage owner Nylstroom 9843), F C P (Christiaan) De Wit (garage owner Ermelo 10239), W J (Wessel) Oosthuizen (Personnel Officer Pta Metal Press Works 9926), C S (Stephan) Otto (businessman Randfontein 10210).

### AGRICULTURE:

A P (Andre) Kilian (North Western Co-op Lichtenburg 9621), T J C (Tielman) De Villiers (Vrede 9698), J J P (Jacques) Prinsloo (Vrede 9700), F J (Frikkie) Kruger (Boshof 10220), J A (Job) Van Eeden (harvester contractor Fouriesburg 10212), B H (Bennie) Pieters (Oxosdal 10236), P F (Piet) Roux (Prieska 10221), P E (Pieter) Streicher (Leslie 10238), J S (Koes) Davel (Carolina 9929), D N G (Dawie) Kotze (Morgenzon 9793), G J (Gerhard) Van Dyk (programmer Vleissentraal Pretoria 9927), J J (Kobus) Van Heerden (engineer Natal Co-op Dundee 10226), R A (Andre) Erasmus (Delareyville 10216), N J S (Nico) Basson (Devon 10240), J vB (Johan) Du Toit (Riversdoring 10230).

### ARMED FORCES:

D R (Daan) Visser (Prisons Pretoria 9766), W J J (Johan) Beyers (Prisons Pretoria 9757), J N (Jan) Grey (police Pretoria 9752), R (Rian) Mare (police Pretoria 9753), P C J (Peet) Vermeulen (police Pretoria 9754), G J (Gideon) Kok (police Groblersdal 9897), L (Lollie) Kruger (SADF Saldanha 10231), J H S (Jan) Pretorius (SADF Saldanha 10232), G S (Pottie) Potgieter (SADF Nigel 10241).

### TECHNICAL:

H J (Hendrik) Coetzer (technician Lyttelton Eng. 9748), B D (Barry) Esterhuizen (engineer Fuchs Electronics Alberton 9765), D J (Danie) Nieuwoudt (engineer Rembrandt Heidelberg Tvl 9706), C F (Charl) Naude (wool technician Uitenhage 10214).

### MINISTRY:

G J (Gerrie) Van Dyk (Riebeeckstad 10213), P F (Frikkie) Viljoen (Stellenbosch 10205).

### STUDENTS:

J H (Jean) Du Plessis (medical Tygerberg 9889), M C (Marius) Wahl (medical Tygerberg 9890), D W (Dewald) Davel (theology Pretoria 9632), C W H (Carel) Boshoff (theology Pretoria 10228), E (Edward) Archer (theology 9794), C A J (Kernaels) Lourens (law Potchefstroom 10234), E (Lardus) Erasmus (B Sc Veritas Potchefstroom 10188), C H (Charl) Van Rooy (Potchefstroom 10199), J H (Jaco) Burger (agric Taaibos Pretoria 10207), R J (Riaan) Mey (le v Taaibos Pretoria 10208), J H A (Jan) Snel (engineering Potchefstroom 10222), P J (Jaco) Van der Walt (law Mopanie Pretoria 10204), N (Norman) Davis (commercial law Pretoria 10203), R J (Roelof) Vorster (medical Mopanie Pretoria 10202), A (Andre) Loots (medical Tygerberg 10223), J M (Johan) Jooste (law Olanhout Bloemfontein 10192), J (Hansie) Koen (accountancy Klepansol Bloemfontein 10193), G J (Gerrit) Moller (law Simonsburg Stellenbosch 10215), J C (Johann) Ehlers (agric Eendrag Stellenbosch 10195), H H (Helmuth) Pool (law Eendrag Stellenbosch 10196), L (Leon) Vermaak (personnel management Mopanie Pretoria 10225).

### Mentioned in selection lists:

P (Paul) Styger (lecturer Potchefstroom), G H B (Guillaume) Foster (magistrate Wolmaransstad), T (Wodke) Fourie (education lecturer Oudtshoorn), P A (Piet) Delpoit ("koshuivader" Boekenhout Pretoria).



RDM 11/2/85 304A

# Mandela's full reply to President Botha's offer

THIS IS THE FULL text of Nelson Mandela's response to the conditional offer of freedom made in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The response was read on Mandela's behalf by his daughter, Zindzi, at a function in Jabulani, Soweto, yesterday.

"On Friday my mother and our attorney saw my father at Pollsmoor Prison to obtain his answer to Botha's offer of conditional release.

"The prison authorities attempted to stop this statement being made but he would have none of this and made it clear that he would make the statement to you, the people.

"Strangers like Bethell from England and Professor Dash from the United States have in recent weeks been authorised by Pretoria to see my father without restriction yet Pretoria cannot allow you, the people, to hear what he has to say directly.

"He should be here himself to tell you what he thinks of this statement by Botha. He is not allowed to do so. My mother, who also heard his words, is also not allowed to speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their greetings to you, the freedom-loving people of this our tragic land, in the full confidence that you will carry on the struggle for freedom.

"He and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their very warmest greetings to Bishop Tutu. Bishop Tutu has made it clear to the world that the Nobel Peace Prize belongs to you who are the people. We salute him.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison are grateful to the United Democratic Front who without hesitation made this venue available to them so that they could speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades wish to make this statement to you, the people, first. They are clear that they are accountable to you and to you alone. And that you should hear their views directly and not through others.

"My father speaks not only for himself and for his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison, but he hopes he also speaks for all those in jail for their opposition to apartheid, for all those who are banished, for all those who are in exile, for all those who suffer under apartheid, for all those who are opponents of apartheid and for all those who are oppressed and exploited.

"Throughout our struggle there have been puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They have made this claim, both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them.

"My father says:

"I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die.

"Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years. If there is any one amongst you who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more, and I know that he would give his

life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine."

"My father says:

"I am surprised at the conditions that the Government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country but that was ignored.

"When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored.

"When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.

"It was only then when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle.

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

"Let him renounce violence.

"Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid."

"Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress.

"Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for the opposition to apartheid.

"Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.

"I cherish my own freedom dearly but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom.

"I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these, long, lonely, wasted years.

"I am not less life loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free.

"I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation the African National Congress which was banned.

"What freedom am I being offered whilst the organisation of the people remains banned?

"What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence?

"What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort?

"What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area?

"What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work?

"What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?

"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts.

"Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor was he called upon to do so."

"My father says:

"I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you the people are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated.

"I will return."

● The Department of Prison Services was asked to comment on the allegation that it attempted to prevent Mandela making the statement, but had not responded by late last night.



# President awaits formal reply from Nelson Mandela

PRESIDENT P W Botha was today awaiting a formal reply from jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela to his conditional offer of release following an announcement yesterday that Mandela had rejected it.

A United Democratic Front meeting in Soweto was told that Mandela had made known that he would not accept freedom on Mr Botha's terms.

He in turn had challenged the Government to unban the ANC, to renounce violence, to allow free political activity and to commit itself to dismantling apartheid.

On Friday the Prisons Department presented Mandela with a copy of Mr Botha's statement in Parliament on January 31 as it was recorded in Hansard, the official record of Parliament.

A number of other long-term prisoners who are serving long sentences for security offences were also given such copies.

## Not surprised

Two have accepted the offer. A Prisons Department spokesman said today that the names of the two would be made known when they were released.

The spokesman indicated that if a formal reply was received from Mandela it would be channelled through to the President's office.

The reply may also be presented to the President's office by Mr I Ayob, Mandela's lawyer who, with Mrs Winnie Mandela, visited him in Pollsmoor Prison on Friday.

Neither Nationalist politi-

cians nor anti-apartheid organisations were today surprised over Mandela's rejection of the offer.

Many Nationalists had expected this, they said, but thought it was worth making the offer as it showed the world that the Government was willing to negotiate on peaceful solutions.

The Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said Mandela's reply was not entirely unexpected, but still regrettable.

Anti-apartheid groups are now looking to the Government to respond to Mandela's counter-demands.

## Pressure stays

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said: "We are proud that Mandela remains so absolutely committed to a meaningfully negotiated settlement."

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the UDF and wife of Pollsmoor prisoner Walter Sisulu, said: "Mandela's words are our feelings exactly. People must be released unconditionally."

Black Sash national president Mrs Sheena Duncan welcomed the fact that the release of the ANC men had become a matter of public debate and

that both parties had, for the first time, put their views.

Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party said Mandela's refusal of the Government's offer would not lessen the pressure for his release.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said today he found it regrettable that Mandela had not accepted the conditions for his release.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, head of the Anglican diocese of Johannesburg and patron of the UDF, told a rally in Soweto that he and others like him were leaders by default, since the true leaders had been jailed or exiled.

● Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement yesterday joined the call for Mandela's unconditional release at a meeting in Mathlehong, Germiston.

It is reported from London that Mandela's rejection of President Botha's offer of conditional release is prominently reported without comment in most Fleet Street newspapers.

Several correspondents note that Mandela appeared to leave open the possibility of negotiations with the Government and a suspension of the "armed struggle". — Political Correspondent, Argus Foreign Service and Sapa.



M64 11/2/85

BOLLA

# Mandela's response to Botha's offer

Nelson Mandela's response to the conditional offer of freedom made in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha was read on Mandela's behalf by his daughter Zinzi at a United Democratic Front rally in Jabulani, Soweto, yesterday

"ON FRIDAY my mother and our attorney saw my father at Pollsmoor Prison to obtain his answer to Botha's offer of conditional release.

"The prison authorities attempted to stop this statement being made but he would have none of this and made it clear that he would make the statement to you, the people.

"Strangers like Bethell from England and Professor Dash from the United States have in recent weeks been authorised by Pretoria to see my father without restriction yet Pretoria cannot allow you, the people, to hear what he has to say directly. He should be here himself to tell you what he thinks of this statement by Botha. He is not allowed to do so. My mother also heard his words is not allowed to speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their greetings to you, the freedom loving people of this our tragic land in the full confidence that you will carry on the struggle for freedom.

"He with his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their very warmest greetings to Bishop Tutu. Bishop Tutu has made it clear to the world that

the Nobel Peace Prize belongs to you who are the people. We salute him.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison are grateful to the United Democratic Front who without hesitation made this venue available to them so that they could speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades wish to make this statement to you, the people, first. They are clear that they are accountable to you and to you alone. And that you should hear their views directly and not through others.

"My father speaks not only for himself and for his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison but he hopes he also speaks for all those in jail for their opposition to apartheid, for all those who are banished, for all those who are in exile, for all those who suffer under apartheid, for all those who are opponents of apartheid and for all those who are oppressed and exploited.

"Throughout our struggle there have been puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They have made this claim, both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them.

"My father says: I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 30 years. If there is any one among you who cherishes my freedom Oliver Tambo cherishes it more and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine.

"My father says: I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country but that was ignored.

"When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored.

"When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This too, was in vain.

"It was only then when all other forms of resistance were



Zinzi Mandela (foreground) surrounded by members of the crowd who attended the UDF rally at Jabulani yesterday.

no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle.

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

"Let him renounce violence.

"Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid."

"Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress.

"Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid.

"Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.

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"I am not less life loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organisation, the African National Congress which was banned. What freedom am I being offered whilst the organisation of the people remains banned.

"What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence. What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort. What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area. What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work. What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected.

"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor was he called upon to do so. My father says: I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you the people are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return. — Sapa.



# Nelson Mandela's full statement

JOHANNESBURG. — Nelson Mandela has responded to the conditional offer of freedom made in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The response was read on Mandela's behalf by his daughter Zinzi at a function in Jabulani, Soweto, yesterday.

"On Friday my mother and our attorney saw my father at Pollsmoor Prison to obtain his answer to Botha's offer of conditional release.

## 'Strangers'

"The prison authorities attempted to stop this statement being made but he would have none of this and made it clear that he would make the statement to you, the people.

"Strangers like Bethell from England and Professor Dash from the United States have in recent weeks been authorized by Pretoria to see my father without restriction, yet Pretoria cannot allow you, the people, to hear what he has to say directly. He should be here himself to tell you what he thinks of this statement by Botha. He is not allowed to do so. My mother, who also heard his words is also not allowed to speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their greetings to you the freedom-loving people of this our tragic land, in the full confidence that you will carry on the struggle for freedom.

"He, with his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison send their very warmest greetings to Bishop Tutu. Bishop Tutu has made it clear to the world that the Nobel Peace Prize belongs to you who are the people. We salute him.

"My father and his

comrades at Pollsmoor Prison are grateful to the United Democratic Front who without hesitation made this venue available to them so that they could speak to you today.

"My father and his comrades wish to make this statement to you, the people, first. They are clear that they are accountable to you and to you alone, and that you should hear their views directly and not through others.

"My father speaks not only for himself and for his comrades at Pollsmoor Prison but he hopes he also speaks for all those in jail for their opposition to apartheid, for all those who are banished, for all those who are in exile, for all those who suffer under apartheid, for all those who are opponents of apartheid and for all those who are oppressed and exploited.

## 'Puppets'

"Throughout our struggle there have been puppets who have claimed to speak for you. They have made this claim, both here and abroad. They are of no consequence. My father and his colleagues will not be like them.

"My father says: I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years. If there is any one among you who cherishes my

freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more, and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine.

"My father says: I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round-table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored.

"When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored.

## Challenge

"When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This too was in vain.

"It was only then, when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us, that we turned to armed struggle.

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid.

"Let him unban the people's organization, the African National Congress.

"Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid.

"Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them.

"I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your free-

dom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom.

"I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these long, lonely, wasted years.

"I am not less life-loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organization, the African National Congress, which was banned.

"What freedom am I being offered whilst the organization of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence?

## 'What freedom?'

"What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife, who remains in banishment in Brandfort?

"What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area?

"What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work?

"What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?

"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Herman Toivo ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor was he called upon to do so.

"My father says: I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you the people are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return." — Sapa



# Mandela rejects govt offer

CARL TINKS  
11/2/85

304A

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, has turned down the State President's offer of conditional freedom and has called on the government to renounce violence, dismantle apartheid, unban the ANC and guarantee free political activity.

Mandela's response to the government's offer was read out by his daughter Zinzi at a major United Democratic Front rally attended by about 9 000 people in Soweto yesterday.

Mandela said he could not and would not give any undertaking — the condition demanded by the government — when he and the people were not free.

"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts," he said through his daughter.

## 'Birthright'

"I am surprised by the conditions the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free."

The government had offered to release him if he unconditionally rejected violence.

Asked to comment last night, a spokesman for the office of the State President, Mr P W Botha, said he had had no response from Mandela and had not seen a text of the statement delivered in Soweto.

At Jabulani Stadium in Soweto, Ms Mandela was carried shoulder high to



Zinzi Mandela reads her father's statement in Soweto yesterday.

will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organization, the ANC

"Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them," he said.

He sent greetings to Bishop Tutu and thanked the UDF for making the platform available to him for his message.

The message ended with the promise "I will return", which brought the crowd to its feet.

The UDF rally was an all-day festival of speeches, dancing, singing and poetry. The crowd was treated to a mix of political speeches, break-dancing, gumboot dancing, Michael Jackson imitations, choral singing and prayers.

## Tutu

Bishop Tutu, introduced as "the people's Bishop, the freedom fighter", said there was no hope for peace in South Africa until the government talked to the real leaders of the people

He himself was not a political leader "We

## Two accept offer

**PRETORIA.** — The Prisons Department announced yesterday that a second prisoner from Robben Island had unconditionally accepted the release offer by the State President to political prisoners.

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At Jabulani Stadium in Soweto, Ms Mandela was carried shoulder high to the platform to read her father's first public political statement since he was jailed for life in April 1964 for treason and sabotage.

### Tears

Ms Mandela said her father had given the message to his wife Winnie when she visited him in Pollsmoor Prison on Friday. Mrs Mandela could not read it because she is banned and confined to Brandfort in the Free State.

The crowd, who had come to celebrate the award of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, rose to their feet and cheered as she read the statement.

One man, shirtless in the 80-degree heat, sank to his knees and wept, and many others cried silently in the stands.

Ms Mandela said prison authorities had attempted to stop her father from making a statement, "but he would have none of this and made it clear that he



Zinzi Mandela reads her father's statement in Soweto yesterday.

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Major A E van Vuuren said a second prisoner, who had served more than 20 years of a life-sentence, had accepted the amnesty offer, "unqualified and unconditionally".

The Prisons Department announced on Saturday that a life-sentence Robben Island prisoner had accepted Mr Botha's offer, but did not disclose his name.

The name of both prisoners would be disclosed on their release, the statement said. — Sapa

would make the statement to you, the people".

● The Prisons Service was asked to comment last night on Miss Mandela's allegation that the prison authorities attempted to stop her father's statement being made.

A spokesman for the Prisons Service said: "The member of the SA Prisons Service, who handled the visit, acted correctly and in accordance with the regulations and he did at a stage, in light of the special circumstances which prevailed, decide to make certain concessions."

In the statement, Mandela said he was a member of the ANC and would remain so "until the day I die".

Emphasizing the unity between himself and the ANC leadership in exile, Mandela said through his daughter: "Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade of nearly 50 years. I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine."

He said he had asked previous prime ministers Dr D F Malan, Mr Jan Strijdom and Dr Hendrik Verwoerd to call round-table conferences and had only turned to armed struggle when all other forms of resistance were closed to the ANC.

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he

will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organization, the ANC.

"Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them," he said.

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### Tutu

Bishop Tutu, introduced as "the people's Bishop, the freedom fighter", said there was no hope for peace in South Africa until the government talked to the real leaders of the people.

He himself was not a political leader. "We heard our leaders just now," he said.

Holding his Nobel Peace Prize in the air, Bishop Tutu said it had been given to him only in a representative capacity. "This award is not for Desmond Tutu, it is for all our people. I say take it, it is yours."

Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF publicity secretary, said the UDF was interested in a peaceful solution to the country's problems, "but not a half-cooked solution".

● Nelson Mandela's full statement, page 7

## International Jockey Test

**TOMORROW** the Cape Times will publish a special supplement on the International Jockey Test. The test takes place at Kenilworth on Wednesday.



Consensus politics or bloodshed? While the Government is taking bold steps towards a new deal, the responses of most opposition groups have not been very positive.

As an extreme case, the African National Congress is reported to have stated it will from now

on go for soft targets, ie innocent civilians. This kind of response causes rising scepticism among whites who are inclined to think nothing will satisfy militants.

It reinforces the view that the ANC is a terrorist organisation that should be dealt with by

force.

In this series of articles, extracts from a forthcoming book, Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, discusses the current conflict and assesses prospects for the constructive accommodation of conflict in South Africa.

# Warning: the end of apartheid will not mean the end of violence

304A 5/2w 11/2/85

Conflict should not necessarily be seen as bad or destructive. It is endemic in any society and can be seen as stimulating and invigorating. It can serve useful social functions, provided a constructive attitude is projected towards it.

The real problem does not lie in the presence of conflict but in the way it is handled, accommodated and/or resolved. If conflict is handled in a negative, destructive way it ends in violence, the extreme manifestation of conflict.

Violence can serve no long-term constructive social function, even if it may have desirable short-term effects. We have to accept conflict as endemic in our society. Our major task is to find constructive ways to accommodate it. The extent to which we succeed in this task will reduce the amount of violence and bloodshed.

If we should be reasonable we would readily admit in principle (though not easily in situations where we are personally involved) that conflict, violence and malice could not be attributed to one party only: either to the oppressor or the terrorist, to the employer or the trade union, to

the whites or the blacks.

The implication is that we must not anticipate a Utopia under any regime.

The end of apartheid will not mean the end of violence either physical, mental or institutional.

Everyone talks so glibly of the goals of justice and peace as if these are states of society that can be easily achieved.

A year ago our State President claimed in his New Year's Message that South Africa was one of the most peaceful societies in the world, thanks to the protection we receive from the security forces.

★ ★ ★ But Government opponents argue quite the opposite.

They believe South Africa is a most violent society and, in addition, they hold these very security forces responsible for what has become known as institutional or structural violence, ie violence committed by the State.

Many of these critics also imply that the security forces are the *only* instruments of violence and once we have a new black or multiracial Government there will be peace and justice. This is simply not true. We need only look at

Zimbabwe and America, where we have clearly seen that once certain sources of conflict are removed, new ones emerge.

And while I do not believe whites are superior to blacks, I also do not believe blacks are more just than whites.

I do not want to hold our politicians and political journalists responsible for all or most of the over-simplifications in our political jargon, but they certainly contribute towards political over-simplifications which interpret conflict as unidimensional.

Anybody involved in an action programme is tempted to present the problem in simple terms, to look for simple causes and to propose simple remedies.

Simple political slogans are easy to sell to the public and to uninformed masses. I want to stress that our problem is not just that of race prejudices of the whites; neither is it a mere problem of capitalist greed and exploitations. It is therefore obvious that there are no simple remedies or solutions. Neither the removal of apartheid nor the demolition of exploitative capitalism will resolve our conflict.

For these reasons I regard many current measures by the Government to remove race discrimination as quite insufficient to promote a just and peaceful society.

But I am equally sceptical about the negative destructive approach and methods of the anti-apartheid movement here in South Africa and abroad. Structural conflict is usually defined in terms of competition for economic resources, political power and social status.

★ ★ ★ When competition becomes too intense or gets out of hand it may lead to violence.

Ideological conflict refers to a conflict of ideologies, values, beliefs and perceptions. Goals, interests and values (such as race discrimination, apartheid, capitalism, Communism) can acquire ideological meaning and may motivate people to act independently of their objective structural position or interests.

For that reason whites will oppose apartheid, privileged people in a capitalist society may propagate Communism, British working-class people will support the Conservative

and not the Labour Party.

We cannot decide on ways of resolving the conflict without knowing the sources of conflict. It will be fatal to either over-emphasise or ignore any of the more important structural or ideological sources.

Since structural material resources are usually finite, contradictory claims may be difficult or impossible to reconcile or accommodate. This has been described as a situation of pure conflict and the outcome is referred to as a zero-sum result.

The one party's gain is the other party's loss. Sometimes the competitive spirit prevails and results in violent conflict. To the extent that these resources are logically and rationally developed and exploited the contending parties may, however, find a modus operandi based on a non-emotional cost analysis aimed at maximum gain for each party.

This has become known as the win-win outcome. The old Parliamentary system of winner-takes-all has been compared with the zero-sum outcome, while it is argued that the new consensus politics

in South Africa are based on the win-win principle.

Value or ideological conflict does not concern finite resources and should therefore be more amenable to resolution by mere adaptation and adjustment of opinions and attitudes. But unfortunately this is not so.

★ ★ ★ Ideological commitment

usually leads to excessive intolerance, over-simplifications, polarisation and refusal to compromise or reconcile. Ideologies reduce flexible, complicated life situations to rigid, stark, irreconcilable alternatives and promote paranoia.

We have no dearth of ideologies in South Africa. For decades millions of people have suffered from the evils of a system motivated by the granite wall of apartheid. Are we heading for some more reasonable political behaviour now that this apartheid ideology is waning, or are we headed for another equally evil or even worse kind of fanaticism? This matter will receive attention later.

## NEXT

Professor van der Merwe discusses negative and positive approaches ... vested interest in the perpetuation of conflict ... ineffective measures ... competitive processes.



The author ... Professor van der Merwe.



(M) Inca 12/2/85 (304A)

# Inkatha calls for Nelson's freedom

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha Movement yesterday rejoined the call for the unconditional release of African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela, at its East Rand regional meeting at the Kwesine hostel hall in Katlehong, Germiston.

Regional executives told about 200 members that Chief Buthelezi was among the first leaders to ask the South African Government to release Mandela to his Soweto home without any restrictions.

"Inkatha respects Nelson Mandela as a leader. In fact, our movement and constitution are founded on the principles of the

ANC before it waged the armed struggles.

"The time has come for the Government to release all political leaders and recall those in exile so that all South Africans can choose leaders to run the country.

Our president, Chief Buthelezi, has made this call a million times before. But time is running out for South Africa," said the regional assistant secretary, Mr Stephen Mbatha.

The region also re-affirmed its support for the views being advocated by its national president, who is presently overseas to campaign against the call for foreign countries not to invest in

South Africa because of its apartheid laws.

Members said they believed disinvestment would only bring hardship to blacks because they formed a large sector of the employed.

One member told the meeting that he had lost his job four months ago and had not been able to get a job since. He said his family was in the throws of psychological, emotional and physical depression.

## Attack

The Government came under heavy attack when members criticised the tri-cameral parliament because it did not cater for the interests of Africans.

They rejected hints by some Government officials that a fourth chamber be set up to cater for Africans.

"We believe the land belongs to us, and the only way to lasting peace and stability is to have one parliament that is chosen by the free will of the people," Mr Mbatha said.

The region's Youth Brigade planned to embark on a campaign to keep the environment clean as part of the International Youth Year project.



# 4 'Islanders' accept offer

Capt Times 12/2/85

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's offer of conditional freedom applied to 15 political prisoners, four of whom have accepted it, according to an South African Prison Services spokesman.

He added that the offer would be given to all political prisoners to read — regardless of how long their sentence was or how long they had served — and the "spirit" of it would apply to all of them.

However, those who had served a "relatively short" part of their term would not be released immediately. Instead, the Release Board would take into account those who had reacted "positively" to the offer, the spokesman said.

He would not say who the four prisoners were, except that they were all given life sentences, had served 20 years or more and were on Robben Island. He added that they would be released "soon".

## Eight serving life on Robben Island

It was established last night that eight of the 44 political prisoners serving life have served more than 20 years and are at present on Robben Island.

They include six members of the Pan Africanist Congress jailed in 1964 and two members of the African National Congress.

The six PAC members are Jeff Masemola, Dimake "Pro" Malepe, Philimon Tefu, Isaac Mthimunya, Samuel Chibane and John Nkosi. The six are understood to have petitioned the State President for clemency last year.

One ANC member, Wilton Mkwai, was jailed in 1964 for his part in the formation of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The other person who fits the description is one of the eight who were jailed in the famous Rivonia trial, although it is not certain which one he is.

Six of the Rivonia trialists — Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Govan Mbeki — are known to be in Pollsmoor Prison and one, Dennis Goldberg, is in Pretoria Central Prison.

It is uncertain which one of the others — Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba and Andrew Mlangeni — is on Robben Island.

At least 15 of the 44 life prisoners are from SWA-Namibia. It has not been made clear whether these men have also had the freedom offer.



# Govt 'must act' on Mandela

CAPE TIMES  
12/2/85

304A

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The refusal of conditional release by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has come as no surprise to anti-apartheid organizations, which are now looking to the government to respond to Mandela's counter-demands.

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said: "We are proud that Mandela remains so absolutely committed to a meaningfully negotiated settlement.

"We insist that the government respond to his proposals that it abolish apartheid, release him and his comrades and allow exiles to come home so that a proper constitution can be worked out."

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the UDF and wife of Pollsmoor prisoner Walter Sisulu, said: "Mandela's words are our feelings exactly. People must be released unconditionally."

She expressed satisfaction that, for the first time in more than 20 years, the views of the Rivonia trialists had been put directly to the people.

This position was echoed by Black Sash national president Mrs Sheena Duncan. She welcomed the fact that the release of the ANC men had become a matter of public debate and that both parties had put their views.

Mrs Helen Suzman said yesterday that Mandela's refusal of the government's offer would not lessen the pressure for his release. "South Africa would gain here and abroad if he were given an unconditional release.

"It is a grim reflection on the apartheid system that a man chooses to remain in jail after more than 21 years imprisonment, rather than lead a life of limited freedom under that system."

The Sowetan newspaper yesterday commented in an editorial that its

reading of the situation, after Mandela's rejection of President P W Botha's offer, was that "the government is preparing to harden its attitude to any action by the ANC, or by people or organizations perceived to be acting in furtherance of the aims of the organization".

## 'Appropriate'

● The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), a UDF affiliate, yesterday issued a statement "warmly welcoming Mandela's flat rejection" of the offer.

"In a situation where the white minority continues to have a firm hold on political power, such a rejection is not only logical, but also the appropriate political response from the true leaders of the oppressed people in the country.

"The TIC fully supports the conditions outlined by Mandela before he will consider such an offer.

"We in the TIC believe the ball is squarely in P W Botha's court to prove that he is genuine about meaningful change in this country. He can do so by accepting the conditions laid down by Mandela," it said.

● John Battersby reports from London that according to Lord Nicholas Bethell, Mr Botha and Mandela are "moving slowly and carefully" towards the possibility of discussions.

## 'Concession'

The Tory peer and human-rights campaigner, who had an exclusive prison interview with Mandela last month, was speaking on a telephone-in programme on London Radio.

Lord Bethell said the fact that Mandela had been allowed to make a detailed statement from prison was in itself a "concession" by the South African authorities.

However, reforms would have to go "a lot further" before there could be a genuine political dialogue between the South African Government and the ANC.

## 'Not fundamental'

He said change in South Africa had moved beyond the point where it could be dismissed as "window-dressing" but had not gone far enough and was not yet of a fundamental nature.

Lord Bethell said South Africa had a relatively free press and the fact that newspapers had not been prosecuted for quoting from his interview with Mandela in The Mail on Sunday or for quoting from Zinzi Mandela's weekend speech was significant.

— Sapa and Own Correspondent

● 4 'Islanders' accept offer, page 2



# When a losing gambler keeps placing bets

3044

Stew

12/2/85

While the concept of conflict resolution is the most prevalent in popular languages and also in academic circles abroad, I have found it evokes strong emotional opposition in this country.

There are two reasons:

● Resolution implies that conflict is actually resolved and disappears into thin air.

● It implies that people (especially the oppressed) will be pacified, will be won over to continue living peacefully in an unjust society.

This kind of resolution that promotes apparent peace merely enables the oppressors to continue with the exploitation of the masses.

There can be no peace without justice.

I do not believe that in a complex society such as South Africa there can ever be complete resolution of conflict. Material resources are limited and traditionally the distribution between population groups has been so unequal and unjust that a peaceful, amicable resolution is not only unlikely, it is impossible. The challenge to us is therefore to

**DAY TWO** of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Inter-group Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

accommodate the conflict as constructively as possible.

The extent to which we fail to do that will largely determine the amount of violence and bloodshed that lies ahead. Current research on the resolution of conflict is characterised by a relatively positive approach based on the belief that the resolution, or at least accommodation of conflict, is much more likely and possible than is usually assumed.

The traditional negative or pessimistic approach was largely due to the recognition of a strong element of natural human aggression that often constituted a major obstacle to peaceful resolution. The scarcity of finite material resources such as possessions and territory often rules out any chance of conflict

resolution. Ideological commitment, competitive processes and ineffective communication greatly contribute to the escalation of conflict.

One reason for the perpetuation of apartheid as a major source and manifestation of conflict in South Africa is suggested by Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance: people tend to make their beliefs and attitudes accord with their actions.

The pressure for self-consistency leads to an unwitting involvement in and intensification of conflict because one's actions have to be justified to oneself and to others.

These pressures explained the tragic course of American involvement in the civil war in Vietnam and South African involvement in Namibia.

The reason for our continued involvement is the fact that we are involved: once involved it is exceedingly difficult to disengage and to admit thereby how inappropriate our past involvement has been. This reminds of the psychology of gambling. The losing gambler gets deeper and deeper into a hole but keeps on betting with the hope that by so doing he will recover his initial losses.

While conflict can serve a social function in the sense that it is a source of renovation of energy and of renewal in society and can thus be channelled constructively, it can also serve certain social functions that perpetuate conflict.

When conflict becomes institutionalised, that is, part of certain institutions and structures, the members of those institutions develop a vested interest in the perpetuation of that conflict.

Members of the Defence Force would not like to see the end of all wars because that would bring an end to their careers. But I have also come across vested interest

abroad in the perpetuation of the conflict in South Africa. During many visits overseas and during a few periods of extended study and employment in England and the United States, I have established close contact with leaders of liberation movements living in exile and leaders of the many groups that I would collectively refer to as anti-apartheid groups. I could not help but observe that there was a greater willingness among leaders of the liberation movements living in exile than among anti-apartheid leaders to bring an end to the conflict in South Africa.

The explanation is obvious: a settlement will enable them to return home and participate in the governing of their own fatherland, while the anti-apartheid groups would be stranded without a cause and without jobs.

Ineffective measures by either party, oppressor or oppressed, are likely to elicit resistance, alienation and the escalation of conflict, rather than its resolution. Such measures include

illegitimate techniques, negative and inappropriate sanctions and excessive pressure. Typically, a competitive process tends to produce the following effects which tend to perpetuate and escalate conflict:

● Communication between the conflict parties is unreliable and impoverished.

Espionage and other circuitous means of obtaining information are relied upon.

Error and misinformation reinforce pre-existing orientations and expectation.

● The view develops that the solution of the conflict can only be imposed by one side or the other by means of superior force, deception or cleverness.

● A suspicious hostile attitude develops that increases the sensitivity to differences and threats while minimising the awareness of similarities.

## NEXT

The total strategy, the banning of the African National Congress; the judicial approach.



# ANC: was outright banning the answer

I have argued earlier that malice, conflict and violence should not be attributed to only one party.

Similarly the mismanagement of conflict and negative destructive measures to accommodate conflict can be found in all parties, also in South Africa.

On the Government side I would single out in this respect the perception of the so-called Total Onslaught which has given birth to the development of the inevitable response: the Total Strategy.

"That South Africa is the prize objective in the Soviet bid to control Southern Africa is an established fact," claimed the SABC in an editorial on July 4 1983. This is the essence of the perception of the Total Onslaught: it is a Communist-inspired, ideologically-motivated struggle and the aim is the overthrow of the constitutional order and its replacement by a subject

Communist-oriented black Government. To combat the total onslaught a total national strategy had to be formulated.

The 1977 White Paper defined total national strategy as the comprehensive plan to utilise all the means available to a state according to an integrated pattern, in order to achieve the national aims within the framework of the specific policies. Mass mobilisation of the

**DAY THREE** of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

public in support of the Government's total strategy is vigorously campaigned by mass media, especially the SABC:

"But, as emphasised by General Malan, the African National Congress terrorist has no conscience as far as his choice of targets or weapons is concerned. "His goal is the whole country and the entire population.

"And it is the main advantage of the terrorist, his ability as a clandestine operator to strike unexpectedly at vulnerable targets, which must be recognised and countered by the adoption of security as a general public obligation. "Realistically speaking, it is the responsibility of organisations and individuals at all levels to play their part towards the overall security of their country."

While the South African Government and conservative media continue with their efforts to mobilise public opinion against the total onslaught allegedly orchestrated from Moscow, respectable scholars warn against this delusion.

In a concise, well-written and scholarly account of

Soviet policy in Southern Africa, published by the respectable, conservative Africa Institute of South Africa, Peter Vanneman and Martin James (1982) argue that Soviet policy-making with regard to Southern Africa is largely the preserve of lower levels of the Soviet bureaucracy.

They point out that Soviet foreign policy does not emanate from a monolith.

On the anti-apartheid side I would single out what I would call the judgemental approach which is characterised by a boycott mentality.

It is understandable that such an approach would have developed.

The rigidity and intransigence of the white establishment and oppression of the system have led to despair and cynicism.

The result of this cynical attitude is a refusal to do or contribute anything positive or constructive; every action should be aimed at destroying the present evil, fighting apartheid, opposing the oppressor and bringing down the Government.

The primary motivating force is not the search for justice but the pronouncement of judgment, the wish to retaliate, to punish the

evildoer, to take revenge. Conditional sanctions, strikes, boycotts or such withholding actions are valuable and efficient strategies in political struggle.

But when boycott becomes an end in itself, a principle and not a strategy, it does not constitute a constructive, positive approach to the accommodation of conflict.

Economic boycott if successfully applied will bring economic regression and ruin, physical and mental suffering to millions in South Africa and all its neighbours.

Mozambique has argued that it would be tantamount to suicide to support an economic boycott against South Africa.

Let's face it: economic boycott, just like the objectionable system of apartheid, is a classical case of institutional or structural violence.

This was so well put by Dr Kenneth Kaunda in one of his latest books:

"But economic sanctions if firmly applied are only more humane than war in the sense that starving someone to death is more humane than shooting him."

As in the case of war, politicians and even Christian leaders here and abroad justify this kind of violence.

What good could come out of this violence and suffering?

Some radicals argue that it will cause polarisation, hatred and protest and thus hasten the revolution.

As a white American academic glibly put it: "Suffering will result, but it could be justified because people will suffer for their freedom."

These anti-apartheid propagandists fail to distinguish between two types of suffering.

On the one hand the suffering of local people which results from their own initiative and own action such as strikes or conditional boycotts against specific employers; on the other hand there is suffering caused by boycott campaigns initiated and orchestrated by overseas groups.

It seems in retrospect that the banning of the African National Congress in 1960 might not have been a very constructive way of handling the situation.

Indications that the Government may now be willing to talk to them, given certain conditions, hold more promise for a settlement than outright banning.

New insights have contributed to a more positive and optimistic approach to conflict accommodation.

Given man's aggression and additional obstacles, social scientists have developed and promoted approaches and techniques that have made the resolution of conflict much more likely than usually anticipated.

Six of these new insights can be noted:

● While material resources may indeed be scarce and finite, a rational approach to



# was outright banning the answer?

**DAY THREE** of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

public in support of the Government's total strategy is vigorously campaigned by mass media, especially the SABC:

"But, as emphasised by General Malan, the African National Congress terrorist has no conscience as far as his choice of targets or weapons is concerned. "His goal is the whole country and the entire population.

"And it is the main advantage of the terrorist, his ability as a clandestine operator to strike unexpectedly at vulnerable targets, which must be recognised and countered by the adoption of security as a general public obligation. "Realistically speaking, it is the responsibility of organisations and individuals at all levels to play their part towards the overall security of their country."

While the South African Government and conservative media continue with their efforts to mobilise public opinion against the total onslaught allegedly orchestrated from Moscow, respectable scholars warn against this delusion. In a concise, well-written and scholarly account of

Soviet policy in Southern Africa, published by the respectable, conservative Africa Institute of South Africa, Peter Vanneman and Martin James (1982) argue that Soviet policy-making with regard to Southern Africa is largely the preserve of lower levels of the Soviet bureaucracy. They point out that Soviet foreign policy does not emanate from a monolith. On the anti-apartheid side I would single out what I would call the judgemental approach which is characterised by a boycott mentality. It is understandable that such an approach would have developed. The rigidity and intransigence of the white establishment and oppression of the system have led to despair and cynicism. The result of this cynical attitude is a refusal to do or contribute anything positive or constructive; every action should be aimed at destroying the present evil, fighting apartheid, opposing the oppressor and bringing down the Government. The primary motivating force is not the search for justice but the pronouncement of judgment, the wish to retaliate, to punish the

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New insights have contributed to a more positive and optimistic approach to conflict accommodation. Given man's aggression and additional obstacles, social scientists have developed and promoted approaches and techniques that have made the resolution of conflict much more likely than usually anticipated.

Six of these new insights can be noted:

- While material resources may indeed be scarce and finite, a rational approach to

their optimal development and exploitation may yield higher returns than those that could be gained by means of destructive competitive processes.

- Non-material resources are not finite and need not be scarce. Resources such as skills, expertise and security indeed have the tendency to increase through use. Sharing, therefore, is a way of increasing one's benefits.

- The emphasis on the importance and satisfaction of needs, rather than interests and values is more likely to promote conflict resolution.

- Perceptions, opinions and attitudes are subjective and are determined by the social context of the observer. These subjective observations can be influenced and rectified and more accurate observations will facilitate conflict resolution.

- The prospects of improved communication have been a major source of a more positive and optimistic approach to conflict resolution.

- The experience of co-operative processes of conflicting resolution and the striving for win-win solutions have yielded encouraging results during the past decade or two.

## NEXT

Violence; who will denounce it?; the cycle of violence; the Pretoria bomb.



By GRAHAM WATTS

THE government's attempt to come up with a constitutional formula for blacks has yet to achieve one of its most important tasks — finding someone to talk to.

With this year's first Cabinet meeting due on Wednesday, and Parliament to open in a fortnight, two of the country's most important moderate black politicians this week repeated their refusal to appear before the Cabinet's constitutional committee.

One of them, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Inkatha, revealed for the first time this week that he told Mr P W Botha during their recent meeting — their first in four years — that he would not appear before the committee.

And the Rev Sam Buti, mayor of Alexandra and probably the single most im-

# Constitutional committee for blacks — all dressed up and nowhere to go

portant participant in the government-created urban local authority system, said the government should not even bother with an invitation to him to appear.

Spokesmen for the United Democratic Front and the National Forum Committee, the two umbrella bodies for hundreds of black organisations working 'outside the system', also this week 'categorically' ruled out discussions with the committee.

The Cabinet Special Committee on Black Constitution-

al Development under the chairmanship of Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, was set up at the end of 1983, soon after the referendum on the new constitution gave the go-ahead for the inclusion of coloured and Indian representatives in central government.

It has held several rounds of talks with leaders of some of the 'independent' and 'self-governing' homelands and with black town councillors whose credibility has been

questioned on the basis of the small percentage polls they mustered in their elections.

## Informal

Although it is understood that the government has had informal talks with a number of black politicians, including those working 'outside the system', it is believed it merely heard them repeat the message: announce your intention to scrap apartheid and to negotiate without preconditions, lift the ban on the

ANC and PAC, and release all political prisoners.

Mr Heunis said this week that the committee had had "wide and broad discussions with a wide spectrum of opinion". He said it wasn't necessary for all discussions on constitutional matters to be held by the committee itself. Individual members of the committee were holding talks all the time.

He conceded that committee members, both formally and informally, had not "so far" heard "a representative

opinion of all black leaders" but that did not mean they would not do so.

## Inquiry

He stressed that the committee was involved in an "on-going" inquiry. He said it was also a "negotiating instrument".

"We also negotiate in the committee," he said. "Take the issue of citizenship. When decisions are taken on the question of citizenship, they

will also be taken because of the fact of these discussions and negotiations."

It is widely believed that the government is shortly to announce a common South African citizenship under a formula that is still able to keep political rights separate.

Some observers saw this as a small but significant victory for those involved in talks with the committee.

But Chief Buthelezi shrugged it off. "I am already a South African citizen," he said. "I have a South African passport. It may be a victory for people like the Ciskeians, but it is no victory for me. I am not a foreigner, and by refusing to accept independence I ensure that I shall never be."

Mr Buti said that the demand for a common South African citizenship was as old as apartheid. "If it is a victory it is one for those in jail and in exile," he said.

Chief Buthelezi also revealed this week that he had "got the impression" from meetings with both Mr P W Botha and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation and Development and of Education, that the Buthelezi Commission was being viewed positively by the government.

The commission's seven-volume report, published in March 1983, called for a constitutional formula of shared power among all the people of Natal and Kwazulu.



# Who is prepared to renounce violence

Conflict in its broader sense should be seen as a natural, endemic condition of society which could also serve positive functions provided it is channelled, directed and accommodated constructively.

Conflict is therefore not seen as necessarily dysfunctional or as pathological.

Social conflict is the continuous process of redistribution of power and resources within a social system.

Violence is an extreme manifestation of destructive conflict.

It is a result of the failure to accommodate successfully, or to regulate conflict.

Violence is destructive and destabilising.

While it has the obvious advantage of obtaining immediate short-term gains, it cannot form the basis of a durable society.

Violence refers to behaviour which violates the dignity and integrity of a person.

For our purpose we define it as the application of force, act, motive or thought in such a way (overt, covert, direct or indirect) that the person or group is injured, controlled or destroyed in a physical, psychological or spiritual sense.

We used to think of violence only in physical terms and as acts committed by those who oppose authority.

Violence of a psychological or mental nature, however, is as harmful as physical violence.

In recent years we have come to the realisation that force used by the instruments of the State can be interpreted as institutional or structural violence.

This is violence committed through the institutions or the structure of the social system controlled by the rulers or the authorities. The effect of structural violence, such as discriminatory customs or legislation, is that the actual realisation of human beings is below their potential realisation.

**DAY FOUR** of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

The system prevents them from full development.

In brief, then, this violence violates the person's integrity and dignity.

While violence is usually abhorred in public rhetoric, especially in religious and respectable circles, it is true that it is almost as endemic as conflict.

This is due to many factors, including the relatively aggressive human nature, the generally accepted view that violence *does* work and the fact that, with the exception of a minute percentage of genuine universal pacifists, war is accepted by all mankind as a legitimate instrument of last resort.

Violence as a manifestation of destructive conflict has a tendency to expand and escalate.

It encompasses a shift away from conciliatory strategies of persuasion and accommodation toward strategies of power and tactics of threat and coercion.

The extent to which conflict in South Africa becomes or has become destructive is of direct relevance to any attempts or programmes aimed at the accommodation and management of conflict.

The impact of structural violence as experienced and perceived by blacks in South Africa constitutes the major basis of their opposition to the present establishment regardless of its ethnic composition.

It is also seen as the major reason for their resort to what is known as political violence, sabotage, guerilla warfare or terrorism.

In turn, the African National Congress's resort to violence is given as a major reason why the present Government cannot have negotiations with them.

While violence seems to

be so obviously pathological and deplorable, the vast majority of human beings have come to accept it as if it is as endemic and normal as conflict.

All our major churches argue that violence in its most destructive form, war, can be justified under certain circumstances.

The theology of a just war dates back to the early history of almost all Christian churches. I belong to a very small religious community, the Quakers, that objects to violence in principle. I therefore do not believe that violence can be justified under any circumstances.

This stand especially applies to modern war.

One of the criteria laid down to justify resort to war is that the army should discriminate between soldiers and non-combatants and not attack the latter.

The killing of the innocent was always illicit. This kind of argument had some applicability in the time of personal physical combat.

However, the means of warfare have changed radically in the meantime.

We need only look at the casualties in the two World Wars to understand the obsolescence of this criterion.

World War 1 claimed the lives of 8 million military staff and caused the death of 1 million innocent civilians.

World War 2, which made use of only two nuclear bombs, claimed the lives of 17 million military personnel and killed 34 million civilians.

Today the major Powers have stock-piles of sophisticated nuclear weapons not meant to kill the enemy but to exterminate whole populations.

Americans believe they

now have sufficient bombs to kill every living Russian 40 times over.

This situation has brought little change in official church policy in recent times.

Neither South African Christian churches nor our most prominent leaders, including Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, has adopted a pacifist stand.

This being the position of the churches it is unlikely that political parties and political leaders will support pacifism.

Quite naturally they would, like their spiritual brethren, deplore violence, but they will not in principle renounce it.

They will reserve the right to use violence as a last resort.

If they are in power they will use it to maintain law and order or to squash protest, rebellion, armed revolution or invasion by foreign powers. If they are in opposition and they believe that all normal channels of protest have been closed and the Government is completely intransigent, they will resort to violence believing that justice is on their side.

And depending on the political and moral convictions of the clergy they will rally behind either those in authority or those in rebellion, arguing that God is on their side.

Who besides the handful of pacifists in our troubled country will renounce violence unconditionally?

It is not always easy for the population of a strife-torn society such as South Africa to avoid being drawn into the cycle of violence.

And once one has been sucked into this cycle it takes a lot of initiative and guts to break out of it.

And as long as our religious leaders, who form part and parcel of our political problems, believe that violence on either side could be justified under certain conditions, we have little hope of significant initiatives that will save us from the destructive effects of this evil spiral.

The increasing spiral of violence in Southern Africa was manifested in three major events in Lesotho, South Africa and Mozambique.

In December 1982 the South African Defence Force launched an attack in the suburbs of Maseru killing 30 African National Congress members and 12 civilians including five women and two children.

On May 20 1983 African National Congress agents detonated a bomb outside the offices of the South African Air Force in Pretoria, killing 19 people and wounding more than 200, mostly civilians.

On May 23 1983 the South African Defence Force launched a retaliatory attack on Maputo in Mozambique.

While the South African Government claimed that they had killed 64 people, including 41 African National Congress members, 17 Frelimo members and six civilians, overseas newspapers reported that six people had been killed, of whom five were Mozambican civilians.

These events and the response to them in both white and black circles, among conservatives and liberals, made me intensely aware of the spiral of polarisation that is driving our country into rigidly opposed camps of mutual hatred and commitment to revenge.

This element of revenge was evident in the public statements of both the African National Congress and the South African Government.

On Monday May 23 General Malan, Minister of Defence, stated in Parliament that the security forces of South Africa would revenge every drop of blood shed by the innocent, white, black, or brown, with all the force at its disposal. I saw these events as dramatic outbursts in a series of acts of physical mental and institutional violence, committed in this country by both the Government and its opponents.

I believe these actions will increase in frequency and intensity in coming years and with



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I believe these actions will increase in frequency and intensity in coming years and, with

it, hatred and animosity will grow.

Given this situation I saw it as my primary task to break this cycle and to build a middle ground.

I found inspiration and support for my intention in the silent meeting for worship of the handful of Quakers (Religious Society of Friends) in Cape Town on the Sunday morning after the attack on Maputo.

I proceeded to draft a statement expressing:

- My disapproval of violence on both sides.
- My sympathy with the victims of both sides.
- My belief in the elements of goodwill on both sides.

This statement accompanied a small financial contribution to the trustees of the State President's Fund in South Africa which was established to assist the victims of the Pretoria bomb and similar acts of terrorism.

I visited Lesotho to hand money to the Lesotho Christian Council which assisted victims of the South Africa attack in Maseru.

I also used this occasion to make contact with African National Congress leaders in exile.

I think I succeeded in conveying to them that there are in South Africa people who are neither ANC supporters, nor Government supporters, nor fence-sitters.

But how big, how significant, how influential is this group? Probably very small, judging from the response I got from many of my friends. By some I was accused of supporting apartheid and by others of supporting terrorism. This was the sad evidence of the extent to which we have become drawn into the cycle of polarisation. Where have all the mediators gone?

## NEXT

Third party intervention; face saving; there's something of God in each person.



PRESIDENT P W Botha announced today that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and a few other long-term "security" prisoners would remain in prison because they refused to give undertakings renouncing violence for political ends.

He said their continued imprisonment must now be attributed to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence. Four prisoners who had accepted the offer of conditional release would be freed.

Mr Botha referred to his statement last month in which he said the Government was willing to consider Mr Mandela's release provided he gave an undertaking to renounce violence as a political tool.

He added that Mr Mandela — not the Government — was standing in the way of his freedom.

Mr Botha said today: "As indicated then, this also applies to other prisoners of the same category who have spent a very long time in prison.

"I have now received the response of Mr Mandela and a few others to the effect that they are not prepared to give such commitments. Their continued imprisonment must, of now, be attributed to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence.

### "My attitude"

"The Government's and my attitude on this matter flows on the one hand from a concern for men who have spent a long time in prison. On the other hand we cannot order their release if they remain committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism.

"The Government, however, remains prepared to consider the release of prisoners in this category under the given circumstances.

"It is heartening that a number of prisoners have responded to my statement by renouncing violence as a means of furthering their political aims.

### Four freed

"I have today approved the release of four such prisoners," Mr Botha said.

A spokesman for the President's office said today it was unlikely that Mr Mandela's reply would be released

● Mr Botha made his offer of conditional release to Mr Mandela and other long-term "security" prisoners in Parliament on January 31.

He said then that he and the Government were not insensitive to the fact that Mr Mandela and others had spent a great deal of time in prison, al-

(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

(Cont from Page 1)

though they were duly convicted in open court.

The Government was willing to consider Mr Mandela's release in South Africa, provided he gave an undertaking that he would not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives. He would have to conduct himself in such a way that he would not be rearrested.

In his initial response, read out at a United Democratic Front meeting in Johannesburg last weekend, Mr Mandela rejected the offer for the first time.

He called on Mr Botha to renounce violence and to state that he would dismantle apartheid.

He wanted an end to the ban on the ANC and the release of "all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid".

He also demanded a guarantee of free political activity from President Botha, "so that the people may decide who will govern them".

● Earlier today the Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, dismissed suggestions that Mr Mandela should be released unconditionally.

He said such suggestions were an attempt to give violence, lawlessness and criminality a cloak of respectability and to turn these into acceptable ways of attaining a political goal.

He said Mr Botha's offer was "quite justified and extremely fair".

All reasonable people would accept this, especially because ANC murder gangs had cold-bloodedly killed many people of all races. There had been twice as many black victims as whites.

The Government would not have a terrorist organisation as a negotiating partner, although it remained willing to talk to people who were prepared to take a stand against violence.

# Mandela will stay in jail, says Botha

ALGUS 14/2/85

30/4/85



# Committee

wants

<sup>CAPE TOWN</sup>  
15/2/83  
'real leaders'

released

304A  
Staff Reporter

THE Release Mandela Committee this week called on President P W Botha to dismantle apartheid, release "our real leaders" Mandela and other political prisoners unconditionally, and unban banned organizations and people.

Their statement follows the rejection by the leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, of the government's offer of conditional release.

The statement said: "We fully congratulate Comrade Mandela for his firm stand after 22 years languishing in a racist prison.

"We believe that this is a brave stand they have taken and they show us that they are our real leaders who are prepared to die for their convictions.

"We of the RMC feel that Botha's offer is an insult and a torture to our leaders."

The statement said that Mandela and others were in prison not of their own choosing and that was no negotiation when they were jailed.

"Botha's offer is meant to confuse the world and those South Africans who believe that the Botha regime is going in the right direction for change but we, the majority of South Africans, cannot be bluffed by this action. We demand:

"The unconditional release of Mandela and other racist political prisoners;

"The unbanning of banned organizations;

"The return of banished people including all those in exile;

"The unbanning of banned people.

"We further demand that Botha must dismantle apartheid and denounce violence."



# Suzman

CAVE TIMES 15/2/85

304A

## plea for release of Mandela

Political  
Correspondent

**MRS HELEN Suzman** yesterday called on President P W Botha to lift the ban on the ANC and break the deadlock between the outlawed organization and the government.

Her impassioned plea followed the President's announcement that the ANC leader would remain in prison.

Mr Botha announced yesterday that Mandela and a few other long-term political prisoners would remain behind bars because of "their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence".

Mrs Suzman countered by saying that unbanning the ANC — one of Mandela's key conditions — "would make it so much easier for Mr Mandela to accept the State President's offer, as he would have a lawful political organization — to which he is deeply committed — to advance his political objectives.

### 'Emasculated'

"Failing this, he and other long-term prisoners to whom the conditional offer was extended would have to emerge from prison politically emasculated," the PFP's veteran civil rights campaigner said.

A spokesman for the State President's office indicated yesterday that it was unlikely that the offer of Mandela's for

From page 1  
may reply to Mr Botha would be made public

In announcing Mandela's refusal of Mr Botha's offer at the week-end, Mandela's daughter Zinzi told a rally that her father insisted that the government first unban the ANC, guarantee free political activity, dismantle apartheid and renounce violence.

Mr Botha's original offer to release Mandela was announced in Parliament on January 31.

The President noted in his statement yesterday that the continued imprisonment of Mandela and other prisoners who had formally turned down his offer "must of now be attributed to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence".

He added: "The attitude of the government and myself on this matter flows on the one hand from the concern for men who have spent a long time in prison.

"On the other hand, we cannot order their release if they remain committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism."

Mr Botha said the government remained prepared to consider the release of long-term security prisoners.

"It is heartening that a number of prisoners have already responded to my statement by renouncing violence as a means of furthering their political aims."

Mr Suzman who last month disclosed a dramatic 'truce' offer by Mandela, yesterday emphasized that it was imperative that attempts to further dialogue between the government and the ANC be continued.

"The government ought to consider again the tremendous advantages to South Africa if Mandela and his co-prisoners were released.

"It would immediately have the effect of defusing the hostility towards South Africa abroad and would provide the government with a true leader with whom to negotiate."

However, statements by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, yesterday appeared to rule out a softening of the government's stand at this stage.

Mr Le Grange last night emphasized that the government was prepared to talk to anyone who rejected violence, but would clamp down on those who did not, and Mr Nel said suggestions that Mandela be released unconditionally were an attempt to give violence, lawlessness and criminality a cloak of respectability.

● Release Mandela or face revolution — Kaunda, page 11



# PW: I'll talk to ANC if it rejects violence

ARGAS 15/2/85 3081

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE President, Mr P W Botha, said today that if the ANC and other organisations decided to reject and renounce violence the Government would be prepared to talk to them.

Mr Botha's speech in Cape Town appeared to indicate a shift in the Government's previously more intransigent attitude to talks with the banned organisation.

Previously the Government attitude was that it would not talk to the ANC because of its policy of violence. Today Mr Botha said the Government would talk to the ANC and other organisations if they were willing to renounce and reject violence.

Speaking at an Order of the Star of South Africa medal parade at the Castle, he said there were many threats against the country and onslaughts on the political, economic, cultural, religious and other fields.

The challenges of the future called for a new dedication to loyal service in the interests of peace and progress.

## An offer

It was in this spirit that he had made an offer to Mr Mandela and other similar prisoners who had been involved in crimes against the State and who had served long prison terms.

If they were prepared to renounce the planning, incitement and the acts of violence their release would be favourably considered.

Those who had not yet served a substantive part of their sentences would get credit if they renounced violence.

He said: "I am willing to go even farther. I have in the past warned that an ever-growing number of people in all communities in South Africa are no longer prepared to tolerate the perpetration of senseless violence. We cannot allow forces of evil to commit murder and wanton destruction in this country.

## "Safe future"

"If the ANC and other organisations concerned also decide to reject and renounce violence, the Government is willing to talk to them, as with any other organisation that strives for

true peace and development for the peoples of our land.

"We should heed the lessons of history and build a safe future on the wisdom of experience. We must not repeat the mistakes made elsewhere in Africa."

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, who asked for the release of banned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela after yesterday's announcement that he would stay in jail, said today that Mr Botha's statement was a significant shift in Government policy and showed a greater willingness to enter into negotiations.

While describing his statement as "fine words that must be applauded", Mrs Suzman said that an image of intransigence in the eyes

(Turn to Page 3, col 8)

(Cont from Page 1)

of the world did South Africa no good.

While welcoming an indication of the Government's greater willingness to negotiate, she said the Government had to remember that not only the mistakes of Africa had to be corrected, but that it had also to look at its own mistakes.

Years of implementing apartheid and the violence that went with it was a major cause of the reaction of the ANC.

It was also incumbent on the Government to make absolutely clear its firm intention to desist from the offending practises.

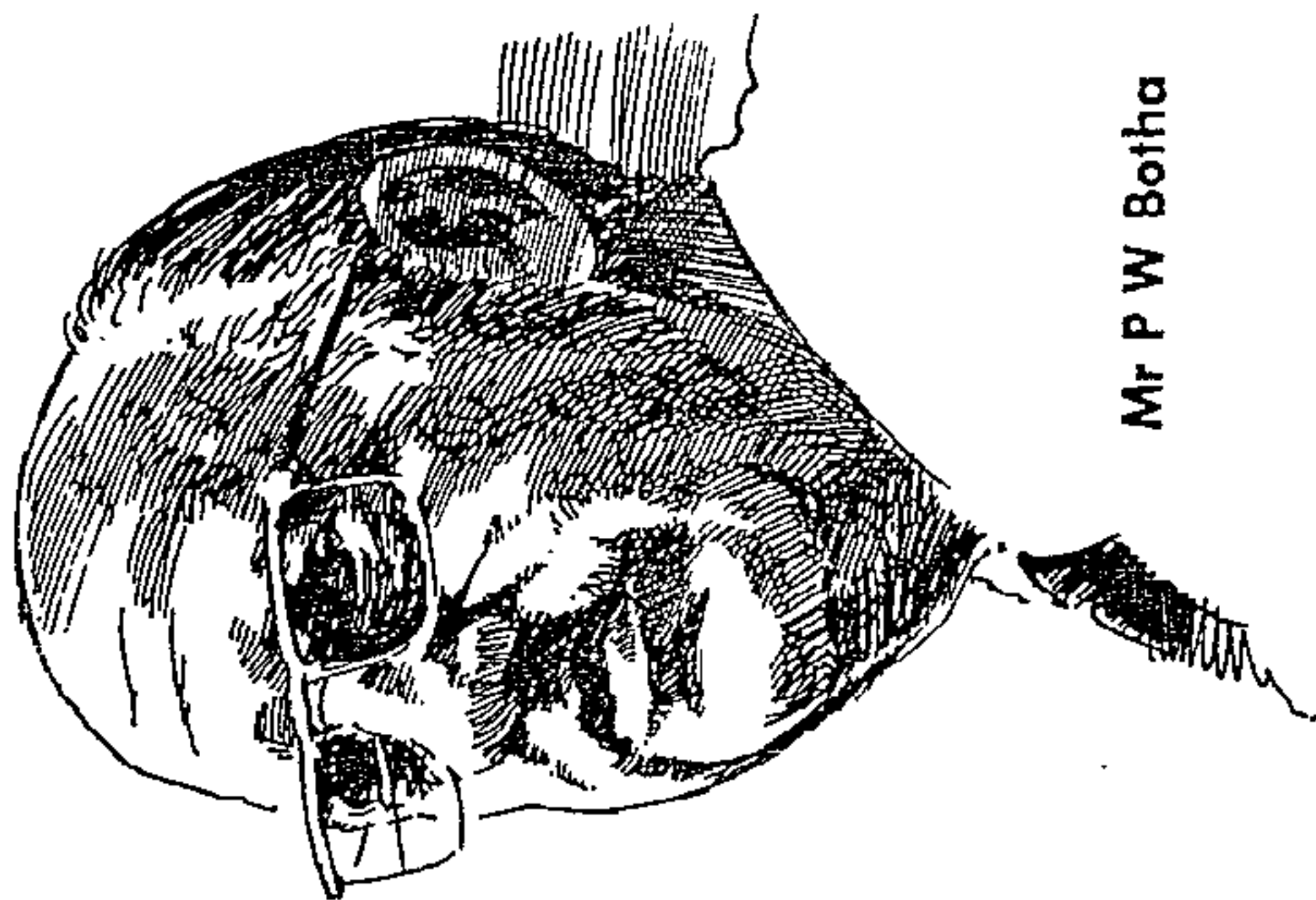
Much could be gained by South Africa through the release of Mr Mandela, because he had become such a symbol of oppression.

Mrs Suzman pointed to the possibility of the unbanning of the ANC and the calling of a truce at the same time as the release of Mr Mandela.

In a reaction to the Mandela announcement, before Mr Botha's speech today, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said it was important that the President's offer still stood.

He also called for it to be extended to other organisations such as the ANC so that they could choose to operate legitimately.

In addition, a clearly spelt-out programme for reform would demonstrate the Government's bona fides to create a climate conducive to negotiation, Dr Slabbert said.



Mr P W Botha



# Mandela 'right to reject offer'

MAPUTO. — Nelson Mandela "did the right thing" by rejecting the South African Government's conditional offer of freedom, declared Dr Allan Boesak on his arrival here yesterday.

Dr Boesak, a patron of the United Democratic Fund and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, is visiting Mozambique at the invitation of the country's Friendship and Solidarity Association, as the guest of honour for a day of solidarity between the people of Mozambique and South Africa.

Speaking to journalists, Dr Boesak said: "It is not so much the ANC or Nelson Mandela that have to pledge not to use violence.

"It is the South African Government that must prove to the people of South Africa that it is willing to renounce violence, that it will no longer use policies that hurt and discriminate against our people, that it will dismantle apartheid, which is in itself a violent system, and that it will talk to the genuine representatives of our people."

If the government was prepared to take these steps, then it might be possible to talk about "a new beginning", he said.

Asked about the possibility that the UDF may be banned, Dr Boesak said one never knew what the government would do.

"We have always felt that the South African Government is afraid of the UDF, because the UDF is a danger to apartheid, since it is such a clear mass movement of our people." — AIM





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# A good idea for PW to see Mandela personally

PRESIDENT P W Botha's attempt at "dialogue politics" seems to have suffered a setback through Mr Nelson Mandela's rejection of the offer of conditional release and the cold reception which the suggestion of a forum to help find constitutional solutions has had from in black quarters.

It would, however, be wrong to dismiss Mr Botha's dialogue efforts on the strength of these reactions.

Along with other Nationalist politicians he probably did not expect Mr Mandela to accept his conditions, at least not on the first occasion.

Mr Botha has made it clear that the offer remains open. So far four long-term "security" prisoners have accepted and in all 33 serving long sentences could qualify.

Mr Botha's offer was that the release of Mr Mandela and others would be considered if they gave a commitment that they would not make themselves guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives but that

they would conduct themselves in such a way that they would not again have to be arrested.

In his initial reply to the offer Mr Mandela laid down his own conditions.

Among them were demands for the unbanning of the African National Congress, the freeing of all those imprisoned, banned or exiled for their opposition to apartheid and a guarantee of free political activity.

Although deadlock now seems to have developed in this dialogue which has been conducted in such a ponderous way, the most important fact remains that some contact has been made.

Any suggestion of Mr Mandela's release under any circumstances has met only with a chilly refusal in the past.

Although Nationalist politicians did not really expect Mr Mandela to accept the offer Mr Botha clearly felt that it was worth making such a gesture at this stage.

He could not have expected Mr Mandela to cut himself off

from the ANC by accepting his conditions.

On the other hand the door may now have been opened on possible further contact between Mr Botha and Mr Mandela.

One wonders if it is not important for the two to meet personally at some stage. What may sound far-fetched now may not be so at some future stage.

The whole question of possible contact with the ANC also still remains.

Here, too, Mr Botha, is adamant that he is not prepared to deal with the ANC because of its commitment to violence.

The ANC's Mr Oliver Tambo remains defiant in his stand on violence — stating recently that there was no alternative to the "armed struggle against the Pretoria regime."

At one stage there were tentative plans for some exploratory talks between a group of Nationalist MPs and some ANC figures. France was mentioned, as the country where such a meeting could be held.

Speculation about such a

meeting leaked out prematurely and Mr Botha put his foot down.

Some verligte Nationalists have grave doubts about too intransigent an attitude to some kind of talks, however exploratory, with the ANC. Their doubts go right back to the banning of the organisation in the first place.

Meanwhile Mr Botha's forum idea is becoming fuzzier through the wordy explanations of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis.

It now seems as if it will not be confined to talks between the Government and black community leaders but that other race groups can also take part.

Mr Botha originally mentioned the idea in connection with the special Cabinet committee on blacks.

More clarity is needed on a concept he obviously regards as an important component in the idea of "co-operative coexistence" which he expounded in his speech when he opened Parliament on January 25.



# Let Mandela out or face revolution — Kaunda

Own Correspondent

STOCKHOLM — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has made another emotional plea to the South African government to release the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and lift the 25-year ban on the ANC.

At a press conference following a meeting with the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr Olaf Palme, Dr Kaunda also urged the United States and other Western countries to impose economic sanctions on Pretoria to avoid a revolution.

President Kaunda's appeal for the release of Mandela was made on the basis that he was "a recognized South African leader" and not just a leader of blacks.

## Constructive engagement

"Nelson Mandela is in jail, others are in detention, yet others are outside. So the movement is going on undirected. When there is a situation like that, an explosion becomes inevitable," he said.

"They need Nelson Mandela out. They need to lift the ban on the African National Congress so that leaders can be elected openly," the Zambian leader said.

Dr Kaunda called on the US administration to abandon its policy of "so-called constructive engagement" and instead lead a Western economic boycott of South Africa before a violent insurrection started.

"It is the only instrument we have for comparatively peaceful change in South Africa today," Kaunda told reporters.

He predicted that, without such outside foreign pressure, there would be "an explosion in South Africa within two years".

He dismissed Western arguments against such sanctions as "an excuse for not doing what is right" saying Western nations lacked courage.

## Time running out

"Unless the Americans act, unless the British act, and the Germans, French and Italians, I don't see anything that can avoid this revolution," the Zambian president said.

"Such an insurrection would make the French Revolution look like a Sunday children's picnic," he said. "Let's work to avoid that in the name of God and his people. Time is running out."

Dr Kaunda met reporters after talks with Mr Palme, who told him Sweden was writing off a R10 million Zambian debt to help ease the country's economic problems.

Dr Kaunda, whose delegation was drastically cut from more than 60 to 17 following diplomatic pressure from his Scandinavian hosts, was to leave yesterday for visits to Norway and Denmark.



# Three more prisoners refuse P W's offer

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Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Three more Rivonia trialists have refused the offer of conditional release from life imprisonment and have submitted a six-page memorandum to the State President, Mr P W Botha.

This was confirmed by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of the former African National Congress general-secretary Walter Sisulu, one of the three signatories to the document rejecting Pretoria's release offer.

The other signatories are Ahmed "Kathy" Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni.

## THEIR LAWYER

The three ANC men were visited yesterday in Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town by their lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana, according to Mrs Sisulu.

Mrs Sisulu said the main thrust of the document was "quite simply that they don't want any condition attached to their release".

She said the men believed that the offer was a political ploy, an attempt to gain credibility for Pretoria.

Mrs Sisulu will visit her husband in prison next week.

The Release Mandela Committee, which has until now refrained from comment on the release offer, said yesterday: "Far from being a humanitarian gesture, it is a transparent ploy calculated to undermine Mandela's integrity."

The committee said its campaign was not simply the physical release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, but involved them returning to take their place in the freedom struggle.

## UDF WARNS

The United Democratic Front warned today that the continued detention of leaders like Mr Mandela and the Government's refusal to call a national convention of all peoples in the country could lead only to increased violence.

"If the Government is genuinely committed to a negotiated settlement in South Africa then it must release Nelson Mandela and dismantle apartheid," the UDF said in reaction to the announcement by Mr Botha yesterday that Mr Mandela would not be released unconditionally.



# Govt sinks hopes for ANC negotiations

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The Government yesterday shattered what little hope there may have been of negotiations in the near future with the African National Congress.

In a statement in Cape Town, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said the rejection by Nelson Mandela and other jailed ANC leaders of his offer of conditional freedom meant that their continued imprisonment would now be attributed "to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence".

And in a speech at a function in Cape Town yesterday the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, said it was "unrealistic and naive" to demand Mandela's unconditional release.

In a statement in Parliament last month, Mr Botha offered to release Mandela and other prisoners in similar categories if they rejected violence as a political tool and undertook not to act in any way that could lead to their re-arrest.

Mandela rejected the offer and made counter demands, including a rejection of violence by Mr Botha, the unbanning of the ANC, and the dismantling of apartheid.

After Mr Botha's offer, there was hope in some quarters that a more meaningful debate on the country's political future could be starting.

But yesterday's statement by Mr Botha and speech by Mr Nel indicated that the polarisation between the two opposing forces was as serious as ever.

Mr Botha said the Government could not release the men "if they remain committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism".

Mr Nel said Mr Botha's offer to the

prisoners had been deliberately twisted in some quarters.

The "only condition" demanded by Mr Botha was that the jailed men reject violence. The condition was "completely justified and extremely reasonable".

This was particularly so in the light of actions by "ANC murder gangs" over the past two decades against innocent South Africans of all races.

Calls for the unconditional release of the prisoners were nothing more than an attempt to give violence and lawlessness a cloak of respectability and make them acceptable as a means for reaching political goals.

"It is an attempt to make partners in negotiation of a terror organisation and the Government," Mr Nel said.

The United Democratic Front yesterday reacted to Mr Botha's statement on Mandela by saying that it was the Government's policy of apartheid and its arbitrary banning of organisations like the ANC that drove Mandela and others to armed struggle, reports ANTON HARBER.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF publicity secretary, said the Government would have to remove these obstacles and release Mandela "if it is genuinely committed to a negotiated settlement".

"The continued detention of Mandela and the Government's reluctance to convene a convention that will allow for full participation by black and white South Africans in the drawing up of a democratic constitution can only lead to a deeper scale of racial, violent conflict," the UDF said.

"The UDF will continue to invite black and white people to join in the demands for such a national convention," he said.



# An open path towards peaceful co-existence

IN SEARCHING for an alternative route to peaceful co-existence in South Africa, private initiative could openly examine the possibility of promoting long-term common interests, designing an outline for legal and administrative structures

Such an inquiry would look at the diversity of our population as a reality and as an asset, instead of considering splitting the country into ever more fragments to get rid of a liability.

This independent, inquiring body — to be called the Open Society Council — would proceed to draft a new universal definition of civil rights... of each individual's right to freedom and the limitation of this right only where it interfered with the rights of others.

It would also deal with the curbing of the State's arbitrary powers and limitation of the State's functions.

The consideration of these basic problems is as old as mankind.

Only in our case, seen always in racial terms, the problems have become increasingly intractable.

History abounds with examples of the conflict between State power and individual freedom, and with examples of the two types of society in which nation states are organised: closed or open societies.

By this definition a society is closed if it pursues aims based on a belief, an ideology or the will of an individual to which all policies must be directed and with which all its citizens must conform.

An open society, on the other hand, is an open-ended society that structures its institutions in such a way that the unknown future can be explored and realised through the initiative and innovative endeavour of all its citizens.

The states that today form the United Nations Assembly can roughly be di-

**HANS MIDDELMANN**, in the second article explaining his plan to put South Africa on a viable alternative to race discrimination, proposes an "Open Society Council" to examine civil rights.

vided into the two categories.

And it is a matter of observation that the more open the society the more peaceful, prosperous and creative its citizens, and the better the material and cultural quality of their lives.

The citizens of an open society have designed their constitution and their administrative, judicial, and economic structures in such a manner that neither the majority nor the minority can arbitrarily change basic rights.

These rights include the right of free association, which gives all the opportunity to pursue their cultural, language and religious preferences in the company of like-minded people.

A tentative definition of an open society in South Africa would perhaps read as follows:

A society in which, in terms of a binding constitution, free of imposed ideologies:

- The powers of government are limited and clearly defined;
- Resources are allocated wherever possible by the discipline of the market;
- All citizens are equal under the law and they share a common citizenship;
- The law guarantees freedom of association, of thought and expression;
- Subject only to universal rules of conduct necessary to protect the like freedom of others, the law gives to every citizen equal opportunities and
- Freedom to apply his talents and resources to what he perceives to be the best advantage;
- Freedom of movement and the right to own property anywhere in the country.

A definition along these lines could be the starting point and guiding principle

for a full exploration of the possible structures of a non-racial future South Africa.

Enough material facts and theories are available to enable the proposed council to cover in a reasonable period the full range of the political and economic aspects, as well as the social and cultural fields, including education. All of them are interlinked and should not be treated singly.

Conclusions should be public and subjected to criticism and suggestions by all.

In this way it should become apparent that the present division of the South African society into groups with allegedly irreconcilable interests leads us nowhere, while the structure of a common open society could present us with a great and humane future.

The final question to be addressed is what steps and what time scale can be visualised by which a legally non-racial South Africa could be achieved?

The dynamics of the South African situation are clearly on the side of those who believe that the future lies in an open society.

In spite of the costly efforts of drawing new borders, of influx control and of population resettlements, the interdependence of all population groups and all geographical parts of the country increases steadily.

This growing interdependence and integration was not planned by anyone, but is at the root of our still remarkable prosperity and the relative state of peace in our country.

However, the declining economy and the simmering unrest are obvious signs of the ever-rising price we pay for the constant interference with processes which are natural and to be encouraged, not hindered.

It would be foolish to try to predict in detail how the political processes could develop which would be required to make overall policy changes.

But in the past we have all been at fault in only protesting against and criticising each further discriminatory measure separately as it was taken.

Even now, whenever the issue of total de-racialisation of our policies is discussed many people are inclined to say: "But this will take years! Will we have the time?"

(A reminder of the danger of changes through violence, but not a positive contribution towards the process of change!)

Anyone who in the last few years has been involved in the de-racialisation quietly achieved in a number of areas, particularly in many business undertakings, will confirm that while there are initial difficulties, the process once started and firmly and fairly pursued soon goes forward under its own momentum.

And the material and human rewards for all involved are substantial.

The error into which most reform-minded people have fallen is to expect the Government to initiate the process of reconsidering the most basic concepts of the policies on which it was elected.

Surely those of us who believe that only a clear and total reversal of these policies will ensure a good future for ourselves and our children owe it to ourselves to try to put together a comprehensive picture of the alternative.

Once that has been attained in terms of the suggested steps outlined here, the widespread discussion and propagation of the ideal

should create its own momentum.

Changes come about either through violence or by new insights which allow people to re-examine and reverse views which were previously considered self-evident.

The Government has now begun to re-examine the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts after the doctrinaire churches, who originally found clear moral justification for these measures, have, through new insights, begun to question the validity of their former beliefs.

The world adapts and progresses through re-examining and revising past practices in the light of changed circumstances and new perceptions.

Even communist countries begin to see virtue in some private enterprise — contraception, originally considered immoral, is propagated and welcomed in family planning, and hunting and shooting wild animals and making war, once considered manly occupations, are widely condemned today.

It is our task to clarify the new perceptions and the changed circumstances that make fundamental change of our policies so urgently necessary.

The private sector and the professions, who are also the real wealth-creators, men and women, across the colour line and across political divisions, have now become well aware of the problems we face.

It is time that a number of independent South Africans got together to explore to the full the alternative to the present situation.

If an exercise along the lines suggested in these articles shows the feasibility of an open society it will be time to go about achieving it in collaboration with all.

The time-scale will shrink as the objective becomes clear. A statement of intent and the setting up of an Open Society Council could set us peacefully on a new road.



he says. "Ian Smith was then persuaded to enter into discussions with Kaunda and this eventually led to the meeting on the Victoria Falls bridge and the Lancaster House agreement."

Over the years, Rowland and De Villiers developed a firm relationship. Last year, along with Liberty Life's Donny Gordon and Colyn Braun, a South African with interests in a Knightsbridge gambling club, De Villiers was summoned to give evidence in the British Department of Trade and Industry's investigation into Rowland's attempt to increase Lonrho's stake in the House of Fraser.

De Villiers' excursion in the shadowy world of African conflict resolution came after the death of his wife at a time when he needed a diversion. Today the urbane cardiologist/physician, a past president of the medical association's Northern Transvaal branch, no longer practises medicine. He prefers the role of fixer, and his chief concern is the political and economic health of southern Africa.

"As a major multinational, we have a responsibility outside our business activities," he explains. "A hundred thousand people died of starvation in southern Mozambique last year and it would be a reckless and totally insensitive organisation that could avoid a feeling of obligation."

"I have a strong sense of social responsibility; you don't practise medicine for 35 years without it," he says. "When I say I want to help resolve the MNR problem and contribute to peaceful change in southern Africa, I may sound unrealistic but that's my private mission."

Right now he runs Lonrho Mozambique from his medical suite in Pretoria's Nedpark Medical Centre, which he built in 1969. "I'll move my office to Maputo exactly one month after the MNR stop fighting," he says. Meantime, because of poor communications, he conducts his business with Maputo by telex at night.

"The rehabilitation of Mozambique as an economic link with SA and the West is so important that we at Lonrho are prepared to contribute any advice useful to potential investors," he explains. "There's a unique opportunity for SA businesses to establish themselves in Mozambique and the threat of sanctions against SA exports can be circumvented by establishing Mozambican subsidiaries."

De Villiers' concern is not entirely philanthropic. Lonrho's interests in Mozambique are considerable. It owns the Beira-Mutari oil pipeline and has investigated prospects for tourism, agriculture, sugar, tea and mining.

But De Villiers, who is a part-time protea farmer and president of the Pretoria Alliance Francaise, claims his driving force is a fervent belief that successful resolution of conflict in Mozambique is of the utmost importance to stability in southern Africa.

"Failure of Machel's peace initiative

might force him to succumb to the Soviet request for military bases," De Villiers explains. "It's rumoured that the Soviets have offered a great deal of money for Ncala as a deep sea port. This would mean the entry of ground forces from countries like Cuba to contain the MNR and could mean the re-emergence of a new Soviet-backed guerrilla force on our eastern border."

## SONNY RAGOO

### Political in-laws

Sonny Ragoo, an earnest Lenasia businessman, is, in a sense, at the cutting edge of SA's tentative reform process. For Ragoo has in a small way become a "test case" of the extent to which government is willing to abandon certain apartheid measures — in this case, the law preventing multiracial political parties.

Later this month, Ragoo (51) blazes a new political trail by officially opening the first branch of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) *outside* a white area, in the Indian township where he lives. It is, in fact, a first for any "white" party in SA, and Ragoo says about 200 Lenasians are interested in joining. PFP membership is open to all races, but the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, which outlaws multiracial parties, prevents it. Or does it?

Government's response to Ragoo's defiance of the law will therefore be keenly watched. He is in good company, however. For one thing, the new constitution itself is based upon the spirit of multiracial consensus. And Allan Hendrickse, a member of President P W Botha's Cabinet, ignored the Act by admitting non-coloured members into his Labour Party before the coloured elections last year.

Paradoxically, events in Lenasia on the day of the Indian House of Delegates elec-



Sonny Ragoo ... sceptical about Pretoria's bona fides



he has introduced structural changes at Ster-Kinekor by appointing himself MD. He's also been catching a lot of flak for Satbel's application for a pay-TV operating licence. Independent producers feel Kerzner will corner the market by buying Satbel's movies.

He says his competitors' fears of monopoly are totally unfounded. "I've learnt the wheel is round, you don't screw anyone. I don't believe in a dog-eat-dog philosophy. I believe the best guy to operate the station should do it and that'll determine whether people pay or not.

"Anyway, theatre rights are negotiated entirely separately from cable and video rights. Even if we have theatre rights for *Ghostbusters*, we'll have to renegotiate cable rights. I can't manipulate this or play silly buggers with the product. The supplier knows its value and won't be ripped off. The problem won't be manipulation of the local industry, it'll be getting enough product."

In fact, De Villiers could well prove a fillip to SA movie-makers. To date, raising money for their creative fantasies has been virtually impossible and their work has been largely constrained by SABC requirements. But De Villiers believes Satbel should play a role as catalyst in the development of the SA film industry.

He's willing to look at projects suitable for all markets and is even prepared to finance so-called art films.

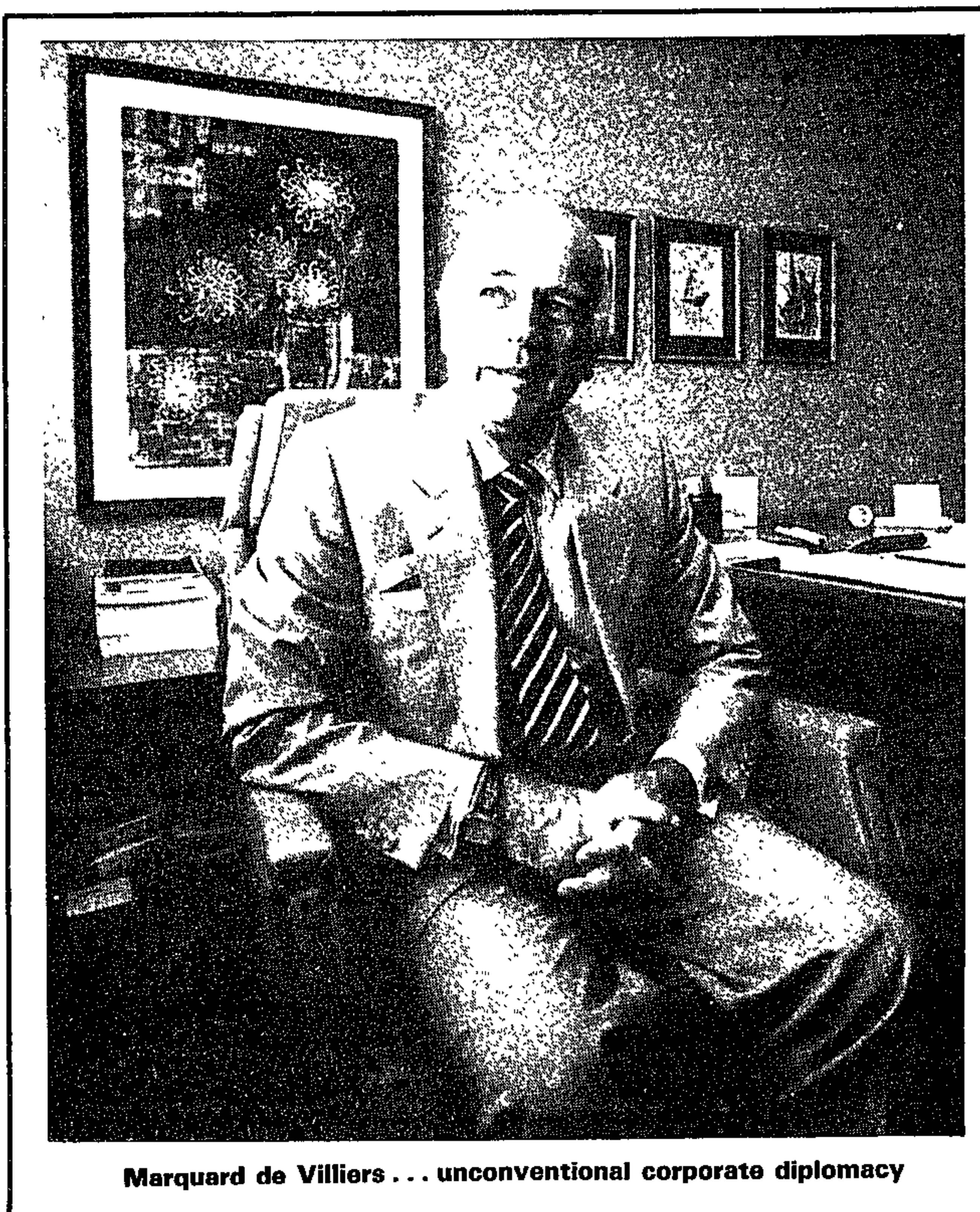
#### Viable projects

"Making a commercially viable project doesn't mean you have to rock 'em, sock 'em and bop 'em," he explains. "It's possible to have creativity, artistic content and a sophisticated formula and it'll still sell. But I'm certainly not going to be deep pockets. You can make a movie, spend half a million and make more back in six months. I believe there's a market for eight Afrikaans movies a year, two per school holiday. The number we get involved with depends on the movie-makers."

De Villiers sees 1985 as a year of consolidation and experimentation, a year in which the advent of Pay-TV and TV4 will challenge both the cinema and video markets.

"In this business we're competing for the entertainment rand with a sunny day. Anything to do with leisure is a competitive product, so it's a broader and more complex task than selling a commodity like glass. Since 16 to 30-year-olds constitute 85% of our movie audiences, we'll have to make movie-going a unique experience and also fun."

As he sees it, one of Satbel's problems is that it's fat and happy by virtue of its position in the industry. "I think that a combination of experimentation combined with the complementary value of tolerating failure and instilling real discipline are what counts," he says. "Bullsh..t and pizazz don't get you there."



Marquard de Villiers . . . unconventional corporate diplomacy

Marquard de Villiers had teed off with former PM John Vorster many times at Pretoria's Swartkop golf course, never dreaming his swing would alter the direction of his life. Nor did he ever imagine he'd find himself playing a central role in Vorster's pursuit of detente with Africa; that he'd lay the foundation for Vorster's historic meeting with Kenneth Kaunda or help pave the way for the Lancaster House agreement.

Today his energies are directed at neutralising the damage wrought by Mozambique's Renamo rebel movement in order to preserve the fragile Nkomati Accord.

As Marquard (63) tells it, he went to England to watch his son play golf for Oxford. Syd Newman, Lonrho SA's MD, who'd been on the committee that selected Etienne as a Rhodes scholar, happened to be in London at the same time. A chance meeting in the Savoy Hotel resulted in dinner with Lonrho chief Tiny Rowland, and De Villiers' subsequent appointment as a director of Lonrho SA.

That night in 1973, Rowland and De Villiers "decided to solve the Rhodesian impasse." What followed was a process of arduous negotiation and unconventional diplomacy, the facts of which will probably remain unknown for many years yet.

The two men made a good team. Rowland's mission was to bring Vorster and Kaunda together and De Villiers, using his golfing connection, acted as the go-between. It was De Villiers, speaking for Rowland, who told Vorster in March 1974 that the Portuguese government was negotiating in Lusaka for a transfer of power to Frelimo in Mozambique. He also advised Vorster two days before the Spinoza-inspired April *coup d'état* in Lisbon that a major change could be expected in two weeks — an idea that former security supremo "Lang" Hendrik Van den Bergh scoffed at.

"By October of that year I'd worked out a scenario with Kaunda's political aide Mark Chona that led to the release of Nkomo, Mugabe and Sithole and the withdrawal of SA police from the Zimbabwean border,"



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tion last August prompted Ragoo's decision to opt out of Indian-based politics altogether.

Ragoo and his wife Ramola were in the news over that stormy period. Both were assaulted (his wife had a severe eye injury), allegedly by riot police in the mêlée of one of the police baton charges against demonstrators who had fled to the shopping centre where the couple trade. Mrs Ragoo had been shopping and was beaten up inside one of the shops.

"The PFP came to our assistance afterwards," says Ragoo, explaining why he decided to join the party. He regards the PFP as the "only real opposition" to government, and says PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert "has always been a champion of the underprivileged, regardless of party affiliation."

Says Ragoo: "I know I'll be breaking the law and, in a sense, inviting prosecution. But it is a stupid law made for ideology."

Ragoo was an active TIC (Transvaal Indian Congress) supporter, although, unlike the congress, he favoured the idea of fielding "boycott candidates" in the Indian election. In any case, he says, "TIC and UDF people can be picked up at any time and are also open to attacks from political gangsters in Lenasia."

Explaining that the PFP has the machinery and the expertise of a real party and will give him "protection," Ragoo says he feels safer in his new political home. The PFP has assured him, and potential members of colour, that the party will protect and assist them legally in the event of prosecution.

Ragoo, who describes himself as a non-violent man, has always been a political animal, one who is outraged by the "inhuman and un-Christian" effects of racial statutes. As a result, he's been writing to P W Botha and other Cabinet Ministers "out of frustration" since 1980 — when he wrote to protest his eviction under the Group Areas Act from trading in Kensington.

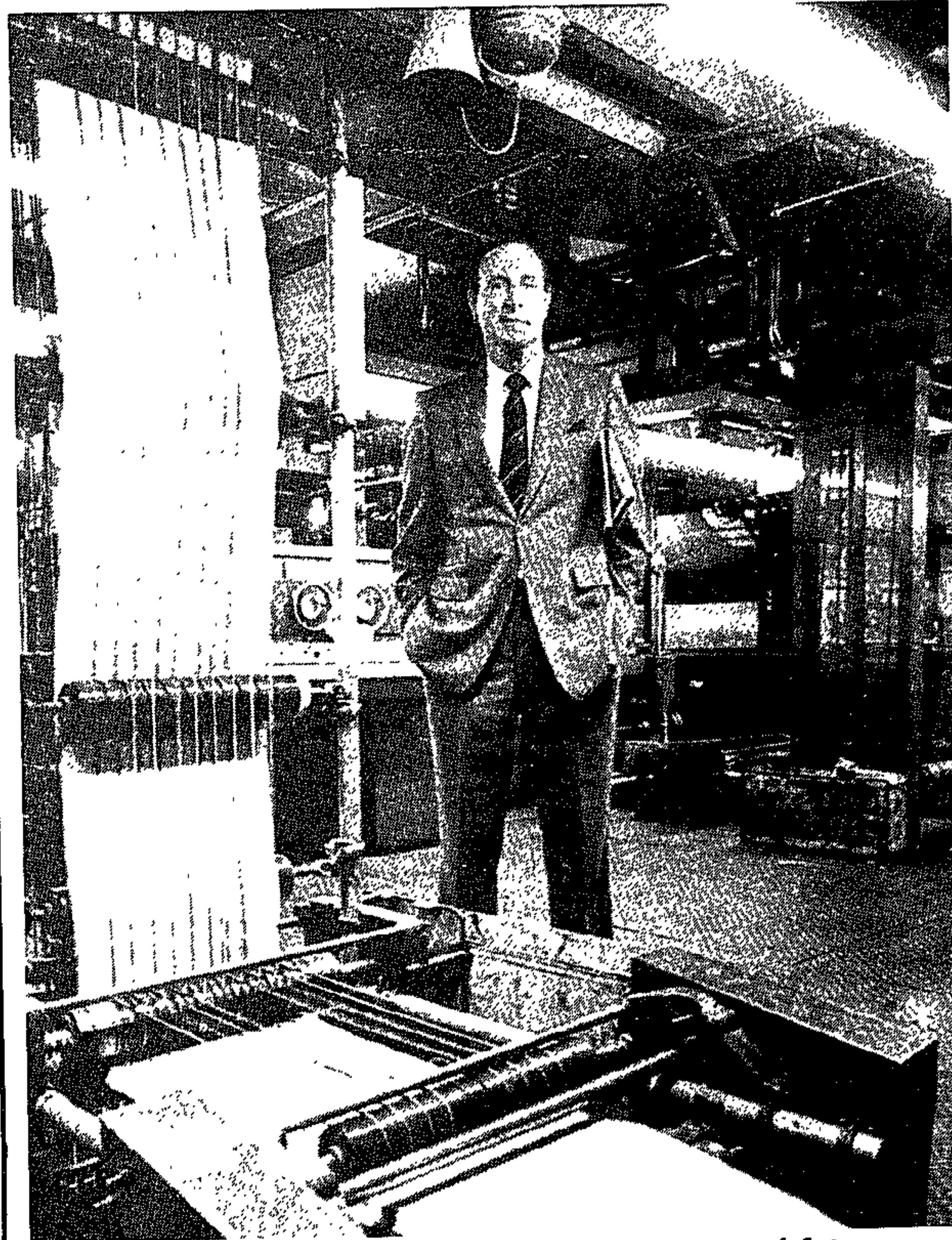
Other letters he wrote alleged irregularities in housing policy and allocation, racial restrictions on trading and influx control. The replies, including letters from Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Community Development's Pen Kotze, only "pass the buck," says Ragoo. This has left him very sceptical about government's willingness to reform peacefully.

## PETER MCLEAN

### Gambling man

Peter McLean is a keen amateur poker player. His passion for the game should serve him well as MD of the Argus Group's recently created newspaper division.

It's no secret that *The Star* is bleeding and that newspapers in general are having a rough ride. But McLean (53) is adamant



Peter McLean ... optimistic about newspapers' future

that the creation of the newspaper division is aimed at developing a more efficient business structure. It does not signal imminent tactical or structural changes like mergers, takeovers, diversification or even a shift in group emphasis.

He dismisses a *Citizen* report about Jolyon Nuttall taking over from Clive Kinsley as Saan MD as "a lot of rubbish." He won't comment on trade gossip about an Argus-Saan merger, the possible discontinuation of the *Rand Daily Mail* or *Business Day's* incorporation into *The Star*.

The creation of the new post, he says, simply frees Argus chairman Hal Miller to turn his attention to Argus's non-print activities like CNA-Gallo, info and Pay-TV. Previously, all newspapers were controlled by an amorphous head office structure, including other investments, subsidiary companies and non-newspaper interests.

Though some consider Pay-TV and the in-

troduction of Beltel as constituting a real risk to the newspaper industry, McLean believes that neither will affect newspapers. However, he does believe they will pose a threat to existing TV channels.

After 30 years with the Argus Group, McLean knows the newspaper game. He's moved up the Argus conveyor belt from general manager's factotum on *The Friend* to assistant manager of *The Star*, manager of *Sondagstem*, manager of the *Daily News*, *Sunday Tribune* and other Natal interests, to Argus Group GM and now MD of its newspaper division.

Unlike others, he's optimistic about the future of newspapers. But that is conditional upon good management, a reduction of the number of titles and a "shake-up" in the industry.

"The market is overtraded," he says. "There are too many titles and too many papers trading in the red. Johannesburg and Pretoria support nine dailies, whereas



# The importance of letting the other side save face

In its editorial of October 27 1983 *The Star* made a strong case for the "Vital Need for a Third Party Force" in view of the polarisation between the Yes and No votes in the referendum.

**DAY FIVE** of the series in which Professor H.W. van der Merwe, director of Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

The referendum was only one example of polarisation in our society.

Polarisation seems to be a natural tendency in all conflict situations since it meets certain emotional needs of mankind.

It eliminates the middle grounds, not only in each specific conflict situation (such as the referendum and the Pretoria bomb blast) but especially in the broad sphere of national political attitudes. The fanatic emotionalism of extremism has led to the rejection in our society of well-meaning (though often naive) moderate peace-making groups such as white liberals, verligtes, pacifists, moderate blacks.

People who propagate gradual change are rejected for wanting cosmetic change. Pacifists are rejected on the ground that they are merely passive.

Non-violence is rejected as if it implies a failure to act.

A good example of this emotional need to take polarised sides was the 1983 referendum on the constitutional proposals when those who advocated a spoiled ballot were attacked equally forcefully by both sides.

Peacemakers are always suspect on both sides and unless there is a strong enough support group most people do not opt for the middle ground for fear of falling between two chairs.

The Rev Ian Paisley of Northern Ireland has expressed his aversion for the middle group very clearly: *Bridge builders and traitors are alike.*

*They both go over to the other side.*

Change-oriented groups have indeed reason to be sceptical of moderates advocating gradual change because too often this is the tactic of those who want to retain vested interests.

Given the state of political polarisation in South Africa there is indeed a vital need for third party intervention.

Third party intervention can have one of two sources:

- Those who operate with authority or from positions of power and are able to enforce decisions.

- Those who act merely in advisory capacities.

The former category includes governments, especially the superpowers, and the latter individuals such as academics, church and community leaders.

One of the most important roles of the third party is to improve communication between conflicting groups to assure the flow of accurate and reliable information.

It also needs to identify and maintain contact with both parties.

Third parties can help in resolving disputes constructively to the extent that they are known, readily accessible, prestigious, skilled, impartial and discreet.

While we have made significant progress in this field in industrial relations, nothing has been done to develop such a professional mediating group in the field of politics in South Africa.

We have a long way to go. The acceptance of incremental progress has been identified by social scientists as an important condition for the constructive accommodation of conflict.

Many steps taken by the present Government are little more than what has become known as cosmetic change. But what should not be overlooked is the fact that the accumulation of many kinds of minor or cosmetic changes eventually may add up to

substantial, fundamental change.

To the extent that superficial change constitutes a form of incremental progress, it should not be dismissed completely.

Parties in conflict hold strong subjective convictions and beliefs about themselves, their adversaries and about the nature of society and of that particular conflict.

Very often a precondition for the resolution of conflict is the adjustment of these opinions and attitudes or even the acceptance of completely new, even contradictory, opinions and attitudes.

This shift in beliefs publicly held can usually be facilitated greatly if the person or the party is allowed to save face.

That is, it is better if the change can be made in such a way that all parties do not have to suffer a loss in status from having held the old ideas but rather can experience a gain in status for accepting the new ideas.

Face saving allows the individual or group to make major concessions or adjustments with their self-esteem intact.

It greatly facilitates the constructive accommodation of conflict.

Needless to say, face saving is not easily reconcilable with the judgmental approach. The Quakers have an expression which has constituted for centuries a fundamental tenet of their

religious belief and has been a primary motivating factor in the commitment to reconciliation, especially on an international level.

It states: "There is something of God in every person."

Adam Curle, international conciliator and founder of the School of Peace Studies at Bradford University, argues that in order to apprehend the divine in others we must recognise it in ourselves.

We are all members of one body, as St Paul tells us so cogently.

If one is hurt, all suffer. We are involved with all humankind, because we are all humankind.

The more we recognise God in others, the closer we shall grow to them.

This concern for all mankind is expressed in Laurens van der Post's argument that the only hope for the future lies in an all-embracing attitude of forgiveness of the people who have been our enemies.

He writes in his book "The Night of the New Moon": "Forgiveness, my prison experience had taught me, was not mere religious sentimentality; it was as fundamental a law of the human spirit as the law of gravity."

"If one broke the law of gravity one broke one's neck; if one broke this law of forgiveness, one inflicted a mortal wound on one's spirit and became once again a

member of the chain-gang of mere cause and effect from which life has laboured so long and painful to escape."

For the cynics among us who are not convinced of the goodwill on the part of the enemy, there is some evidence to prove that just as violence breeds violence, goodwill also breeds goodwill.

The famous social scientist Deutsch called it the crude law of social relations. The characteristic processes and effects elicited by a given type of social relationship (co-operative or competitive) tend also to elicit the same type of social relationship.

Thus the strategy of power and the tactics of coercion, threat and deception result from, and also result in, a competitive relationship.

Similarly the strategy of mutual problem-solving and the tactics of persuasion, openness and mutual enhancement elicit and also are elicited by a co-operative orientation.

All this may be summarised saying that co-operation breeds co-operation, while competition breeds competition.

## NEXT

The basis of conflict new decisions and alliances; from race class conflict; the proposed forum.



# The importance of letting the other side save face

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The basis of conflict;  
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# Govt, ANC will play hard to get, says editor

5/2/85 Stan 304A

By Andrew Beattie,  
Pretoria Bureau

The Government and the African National Congress would probably continue to "play hard to get" and, although they would probably not have talks in the near future, at least they were prepared to listen to each other, said the assistant editor of *Beeld*.

Dr Piet Muller, who interviewed ANC leaders in Lusaka recently, gave the Pretoria Press Club his personal views and observations gleaned from the interviews.

"There is little real hope for any discussions between the two

parties at this stage as they have problems with their own constituencies," he said.

He did not elaborate on the National Party's problems (which had probably received much publicity anyway), but said he perceived a rift between ANC leadership and its militant youth.

"The top ANC leaders are all over 55. There is one man on the central committee of about 43, Mr Tabo Mbeki (son of Govan Mbeki, imprisoned for life), and then a gap of about 15 years before you get the younger generation, many of whom fled in the wake of the 1976 unrest.

"Some of the younger generation in the ANC are trying to push for more effective military operations inside South Africa, including striking so-called soft targets."

He said in his opinion the older leaders would remain in power in the foreseeable future, and that the ANC's military strategy would remain one of sabotage directed against strategic and military installations rather than against civilians.

An ANC strength was its diplomatic position in the outside world, and that could be seriously jeopardised if it mobilised its forces against civilians.



THE ANC

# Behind the Mandela offer

Whether it is viewed purely as an exercise in manipulative propaganda or as a genuine attempt at compromise, there probably never was much chance of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela accepting government's conditional offer of freedom.

What is encouraging about the whole business is that neither side seems to have slammed the door to future negotiations — either between government and Mandela himself or between government and the ANC.

It is interesting that the offer came after months of increasingly open interest in the ANC by people with strong government connections — including contacts between the ANC and Afrikaans academics and an oddly temperate series of articles in *Beeld* — one of whose assistant editors visited Lusaka to interview ANC leaders.

Says Lord Nicholas Bethell, the British Conservative peer who was allowed to interview Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison: "It seemed almost impossible some months ago, but now I see some vague opening towards the ANC."

In a profusion of metaphor he describes the present situation as "shadow boxing" with government and the ANC "jockeying for position, both trying to put the other in an awkward situation and both trying to hit the ball back into the other's court."

If that is indeed the game, then Pretoria

is well ahead on points. Its offer of freedom to Mandela is a propaganda triumph. Who, after all, can blame a government for refusing to release a man who will not renounce violent means?

In making the offer, government was never at risk. Even if Mandela had accepted it would have been at the price of placing himself in opposition to ANC policy, as set out by Oliver Tambo, and of striking a severe blow at the morale of those who espouse "the liberation struggle."

Mandela's status as the symbol of the black liberation struggle would not have survived such an event.

Commenting on the offer, Tambo made it clear that even if the ANC decided the time was ripe for negotiations with Pretoria the "armed struggle" would continue in tandem with the talks.

This could be interpreted as no more than common sense. No one throws away the strongest card in his hand while the game is still in progress — but it could be anticipated that in the event of serious negotiations some kind of truce, though not a disavowal of violence, could be arranged.

The ANC leaders are as capable as anyone else of working out that a successful revolution is not on the cards for the foreseeable future. The most they can achieve through violence is to make conditions in SA uncomfortable and dangerous.

Government for its part must have calculated the long-term security implications of rapidly widening black:white ratios.

Indeed government has always taken the ANC's threat to security more seriously than many of its supporters. Hence the high defence budget, the extended call-up, the institution of the "area defence" system and the National Key Points Act.

An amending Bill to the National Key Points Act, just introduced in Parliament, emphasises Pretoria's serious view of the threat. It authorises government to designate groups of particular factories or undertakings as "national key points complexes" whose owners will have to pay for joint security measures.

The Bill creates a new revenue account to receive both government and private funds intended to pay for security measures. It provides for fines up to R20 000 (or imprisonment up to five years) for owners of key points who fail to comply with security directives.

Both government and the ANC therefore have their difficulties, and both appreciate that in the long term peace can only come through a negotiated compromise that will give each side something of what it wants.

For the moment, however, each side has

adopted a position that makes any short-term compromise highly unlikely. But neither explicitly rules out negotiations — and in that must lie the major hope for the future, however long it may be before it is realised.

## ZIMBABWE

### Electoral confusion

Last week's dissolution of the Zimbabwe House of Assembly generated a lot of confusion when it was announced that parliament might not resume until early September.

Why the delay, given the PM's assurance last month that the elections would definitely be held in March? The confusion is confounded by conflicting statements over the delimitation of constituencies and the registration of voters.

Registration has again been extended and is now due to be completed this weekend (February 15), which leaves little time to delimit constituencies and get voters' rolls printed and circulated for a March election. An April poll, or even later, begins to look likely. This could explain why parliament is not expected to resume until September.

That, too, is a cause for confusion.



ANC's Tambo ... the armed struggle will continue



# 14 more renounce violence

*Cape Times 16/2/88*  
*#30617*

## Political Staff

ANOTHER 14 political prisoners have renounced violence and stand to have their sentences cut in terms of an offer by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to Nelson Mandela and others during the no confidence debate.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and now brings to 18 the number of prisoners who have rejected violence in exchange for shorter sentences.

Four Robben Island prisoners are to be released, but their names have not been disclosed and the names of the 14 who have now taken up the offer are also not being disclosed, at their own request.

The Cape Time's Johannesburg correspondent reports that it is now almost certain that the four life-serving political prisoners from Robben Island who have accepted the offer are from the Pan Africanist Congress.

This follows yesterday's confirmation that three more ANC leaders — Govan Mbeki, Elias Motsoaledi and Wilton Mcwayi — had refused the offer.



# Release: Prisoners believed to be PAC

Political Staff

TWO of the four Robben Island prisoners who are to be released after accepting President P W Botha's offer of freedom provided they renounced violence are believed to be former members of the Pan Africanist Congress.

It is understood that they are John Nkosi and Dimake "Boy" Malepe, both of whom were jailed in 1964 for life for plotting to overthrow the state.

There has been press speculation

that a third person who has accepted President Botha's offer is Wilton Mkwayi, jailed in 1964 for his part in the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the African National Congress's military wing.

President Botha announced on Wednesday that he had approved the release for four security prisoners, who had agreed to renounce violence as a means for achieving their political objectives, but he did not name them.

A spokesman for the prisons ser-

vice said the names of the four prisoners would be released "in due course", but earlier in the week a prisons service spokesman said the four men were all being held on Robben Island.

It is understood that none of the people jailed in the Rivonia trial in 1964 have accepted President Botha's offer.

There has been some speculation that Govan Mbeki, a former leader of the ANC in the Eastern Cape, might be released because of his age, along

with Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the ANC.

Last year the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, confirmed in an interview that the release of Mbeki and Sisulu was under consideration because of their age.

But it is understood that Mbeki, who is imprisoned on Robben Island, and the other Rivonia prisoners have rejected President Botha's offer.

They include Nelson Mandela, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba and Sisulu, who are

in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town. A sixth political prisoner at Pollsmoor is Patrick Maqubela, the former Maitzburg attorney who was jailed for 20 years.

The other person jailed for life at the Rivonia trial is Denis Goldberg, who is at Pretoria Central Prison.

In his statement, President Botha did not refer to the 15 prisoners from Namibia who are serving life sentences on Robben Island, although there has been speculation that they will be released this year.



# Row over dining room ban on Indians

CHC Times 16/2/85

304A

88/1/85

Staff Reporter

THE MP for Sandton, Mr David Dalling, has protested strongly at being refused permission to entertain two Indian MPs in the dining room of the white House of Assembly.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Dalling said he had not been allowed to have two members of the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy and Mr Pat Poovalingam, as his guests in the Assembly dining room.

Dr Reddy is Opposition leader in the House of Delegates.

In the end, the party — which included the Canadian Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Ted Lee, and the editor of the Argus, Mr Andrew Drysdale — ate in the new "International" parliamentary

restaurant in the same building as the House of Delegates.

Mr Dalling's statement is likely to revive the public row about parliamentary dining facilities. The Progressive Federal Party has raised the issue annually in recent years, protesting at the fact that MPs are not allowed as a matter of course to entertain guests of colour in the Assembly dining room.

It emerged during these debates that this privilege is reserved for cabinet ministers and the Leader of the Opposition. Before the new "International" dining room was built, other MPs had to seek permission from the Speaker or entertain their guests in the separate VIP dining room.

Mr Dalling's statement, which was front-page news in the Transvaal yesterday, is likely to cause comment in political and diplomatic circles. The statement said:

"I have always believed that the facilities of Parliament are available to all members. I have always believed that in every democratic Parliament throughout the world it is a jealously-guarded tradition that all members are equal in status and enjoy equal respect.

"This is not true of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa.

"Last week I booked a table for luncheon yesterday in the parliamentary dining room in the House of Assembly. Included among my guests were the edi-

tor of the Argus, the Canadian Ambassador to South Africa, Dr J N Reddy MP, and Mr P Poovalingam MP.

"A casual discussion with a PFP Whip a day later prompted me to confirm with Mr Speaker that my booking was in order.

"To my amazement, I was informed that despite the introduction of the new tricameral system, the rules relating to the dining room had not been changed, and accordingly I would not be entitled to entertain my fellow Members of Parliament, Dr Reddy and Mr Poovalingam, at this venue.

"The only reason given for this refusal was and is that Dr Reddy and Mr Poovalingam are not white.

"After receiving Mr Speaker's ruling, I was forced to cancel the booking for a table in the House of Assembly dining room and make another booking for the same party at the newly-constructed 'International' restaurant across the road.

"During the course of the luncheon I apologized to my guests, and in particular to Dr Reddy and Mr Poovalingam, for not being able to entertain them in the House of Assembly, and advised them of the reason given to me by Mr Speaker.

"In the light of the above situation, I wish to make the following statement:

"The provisions which divide Members of Parliament into separate racial categories, and allow them rights and privileges according to their skin



CME TMS 16/2/85

# Dining room ban on Indian MPs

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"In the light of the above situation, I wish to make the following statement:

"The provisions which divide Members of Parliament into separate racial categories, and allow them rights and privileges according to their skin

colour, bring shame and degradation to our Parliament and to our country."

Mr Dalling said that until these restrictions were wiped from the parliamentary slate, reform in South Africa would with justification be viewed with suspicion and disbelief.

"Certainly apartheid in the parliamentary dining room hardly affects the ordinary citizen. But it is symbolic of the dreaded illness which afflicts our land.

"Until such time as these offensive rules are abolished I will not spare any effort, either private or public, to bring to the attention of South Africa what insults are meted out to our fellow colleagues in Parliament.

"It is a disgrace," Mr Dalling said.



Mr Dave Dalling



# Mandela urged to talk

ARGUS

16/2/85 Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — Most black people in Johannesburg and Soweto believe Nelson Mandela should discuss President P W Botha's offer of release instead of accepting it or flatly refusing it, according to a survey.

Of those polled, 58 percent said Mr Mandela should discuss the offer with President Botha, 25 percent said he should refuse it and 12 percent said he should accept it. Five percent were unsure.

Mr Mandela proved to be the most popular black leader by far, getting the support of 73 percent of those polled.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had been expected to emerge as the second choice but was beaten by Bishop Desmond Tutu who polled 14 percent to Chief Buthelezi's five percent.

Even among the 156 Zulu respondents, Mr Mandela received 68 percent support compared to Chief Buthelezi's 13 percent and Bishop Tutu's 12 percent.

## Opposed

Asked in the confidential survey whether the African National Congress should continue to use violence or whether it should talk to the Government to try to end apartheid, most of the 459 respondents (66 percent) opted for talking.

On disinvestment, the survey confirmed results obtained by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer with most blacks — 51 percent — opposed to disinvestment.

In the five-question survey respondents were asked to rank six objectives.

Final rankings, from most important to least important, were equal education, the vote, more jobs, scrapping the pass laws, allowing people to live in any area and housing.

This differs from previous surveys where the order was generally education first and followed by housing, transport and only then the vote.



# 'Freedom offer stands' — Botha

Crit 16/2/85  
BOKA

Defence Correspondent

THE State President's conditional offer of freedom to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and others still stands, in spite of their recent rejection of it.

This came through quite clearly in Mr P W Botha's speech yesterday at an investiture ceremony at the Castle, where four senior military officers and four civilians were admitted to the Order of the Star of South Africa.

In addition, Mr Botha made it clear that he was willing in principle to talk with the ANC if it renounced violence.

He also said that his release offer extended not just to long-term prisoners but to those "who have not yet served a substantial part of their sentences".

He warned: "We should heed the lessons of history."

Addressing more than 200 people — among them cabinet ministers and members of all three houses of Parliament — Mr Botha said:

"There are many threats to our country — attacks on the political, economic, cultural, religious and other terrains — and with people of the quality of those who were presented with the order today these challenges can be faced.

"The challenges of the future therefore demands a new dedication from all of us, not just in words but in practice: A dedication to loyal service for peace and progress...

"It is in this spirit that I made my offer a few days ago to Mr Nelson Mandela and other similar prisoners who were involved in misdeeds against the state and



Mr P W Botha

have already served long terms of imprisonment.

"If they will renounce the planning, instigation and commission of violence, their release will be given favourable consideration.

"That is what I told them. Those who have not yet served a substantial part of their sentences will receive credit if they renounce violence. It will be taken into account along with other factors which normally apply when the prison authorities consider their release."

● BARRY STREEK reports that there is little likelihood at present that the ANC will accept President Botha's offer to talk if the banned organization renounces violence.

Not only have its leaders recently publicly endorsed violence as one of its strategies for change in South Africa, but they argue that only a negotiated truce between both sides could end violence in South Africa.

If they accepted an offer to talk on the gov-

ernment's terms by laying down their arms, this, it is argued, would amount to a surrender not a truce.

Moreover, there are a number of other minimum conditions, such as the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the ban on the ANC, which, it is argued, have to be fulfilled before any negotiations can begin.

It is also argued that it was the government's actions against the ANC which forced it to turn to violence in 1961 and the onus is therefore on the government to remove those conditions which lead to that decision.

In the recent interview with Lord Bethell, the Tory MP in the European Parliament, Mandela endorsed the ANC's strategies of violence.

And in the interview with the ANC president, Oliver Tambo, in a Harare newspaper, which the government permitted to be published in South Africa, an unequivocal commitment for continued support to violence was given.

## Unimpressed

This stand was confirmed in a recent interview with Mr Tambo in Lusaka.

What is clear is that the ANC has, to date, been unimpressed by government offers to talk provided it renounces violence.

The recent decision by ANC leaders in Pollsmoor and Robben Island prisons not to accept offers of freedom provided they renounce violence has effectively endorsed that stand.

In the circumstances, it is highly unlikely that any positive response will come from the ANC to Mr Botha's offer.



# Is this political madness?

Apartheid

could be costing

R6,6 billion!

By David Dalling,  
MP for Sandton

VIRTUALLY all humanity, except a few die-hard South African racials in government and to the right of government, regard apartheid as being abhorrent, immoral and insupportable.

From within our borders and beyond the majority of those opposed to apartheid have based their stand on moral and ethical grounds. And I am one. But have we ever considered the economic cost of apartheid?

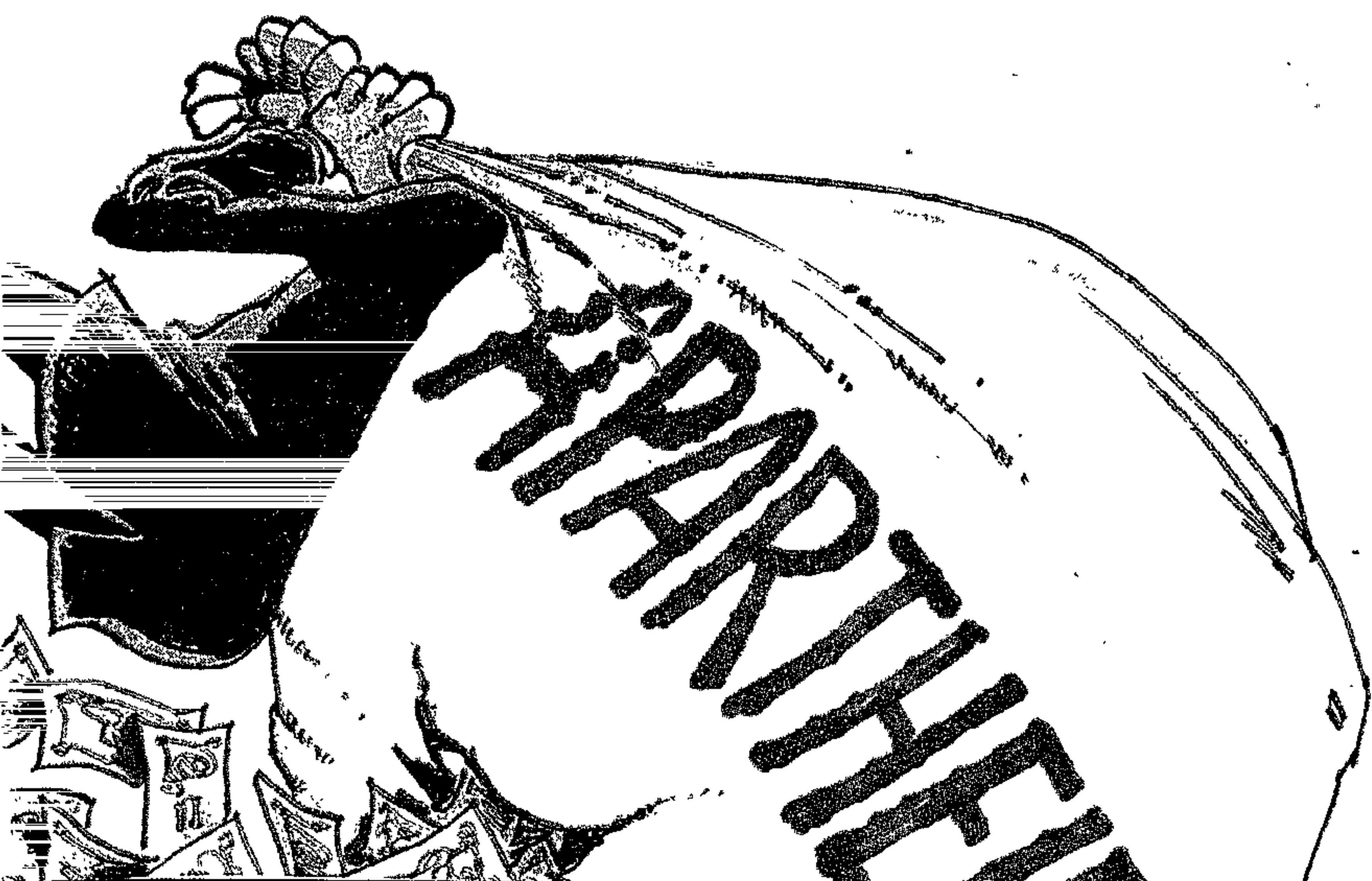
In the days when the rand was strong, when gold was rampant, when inflation was not a major factor, when the possibility of disinvestment was laughed at, when real economic growth was the order of the day, political madnesses were affordable.

No longer. Certainly the cost of apartheid, of "separate development", is not easily quantifiable. But let us try.

In 1984/85 a sum in excess of R96 million has and is being expended in labour regulation, a euphemism for repatriation of persons seeking work in areas which apartheid laws deny them. Whether he or she be a gardener in the suburbs or a factory worker, R96 million goes down the drain.

## Mind boggling

The pass laws cost a bomb. Every time a pass law offender is arrested police, court and prison costs are involved. If one uses Savage's figure of R220 per pass law arrest, the sum arrived at is mind boggling. In 1984 the amount arrived at is some R60 million. Can you believe it? Is the misery economic deprivation caused worth that



much?

Did you know that in South Africa there are 18 separate educational authorities? All based on race. For whites there are five. One for Indians. One for coloured people. One for urban and rural blacks. And 10 separate departments governed by the homelands and by the homeland States. At least R100 million in my view could be saved if there existed a single educational authority, serving all our country.

Budgetary aid to the Namibian central authority, which in turn finances the many ethnic bureaucracies, including official residences, motor cars and perks, was R348 million in 1983/84. The cost of apartheid, and luxury for the few, is not cheap. And we pay for it.

## Taxpayer milked

The ideological decentralisation of industries milked the taxpayer of over R232 million during 1983/84, while the figure for the development of decentralised areas was some R35 million. No one quibbles at economically sound decentralisation, but the amount wasted for racial reasons on this project is astronomic.

The costs of the new and ethnic Constitution have never fully been spelled out. However, if we look at the running costs, the following estimation seems to be reasonable:

President's Council — R5 million; House of Assembly — R7 million; House of Representatives — R3.5 million; House of Delegates — R1.9 million; administration — R14 million; Cabinet — R2 million; Total — R33.4 million.

Not to mention the capital costs of building all those separate debating chambers, restaurants and committee rooms.

But what about Population Registration? This useless and degrading function is paid for in rands.



# ISSUE OF THE WEEK (cont): COST OF APARTHEID

## Is this political madness?

From Page 1 16/2/85

Black citizens (ie reference books) cost R5,3 million in 1984. Population group classification appeals took some R1,5 million out of the taxpayers' pockets.

So now, we are almost into the one billion rand bracket.

Perhaps the USA could afford to waste that. But can a small country like ours?

Yet there is more.

The amount blown on the consolidation of the homelands in 1984 alone amounted to over R126 million. This money did not help to grow one more grain of wheat, nor one more mealie. It was the cost of merely transferring land from white farmers to homeland governments. Over the years, well over R2 billion has been spent in this manner.

We spend well over R1 billion per year in proping up the corrupt and tyrannical regimes created in the former homelands — Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and so on. For big cars, private airports and helicopters, for pocket Napoleons. Become independent and rent a casino: Sol Kerzner style. In gambling alone, the money flowing out of the Republic tops the R100 million mark per annum.

But what are the hidden costs of Nationalist apartheid?

The billions lost from foreign countries and businesses who will not and have not invested in the Republic.

The billions presently on risk due to the US disinvestment campaign.

The enormous losses absorbed annually by municipalities throughout the country, in providing separate facilities, separate transport, separate job opportunities for separate communities.

The millions lost by the SAR in separating races in their transport system.

The millions spent by private enterprise in trying to comply with government restrictions and racially orientated laws.

And what of productivity?

How does a person, forced by law to live 30 or many more kilometres from his workplace (and perhaps hundreds of kilometres from his wife and family) perform in his work function? They are already tired when they reach their place of employment. Up at 4.30 am to start by 8.30 am. Arriving home sometimes later than 8 pm. How much does this damage productivity? Thirty percent perhaps? Maybe more.

All in all, if a R6 600 million figure is slapped on to the bill of the corporate and individual tax payer, it would not be a wild assumption.

Can we, in 1985, afford it?

I say no. Others may differ.

But more important. Can we justify it morally?

And here I know I am right. No we cannot.

The Nationalist Government has itself admitted that money spent on homeland consolidation does not raise the economic potential of the homelands by even one half percent. □



**PART SIX** of the series in which Professor H W van der Merwe, director of the University of Cape Town Centre for Intergroup Studies, writes on the search for a constructive accommodation of conflict in Southern Africa.

The new tri-cameral Parliament has set South African political parties on new paths. The new politics in South Africa have cut across traditional race lines of conflict and have brought new divisions within race groups.

The essential values and motivating forces that are holding together the major political configurations are changing and these processes lead to new alignments. The establishment used to be motivated by the wish to retain white purity and privilege and used to be exclusively white.

The emerging establishment is less motivated by the traditional apartheid ideology and is more motivated by a business ideology of a free market and efficiency. It is thus incorporating interest groups that share these values, regardless of their racial characteristics.

Opposition groups that used to rally support on the grounds of anti-apartheid platforms are increasingly basing their policy on more economic issues.

## Opposition parties

As the nature of the establishment is changing, the nature of the traditional opposition group is changing and a new opposition group is emerging to take its place.

At present, parliamentary (and most legal) politics is conducted within a broad socio-economic system, which has been and will continue to be accepted rather uncritically by both establishment and parliamentary opposition parties.

The legitimacy of this system and of the groups operating within it is increasingly being challenged by the majority of the population.

This opposition is being articulated by interest groups that are operating outside the parliamentary system.

As this system is itself becoming the basic issue, the opposition within the framework becomes less relevant and becomes merged with the establishment in defence against the onslaught to the system.

The establishment used to be exclusively white and the opposition black, indicating a conflict of race.

This situation is in flux with the incorporation of black elements in the economy and other areas in the establishment. The basic issue is changing in character and so are the components of both the establishment and the opposition.

It is useful to handle this state of flux within a framework that distinguishes between three major alliances of interest groups:

(a) The establishment — predominantly white and caters for white interests but is gradually incorporating black components and is increasingly catering for the interests of blacks as well as whites who have a *commitment to and a vested interest in the protection of the prevailing socio-economic system.*

It includes the major white parties and to an increasing extent the coloured and Indian parties participating in the new constitutional dispensation.

In a peripheral sense it also includes African bodies such as Community Councils operating under relatively rigid government auspices.

(b) The official or traditional opposition, including parliamentary opposition and other groups such as business and trade unions who have opposed the Government on race issues.

# SA's new d- the emerge a new oppo

are willing to co-operate within the broad socio-economic system of the free market. As the major thrust of the Government is shifting, this group is also undergoing change. Some elements within this group find themselves more in sympathy with the Government as it removes race discrimination and takes a firmer stand in favour of free enterprise.

To an extent this includes the PFP and the coloured and Indian parties and African councils mentioned above. It also includes the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Inkatha. Seen from within the current political system they constitute the official opposition to the ruling National Party. But seen within the total setting in South Africa, they are becoming part of the establishment.

## Political structures

(c) Opposition operating outside the current socio-economic and political framework. They fall outside the framework in two respects:

(i) They are excluded from and/or refuse to participate in the current political structures created by the Government, such as the Parliament, the President's Council, Community Councils and homeland governments.

(ii) They reject the predominant free market socio-economic system and favour a more socialist system, industrial democracy or

related systems.

This category includes organisations such as the UDF, National Forum, Azapo and ANC.

They see the basic issue so much in racial terms as in economic terms. They want fundamental change of socio-economic system somewhat socialist lines. see the PFP, TUCSA, and such organisations as of the capitalist establishment.

The third group is seen as the major future opposition group in South Africa. At the time, will oppose the ruling establishment which will probably include Nationalists, leaders and the PFP.

The incorporation of people and Indians into the central Parliament and the aspects of some kind of accommodation of Africans in the government are evidence that ceases to be the major cause for discrimination and in our society.

New alliances across lines and new divisions racial groups suggest that there are other issues than race constitute sources of conflict among some and give common cause among others.

It is my distinct impression that those blacks who give serious consideration to the issue of compromise and participation are those relatively more disposed towards the



# SA's new deal and the emergence of a new opposition

304A Skw 16/2/05

This specific pronouncement should be interpreted within the wider context of his opening address in Parliament in which he suggested bold new initiatives and opened up new channels for communication.

These were followed by suggestions about the possible release of Nelson Mandela — a possibility stated more positively than before.

The proposed establishment of the Forum and the possible release of Mandela are evidence of a genuine element of reform in the establishment. I am convinced that there is a movement afoot within the Nationalist Party to accommodate Africans in the Government of South Africa.

What form will this new system take? Not even the Nationalists know. They have ruled out a fourth chamber in Parliament and they have ruled out "one man, one vote". Unless they find a face-saving device which will allow them to go back on their words they will have to devise a new formula.

I anticipate the establishment of some kind of superstructure or confederation with initially only nominal powers. Such a body, just like the new tricameral, multiracial Parliament, will develop its own internal dynamic and could pave the way for a body with real teeth.

This projection suggests some kind of hidden agenda on the part of the Nationalists. I am not so sure. I think it is more correct to say that they are cautiously searching for new formulae which would enable them to promote justice and at the same time retain as much power as possible.

## NEXT

Negative black responses; the Freedom Charter; Adam's six principles.

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related systems.

This category includes organisations such as the UDF, the National Forum, Azapo and the ANC.

They see the basic issues not so much in racial terms but in economic terms. They want a fundamental change of the socio-economic system along somewhat socialist lines. They see the PFP, TUCSA, Inkatha and such organisations as part of the capitalist establishment.

The third group is emerging as the major future opposition group in South Africa which, in time, will oppose the regrouped establishment which will probably include Nationalists, Inkatha leaders and the PFP.

The incorporation of coloured people and Indians into the central Parliament and the prospects of some kind of accommodation of Africans in the Government are evidence that race ceases to be the major criterion for discrimination and division in our society.

New alliances across racial lines and new divisions within racial groups suggest that there are other issues than race that constitute sources of division among some and grounds for common cause among others.

It is my distinct impression that those blacks who give cautious consideration to some kind of compromise and participation are those relatively favourably disposed towards the socio-

economic system of the free market.

This will include those groups that I classified as "opposition" willing to operate within the present socio-economic frame-

They will assist in fundamental political change but will not demand a switch to a socialist economic system.

Equally, those who are relatively more favourably disposed towards a more socialist system (or who are merely anti-capitalist) will be less inclined to participate in the system. Thus the major political division of the future will not be between whites and blacks but between those who adhere to or propagate the free market ideology and the proponents of a more socialist ideology.

The extent to which their policies, practices and strategies will conform to their ideologies will remain a matter of ongoing debate.

## The proposed Forum:

The State President's recent public statement that no negotiations with the ANC had taken place or will take place and will not even be allowed was interpreted by many critics as evidence of the intransigence of the Nationalist Government and the rigid adherence to white "baaskap".



18/2/85  
Four PAC prisoners released

JOHANNESBURG. — Four convicted members of the outlawed Pan-African Congress became free men this weekend, newspaper reports said yesterday.

The reports said the freed PAC men were Philemon Tefu, Dimake Malepe, Samuel Chibane and Isaac Mthimunya. All four live in Pretoria and were sentenced in 1963 to life terms for sabotage.

There was speculation earlier in the week that Wilton Mkwayi, 61, an ANC leader, would accept the offer, but when his lawyer saw him on the island yesterday, he emphatically denied it. This means that seven life prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, have so far spurned President P.W. Botha's offer.

Sapa

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90 minutes of right-wing dissent

# This Botha coalition, by Andries Treurnicht

(304A) S few  
18/2/85

If the words of Dr Andries Treurnicht are an accurate barometer of change in South Africa a revolution is indeed taking place.

Since he split from the National Party grave warnings of a right-wing backlash have been uttered, discounted and repeated.

The National Party machine has trundled on, seemingly unstoppable; and the Conservative Party, claiming growing support, has become more vocal in its criticism of reform.

But at the weekend the rumblings of right-wing dissent nearly blew the roof off Pretoria City Hall.

Dr Treurnicht waded in, his verbal armoury supplemented with anecdotes and exhortations gleaned from an analysis of what is undoubtedly a suffering country.

In a classic 90-minute tirade, well modulated between a blade-like sarcasm and stirring baritone calls to supporters to protect the white laager, he heaped scorn and derision on what he called the coalition Government of the State President, Mr P W Botha, and his slaves, SABC-TV and the Press.

There was also a fair dosage of Orwellian doublespeak as he deftly skirted issues such as urban blacks (to him and

By Andrew Beattie,  
Pretoria Bureau

his party there are no urban blacks) and real political rights for so-called non-whites.

For the Conservative Party advocates a policy of freedom with justice, separate freedoms for whites, blacks, coloured and Indians ... euphemisms for strict Verwoerdian apartheid and forced removals.

As a speaker, Dr Treurnicht has no peer.

His use of the Taal in all its richness and colour is remarkable and translation robs his words of nuance and splendour.

Yet the message has a limited appeal and halts at racial barriers.

His enthusiastic audience, which included former icons of the volk such as Dr Connie Mulder, filled the hall so that clustered groups were forced to listen to his speech over loudspeakers outside.

"There comes a time when you have to hammer on your neighbour's door to wake him up," said Dr Treurnicht.

"The Afrikaner, the white man, the conservative English-speaker may have been misled by the slave media which supports the Government on its path to integration.

"They may have been misled, but they will not

capitulate.

"But South Africa is a nation that has had the fortitude to refuse to commit national suicide; it has refused to extend tolerance to treason.

"It's not too late to vote Conservative Party!"

Dr Treurnicht went on to deride what he called the Botha coalition, his fans chanting "Bothalezi! Bothalezi!"

Then he slammed what he described as uncontrollable Government spending.

He said: "The consensus party and its sympathisers in the media have in their drive for integration launched a total onslaught on those who wish to remain white.

"Did you know that the SABC was under the control of the BBC? The Botha Broadcasting Corporation?"

"We are continually brainwashed.

"They would have us believe there is nothing wrong with the economy of South Africa, except a strong dollar and pound driving the rand down ... but the truth is that Government spending is out of control."

Dr Treurnicht's audience all but rolled in the aisles with mirth over an anecdote of a Cabinet Minister who once said pensioners could survive on R20 a month.

Said Dr Treurnicht:

"Dr Lapa Munnik, Dr R20-a-month Munnik, said in Parliament that tenders were not put out for a contract of R11 million to renovate the Union Buildings." (Supporters whistled in mock astonishment).

Turning to Mr Botha's conditional offer of freedom to African National Congress leaders, Dr Treurnicht said Nelson Mandela's refusal had humiliated Mr Botha.

As Dr Treurnicht recited Mandela's conditions of release, a silence fell over the audience for the first time that night.

"Let Mr Botha say he will dismantle apartheid," he recited. "Maybe he can still do something more about that.

"Let him unban the ANC. Let him free all of those jailed for their opposition to apartheid.

"Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people can decide who will govern."

At this point you could have heard a pin drop.

"Mandela also told Mr Botha to show he is any different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd," said Dr Treurnicht.

"What more can he do to show he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd?"

"These are Mandela's replies. We say to Mr Botha: do not humiliate yourself and us any further for a man who is

an avowed Communist."

The audience cheered as one, and the chant "Bothalezi! Bothalezi!" echoed from somewhere in the back of the hall.

"The coalition Government is here," said Dr Treurnicht.

"Hendrickse and Rajbansi have taken their places in the Cabinet.

"The other day Hendrickse came and sat in our white Parliament.

"I say to him: you have lost nothing there and you can do nothing there either."

The coloured people lost the vote when the Government packed the old Senate, the building which has now been renamed the House of Representatives.

Although coloured people can vote again, that is not the same as if their delegates sat in the white House, so Dr Treurnicht was correct on that score.

Behind all the rhetoric, one detected a note of anxiety in Dr Treurnicht's words about National Party reforms.

He knows Mr Botha as an ex-colleague and fellow-Afrikaner.

So if he says the National Party is irrevocably on the path to full integration (something the Nats continuously deny), can those to the left of the Government still doubt Mr Botha's intentions about reform?



# Small start to talks on South Africa's future

CARE TINTS  
18/2/85  
3049

LONDON. — The year 1985 has a very inward and meaningful significance in modern African history — it follows a quarter of a century after the "year of wonders, 1960".

It was the year when the trickle of independence, which began in the 1950s, turned into something like a flash-flood.

Nigeria, the continent's most populous state, took over its own government, and at the other end of affairs the Republic of South Africa walked out of the Commonwealth.

Things didn't go so well after that. Nigeria and South Africa turned into phenomena of prosperity while Africa eventually went broke in the background, and was finally overwhelmed by drought and disaster.

Now, in the strange way the world develops, although hunger still stalks 24 countries of this continent, a certain amount of common sense seems to be steeling over the affairs of some 26 of the remaining states.

## Dismantling apartheid

"It may even be," say observers on this continent, "that Nigeria may resist final madness and stay a member of Opec."

And there are even those who dare to think that South Africa will start to dismantle apartheid.

For instance, a man regarded as the leader of South African blacks has started something almost resembling a dialogue with the top men of the South African whites.

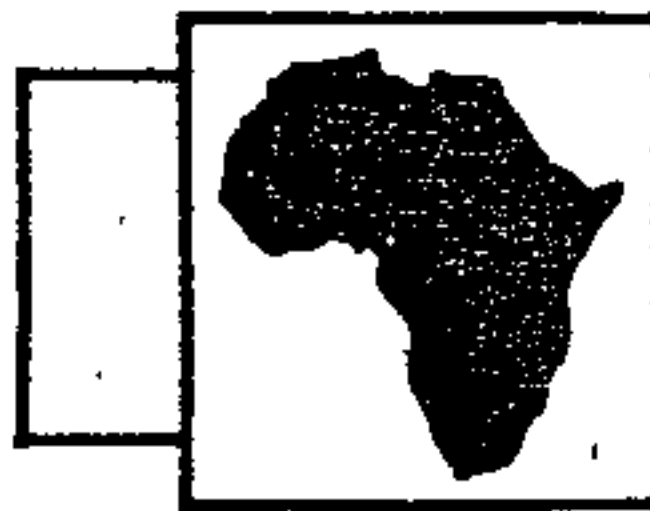
As everybody realizes, this latter process can be a very nervy and tricky business.

Of course, there are quite a few figures in the background who will be offering advice from their own particular viewpoints, or possibly military angles.

For instance, Mr Botha's ear will be cocked for opportunistic murmurings of the South African army via General Magnus Malan, or possibly others with less sensible ambitions.

Possibly Mr Nelson Mandela will get eventual messages from somebody known to the security service as Colonel Joe Slovo, of, they claim, the KGB.

The political leaders in either camp may not be overwhelmingly convinced by political experts from either direction. It all depends on how such advice fits either Mr Botha's or Mr Mandela's informal view of their own circum-



## Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS



Miss Zinzi Mandela . . . conveying her father's answer to the offer by President Botha (inset).

stances. Both have fairly tough minds of their own.

These circumstances will be very new and probably very strange to both Mr Botha and Mr Mandela and the different congeries of advisers behind them.

I daresay that Mr Botha is not going to make it very easy for the black leader to receive the vast amount of advice from Africa and the rest of the world being assembled for him.

Neither leader may be either very used to, or very willing to, listen to some sensible advice being offered. However, at least a start of an exchange appears to have been attempted and a fairly open one it can be said to have been under the blue skies over the Soweto sports ground.

There the beautiful young Miss Zinzi Mandela, speaking from beside the purple-gowned Archbishop Tutu to a representative crowd of Africans,

gave her imprisoned father's answer to Mr Botha's offer to free him from jail.

The message to the crowd — and to Mr Botha — was: "I am not prepared to sell the birth-right of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people. Only free people can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts."

This must be the plainest and most honourable political announcement made to South Africans since Hendrik Bibault declared: "Ek is 'n Afri-caander!" in 1707 at the beginning of politics in this country.

So direct a statement was a most dignified commencement of what should or could be the most fundamental public debate in our modern history.

If this present negotiation goes on to be such, then, as I've suggested, it could make its two main leaders the two greatest politicians in our story.

Nevertheless, should this colloquy break down into the same dreary claims of the past, with inflated demands for this or that colour, race, or culture, and weasel-propositions to achieve the power-hungry ambitions of some race, tribe or class, a great moment for the future of this corner of the world and of Africa will have passed into further futility and misery.

## Gutter politics

I must say that one development in South Africa over the last few days did frighten me for the possibilities of the future. I understand that some or other agency has been offering information for publication about the sexual diversions of a certain black leader.

If this information is used, for the suspected purposes of smearing political leadership, South African politics will be dragged nearer the gutter than ever before.

The ruin of Parnell wrecked much in Irish politics that it might have been the better for retaining in the long run. South Africa needs as much to influence its politics for the good as can possibly be maintained.

While a debate on the love life of this or that important individual is not going to help much at the present juncture, or at any other, moves to settle the Namibian argument, and the relationship with Mozambique will obviously be healthy for the central South African problem.



# City Council to reconsider rejection of regional levies

Cape Times 19/2/85 (41) 304A

## Municipal Reporter

THE City Council is to reconsider its initial rejection of the regional levies proposed by the government to finance the new local authorities structure.

The executive committee accepted a report from the City Treasurer, Mr B Watkins-Baker, in which he points out that the United Municipal Executive has repeatedly called for additional sources of revenue for local government, including local taxation.

"If it is accepted that the establishment of regional services councils is inevitable... then it is even more essential that additional sources of revenue be introduced to assist in their financing and to assist local government generally," he said.

He conceded, however, that any increase in taxation "would be most undesirable under the present economic conditions".

Mr Watkins-Baker also questioned the council's proposal, made at its monthly meeting last month, that the tax burden be spread "on a national rather than a regional basis".

He said this could result in all regions being taxed at the same level, whether they could afford it or not, with no guarantee of how or where the revenue would be distributed.

It would also give central government "greater and more detailed" control over the money raised.

"Finally, local taxation has the advantage of fostering greater local

accountability for expenditure," he said.

"If additional taxation is required to meet regional requirements, then I am inclined to the view that it would be best to fix, raise and distribute the tax at the regional level."

Mr Watkins-Baker emphasized that it would be ironic if, as the council fears, the new taxes place the city in a worse position financially.

He said any council representations to the Margo Commission of Enquiry into the tax structure should concentrate on "ensuring that, at the very least, each local authority receives a net increase in income and not the reverse".

The full council will consider Mr Watkins-Baker's report later this month.



# LP walks out on De la Cruz

Case Files 20/2/85 304A



Mr Dennis de la Cruz

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — Proceedings in the House were temporarily suspended yesterday after nearly all the governing Labour Party members walked out of the chamber while the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, was speaking in a debate on the House's Own Affairs Part Appropriation Bill.

When all but a handful of LP members had walked out, the Minister

of the Budget, Mr Andrew Jules, rose on a point of order and asked the Speaker of the Houses of Parliament, Mr Johan Greeff, if there was a quorum in the House.

Mr Greeff declared there was not a quorum and in terms of the Standing Rule and Orders, suspended proceedings. The bells would be rung for two minutes summoning members back to the

chamber. The Speaker then asked Mr De la Cruz for his precise words again. "I said I am glad to see you here today, Mr Speaker," Mr De la Cruz said. "It was not intended to reflect on anyone in the House."

Mr Speaker asked whether it did not reflect on the worth of anyone who occupied the Speaker's chair.

"Are you giving the House your word it was

not a reflection on anyone?" Mr De la Cruz said he gave his word, it was merely a welcome to the Speaker of the Houses of Parliament.

"It is the custom and convention that every Honourable Member here is under an obligation to accept the word of another member," Mr Greeff said and asked Mr Les Abrahams (LP Diamant), who was leaving the chamber, to ask the

other members to return. Mr Greeff then ordered the bells to be rung again and left the chamber.

When Mr Speaker returned the chamber was just as empty and this time Mr Godfrey Leeuw (LP Southern Free State) asked the Speaker whether there were 25 members in the House.

"As there is no quorum I adjourn the House until tomorrow," Mr Speaker said. — Sapa



CAPL Times 21/2/85

# Apology to LP from De la Cruz

300A

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, yesterday apologized to Labour Party members and the Chairman, Mr Phillip Sanders, for a statement he made in the chamber on Tuesday that might have given the impression he was casting a reflection on Mr Sanders's authority.

Nearly all the LP members walked out of the chamber during the second reading debate of the Own Affairs mini-budget when Mr De la Cruz said during his speech that he was glad the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, was present.

They maintained this statement was an insult to Mr Sanders, who officiates when Mr Greeff is not present, and the Speaker adjourned the House after two attempts to gain a quorum of members failed.

Mr De la Cruz said yesterday that he had meant his remark as an expression of welcome to the Speaker, and not as a re-

flection on the Chairman.

● Meanwhile Members of the Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates threatened to walk out of the House yesterday after objecting to a remark by the Minister of the Budget, Mr Ebrahim Abramjee.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr J N Reddy, and members of his party began walking out of the house while Mr Abramjee was speaking in the second reading debate of the Part Appropriation Bill.

Dr Reddy took exception to a remark by Mr Abramjee that the behaviour of some people in Pelican Park could be compared with the "activities of a Durban sea-front hotel".

Dr Reddy and his members began walking out of the House but Mr Abramjee agreed to withdraw the remarks and they returned.

After a division the Part Appropriation Bill was passed through the second reading stage. — Sapa



AKGUS 21/2/85

# Plan to murder Oliver Memani, court is told

Court Reporter 307

SUPPORTERS of a breakaway KTC squatter group went to Mr Oliver Memani's home to "murder him" a few hours before their own leader was attacked, counsel submitted in Wynberg Regional Court.

A member of the breakaway group, Mr David Kotyi, said yesterday he had "no knowledge" of this.

Mr Kotyi is the State's first witness in the trial of KTC squatter leader Mr Memani and 37 others facing three charges of public violence and one of incitement to murder.

During cross-examination Mr P Laubscher, for the defence, suggested to Mr Kotyi

that a group of his supporters went to Mr Memani's home on September 4 last year to kill him and that one of them was seen running away with a gun.

Mr Kotyi said he had no knowledge of anything that happened on September 4 before he was attacked about 9pm by a group that included two of the accused, Mr Phazamile Khonzani and Mr John Galuweni.

Mr Memani is in custody, Mr John Galuweni has been warned to appear. The other accused are on bail.

The hearing continues.

Mr W Steenkamp is on the Bench and Mr J Bezuidenhout appears for the State. Mr Laubscher appears for the defence.



N. Mercury

'Will the real Mr Botha please stand up — and then sit down with Mr Mandela?' The Guardian editorial concluded.





Dr Treurnicht

# Row over ancestry allegations

AKGVS 21/2/85  
3847

Political Correspondent

A FURIOUS row has broken out between Conservative Party MPs and a coloured MP following allegations that some of their ancestors were coloured.

Speaking in the House of Representatives Mr Jac Rabie, Labour Party MP for Reiger Park, said that some Conservative Party MPs and leaders should not be sitting in the white House of Assembly.

He quoted extracts from Groep Sonder Grense, a survey of the genealogy of South African families by Dr Hans Heese, a historian at the University of the Western Cape, in which the names Hoon, Snyman, Meyer and Treurnicht were traced back to their Cape origins, with Batavian, negroid and slave forefathers.

Mr Rabie also said that one of his uncles was chairman of a Transvaal branch of the CP.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, chairman of the CP, said today it was the first time he had come across suggestions that he had forebears from Bengal or Batavia, and he strongly denied it.

He regarded the allegation as "rubbish" until the contrary was proved.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr Rabie's statement was nothing but part of a calculated attempt by liberalists and some coloured

to demolish white identity and to prepare the way for integration between white and coloured.

It was also a transparent attempt to make whites ashamed of the fact that they were white.

Referring to Mr Rabie's statement that one of his uncles was a CP chairman, Dr Treurnicht said the party would not allow itself to be intimidated.

Another CP MP, Dr W J Snyman of Pietersburg, said Mr Rabie's speech was a further attempt to take away the pride of the white nation and to promote the equalisation process.

He did not believe the allegation would withstand scientific investigation.

The first Snyman to arrive in South Africa was Christoffel, who was known as the son of "Antonie of Bengal". It was clear, however, that Snyman was not an Eastern name.

● See Page 7



# G.M. Wilking wins backing of industry

By MIKE LOEWE and KIN BENTLEY

BIG business in Port Elizabeth has backed the head of General Motors South African, Mr Lou Wilking, in his call for Government action to defuse the disinvestment threat.

In a major speech last night Mr Wilking suggested that while business was often urged to lobby for South Africa overseas, the Government itself had to act by repealing harsh and discriminatory laws.

In particular, he pointed to the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act, which forbids sexual intimacy across the colour line, and laws which allow detention without trial.

Mr Wilking also outlined the country's economic woes, pointing out that double digit inflation had endured for a decade and that the vast civil service was an unaffordable burden.

Mr Peter Morum, managing director and executive vice-chairman of the Firestone Rubber Company, said: "I think Mr Wilking's statement of the facts and of issues is valid. We have to address these issues. We have to handle them."

Overseas investors looking at the situation had watched the value of their investments dropped by more than 40% in two years.

The South African economy was oper-

ating on an "ad hoc manner".

"More important than anything is the fact that we do not have an economic strategy," he said. "We need to get the private and public sector working together. We need to develop our export industries."

"We have got to get control of the money supply. We have got to get control of expenditure in the public sector. We have got to get a handle on inflation."

He said the disinvestment lobby in the United States had grown into a very strong campaign.

"I think it is up to all of us to circumvent this wave building up in the United States. It is a highly emotive issue. The pickets are getting an enormous amount of coverage."

Mr Peter Searle, managing director of Volkswagen, said: "I fully support Mr Wilking's statements. The management of the economy should be the No 1 priority and it is critical that a policy centred around future economic growth and economic employment opportunities should be established."

Another top local businessman with multinational links felt the Government was doing strange things, getting the country into deep trouble and urged it

● Turn to Page 3

## PE industrial leaders rally behind Wilking

● From Page 1

take heed of Mr Wilking's comments.

The managing director of Goodyear, Mr Wally Life, said the recent incidents at Crossroads near Cape Town, in which 18 people have died, had "totally neutralised the progress we have made" in combating the disinvestment campaign in the United States.

He said he had formed an International Affairs Committee on the Midland Chamber of Industries, which would be assisting in this task.

Major reforms by the Government would assist the committee tremendously, he said.

Mr Life said there had to be an end to "forced removals, the harassment of squatters, the relentless clampdown on trade union and community leaders, detention without trial and so on" before

South Africa's detractors overseas could be countered effectively.

Mr Life said the International Affairs Committee would be addressed by the Executive Director of the South African Foundation in London, Mr David Willers, at a lunchtime meeting on March 8.

He said the committee would also promote "more direct interchange with opinion makers in major areas of the world".

Executives in Port Elizabeth would be briefed on ways of communicating the true situation in South Africa with influential people when they went overseas.

The chances of this working would be improved considerably if the Government implemented fundamental reform, he said.



# Wilking again slams Govt

23/2/85

Weekend Post Reporter

**FOR the second time in a week the managing director of General Motors, Mr Lou Wilking, last night deplored apartheid and questioned the Government's ability to manage its own affairs.**

Speaking at the Port Elizabeth Turf Club's annual dinner at St. George's Club, he said disinvestment would be a threat to South Africa as long as racial legislation remained on the country's statute books.

Mr Wilking, who made a similar speech to the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants in Port Elizabeth on Wednesday night, reiterated GM's opposition to disinvestment.

"GM does not support legislation dictating the disinvestment of securities of firms with activities in South Africa, as this could penalise companies, which, through their commitment of resources as well as the dedication and efforts of their local managers, are contributing to the achievement of social justice and

racial reform in South Africa," he said.

He also stressed the detrimental effects disinvestment would have on South Africa's neighbouring countries.

In criticising the Government, he said the overall state of the economy and the extreme financial measures taken by it cast doubt on the ability of the country to manage its own affairs.

The Government had contributed to the creation of "a stop-start economy not matched anywhere".

Mr Wilking said it was time the Government helped those speaking out against disinvestment by doing away with the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act, the Group Areas Act, detention without trial,

forced removals and the jailing of black leaders.

Mr Wilking warned that if something concrete was not done to boost Port Elizabeth's economy, the city was in danger of becoming "a second Walvis Bay".

He said the Government was at last becoming aware of the plight of the motor industry in Port Elizabeth.

The PE-Uitenhage area, since the development of the local content programme in the early 1960s, had changed from being the least costly area in which to build vehicles to an area of "substantial location penalty".

"Most raw materials and component suppliers are in the Reef area and so are most of the customers," said Mr Wilking.

"The net result is a vehicle on average costs R150 to R200 more to build in Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage than in the Reef area.

"The 136 000 units produced by this area in 1984 carried a penalty of about R20 million to R27 million.

"The Midland Chamber of Industries has been negotiating with the Decentralisation Board for several years for assistance to the area.

"In 1983 a nominal freight rebate on limited methods of shipment was given, but this did not address the problem meaningfully.

"After further discussions, additional decentralisation assistance has been promised and if it is implemented it will correct about half the problem."



# Swoop on UDF leadership shatters optimism over SA

THE security police swoop on the leadership of the United Democratic Front this week — in apparent preparation for a major treason trial — has brought hopeful South Africa watchers here down to earth with a bump.

A mood of cautious hope and optimism that a change of heart was in the air has been shattered by this week's events:

□ The last-minute withdrawal of charges against Archbishop Denis Hurley has been widely interpreted here as an admission of guilt by Pretoria that Koevoet — a South African police unit — continues to commit atrocities in SWA/Namibia.

□ The use of live ammunition to quell the manifestation of tension over the threat of forced removal to the barren sands of Khayelitsha — only weeks after President P W Botha's government announced a provisional moratorium on forced removals — has been met with revulsion by all shades of political opinion here.

□ The arrest of the non-violent UDF leadership and the charging of six leaders with high treason — only weeks after President Botha's offer to release the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, if he renounced violence — has exposed the offer as a cynical political manoeuvre in the minds of even the most sympathetic observers.

## Nightmare

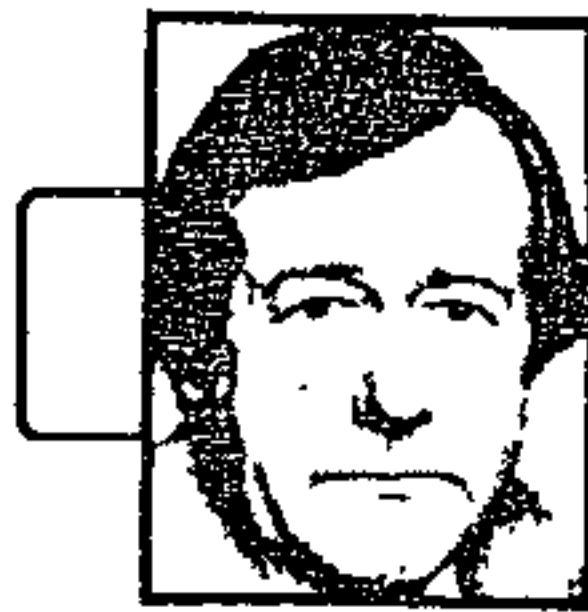
Collectively these events have projected the image here of a government that is losing its grasp as it is increasingly trapped between right-wing white resistance and black impatience for real change.

The nightmare at the back of the minds of those foreign investors prepared to resist the mounting calls for disinvestment is: What happens if President Botha's programme of controlled reform goes off the rails?

The horrifying scenes of young white doctors surrounded by the bloody corpses of the dead at Crossroads does little to allay these nightmares.

After a period of tense calm in Anglo-South African relations, the British Foreign Office is once again under domestic pressure with 71 Labour MPs signing a House of Commons motion demanding the recall of Britain's ambassador to South Africa and 20 of them joining in a picket outside South Africa House to protest against the UDF arrests.

**Mandela**



**London Dateline**

By STANLEY UYS



President P W Botha ... cynical political manoeuvre



Dr Denis Worrall ... uncomfortable exchange on TV



Mr Malcolm Rifkind ... "wide area" in South Africa's treason laws



Mr Donald Anderson ... to visit SWA/Namibia soon

would at least provide a political structure in which an unconditionally released Mr Mandela could function and still maintain his political credibility.

The fact that the UDF leaders are to be charged with high treason — rather than be thrown arbitrarily into a preventative detention cell — cuts little ice with a sophisticated British audience which regards the definition of treason in South Africa with deep scepticism.

The Guardian referred to the charges as "the ludicrously inappropriate and trumped-up charge of high treason".

Whitehall would be more cautious in its approach, emphasizing that the judicial process must be allowed to take its course.

But the South African government has got to make up its mind: The UDF cannot simultaneously be an example of democratic opposition and an extension of a revolutionary movement advocating the violent overthrow of the state.

It is one thing for the UDF to support the political objectives of the ANC — so, by his own admission, does Bishop Desmond Tutu. So do millions of blacks and some white South Africans.

It is another thing, however, to accuse the UDF of advocating violence.

The government's dilemma was perfectly captured in an uncomfortable exchange on British television this week between South Africa's ubiquitous ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, and his Channel Four

mentioned which has grown into a big organization ...

One cannot help but feel for the astute Dr Worrall who has been devoting much of his energies lately to convincing politicians here — and not only the converted — that they should read even more into President Botha's reformist speech to the opening of Parliament — particularly his signals of a new approach to the black problem.

Dr Worrall and his staff appeared to be making some headway in driving this message across even to critical Labour politicians such as the front-bench spokesman on Southern Africa, Mr Donald Anderson, who left this week as part of a inter-party delegation to SWA/Namibia.

## Thaw

Within hours of the private briefing, police cracked down on the leadership which Mr Anderson and his colleagues see as the last hope for negotiating an inter-racial accommodation in South Africa.

The ambassador's efforts to speed a post-Coventry thaw in Anglo-South African relations by briefing the British Foreign Office in advance of President Botha's speech appears not to have achieved the desired result.

South Africa House was less than pleased with Mr Rifkind's questioning of South Africa's bona fides in the Coventry affair and in international negotiations over Namibian independence in a recent press interview — particularly after it had taken the trouble to emphasize the importance of President Botha's reformist signals in his pending speech to the opening of Parliament even before the speech was made.

## Impasse

My sources tell me that this resulted in the South African government's decision to cold-shoulder Mr Rifkind's offer to make himself available for bilateral talks in Johannesburg earlier this month during his Southern Africa visit.

Hence, an opportunity to seek a resolution to the bilateral impasse over the Coventry affair was lost at a time when the British domestic climate for promoting economic pressure — rather than direct sanctions — to speed change in South Africa is stronger than ever before.

All this is to illustrate how difficult a task is faced by South African missions abroad in trying to keep ahead in the all-important international



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## Mandela

The left-of-centre Guardian — which has not been unsympathetic to President Botha's reformist rhetoric — reflected the sense of puzzlement felt by British observers.

"The president (Mr Botha) should tell his repressive right fist what his conciliatory left hand is doing. Will the real Mr Botha please stand up — and then sit down with Mr Mandela?"

Perceptive observers of President Botha's reformist foray will privately concede that the emergent pattern of alternating conciliation and repression is inevitable in a situation where the identified oppressor attempts to usher in a new order.

But what Britons cannot understand is that one week President Botha offers to release Mr Mandela if he renounces violence and the next week his government arrests the leadership of what is identified as the peaceful and democratic opposition to government policy — the UDF.

If President Botha was sincere about the offer he would be actively ensuring the survival of the UDF which — if the ANC remained banned —

President P W Botha ... cynical political manoeuvre



Mr Malcolm Rifkind ... "wide area" in South Africa's treason laws

would at least provide a political structure in which an unconditionally released Mr Mandela could function and still maintain his political credibility.

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In an interview with me after the Durban three quit the British Consulate in December, the British Foreign Office Minister Mr Malcolm Rifkind conceded that the "wide area covered by treason legislation in South Africa" was a cause of international concern.

In the rules that govern bilateral protocol, the British government has to distinguish very clearly between arbitrary detention without trial — which it has consistently denounced in forthright terms — and arrest on charges of contravening a law.

Nevertheless, there is a considerable body of opinion here which sees the switch from detention without trial to arrest on treason charges as a cynical manoeuvre aimed primarily at taking the sting out of the diplomatic protests from Washington and Whitehall.

In the eyes of many the government's objective remains the same: neutralizing the UDF opposition by paralysing its leadership while still being able to hold it up as a shining example of how democratic opposition is allowed to function in South Africa.

Dr Denis Worrall ... uncomfortable exchange on TV



Mr Donald Anderson ... to visit SWA/Namibia soon

But the South African government has got to make up its mind: The UDF cannot simultaneously be an example of democratic opposition and an extension of a revolutionary movement advocating the violent overthrow of the state.

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## Consultation

Dr Worrall: President Botha is opposed, on the one hand, by people who are fearful and resentful of his commitment to evolutionary reform and he is opposed, on the other hand, by people who don't want the beneficial effects of reform — people who want to polarize the society.

Interviewer: Is that your allegation against the leaders of the UDF — that they are not genuinely interested in consultation?

Dr Worrall: There are certainly people in the South African situation who are committed to polarizing the society — who don't want reform and who want to play it their way. I am quite sure that these people who were arrested this morning will be arraigned and charged as the state has indicated.

Interviewer: ... Will the system ever allow opposition to the system of apartheid rather than protest against it?

Dr Worrall: Well, you've got the opposition there ... you've got the UDF as you have just

IN SOUTH AFRICA

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Hence, an opportunity to seek a resolution to the bilateral impasse over the Coventry affair was lost at a time when the British domestic climate for promoting economic pressure — rather than direct sanctions — to speed change in South Africa is stronger than ever before.

All this is to illustrate how difficult a task is faced by South African missions abroad in trying to keep ahead in the all-important international propaganda war.

The events of the last week make that task well nigh impossible.



# PW, business meeting seems to be on

By KIN BENTLEY

A SECOND source has confirmed that a top-level meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and leading industrialists is scheduled for Monday.

The source said it was regrettable that the meeting had been mentioned to the Press because the

Government frequently took exception to premature announcements.

The Office of the State President today declined to comment on the possibility of the President meeting a delegation — from the Federated Chamber of Industries.

"You will have to get it from them."

The Evening Post reported yesterday that a delegation of five industrialists, representing 50 big businesses around the country, would be seeing Mr Botha over the disinvestment issue. It was later learnt that other topics would also be discussed.

The discovery that the meeting was to take place

came to light yesterday during an Evening Post investigation concerning the approaches multinationals could make to the Government to head off the disinvestment lobby.

Mr Lou Wilking, managing director of General Motors, said the meeting had been arranged through the Federated

Chamber of Industries. In a later report, Mr Wilking said he had been misinformed. He could not be reached today.

The managing director of Volskswagen South Africa, Mr Peter Searle, would not comment today when asked if such a meeting had been arranged.



## Parliament and Politics

## Parliament and Politics

# Merry House silent on Crossroads

THERE was an almost Nero-like air about some of the deliberations and actions last Tuesday in the three Houses that make up South Africa's tricameral Parliament.

A seeming indifference to events occurring outside the precincts of Parliament.

Less than 20 kilometres away at the Crossroads squatter camp a bloody battle raged on Tuesday between police and residents which left more than a dozen dead and scores injured.

Certainly Progressive Federal Party MP's left immediately to visit the strife-torn area and later called for a snap debate on Crossroads.

And PFP representatives in the President's Council also called for a

debate on the issue, while the House of Delegates is to debate the situation and the crack-down on members of the United Democratic Front.

But in the House of Representatives there was an awesome silence from both the Labour Party and opposition Democratic Workers' Party.

The highlights in that House this week proved to be a walkout by almost the entire Labour Party over an alleged slight to the Chairman of the House, Mr Phillip Sanders, and disclosures by the fiery MP for Heiger Park, Mr Jac Rabie, that the ancestors of some members of the Conservative Party had come from Bengal and India.

And somehow Cross-



roads and widespread unrest in the country were buried amidst the walkout and the merriment and the early adjournment on Thursday.

The House also:

- Meekly assented to a bill giving the South African Police a secret fund.

- Voted against two private members' bills calling for the repeal of the Immorality Act and

Mixed Marriages Act in the Select Standing Committee on Private Members' Bills.

May be they decided voting against the SAP Secret Fund Bill was pointless as the police were already receiving monies from the Secret Services Fund. But if this was so, no statement was issued spelling out their stand.

And if the Labour Party voted against the private members bills' because both pieces of legislation were going before a Parliamentary Select Committee, there was once again no explanation that this was the case.

In fact the only sound this week came from the leader of the Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse

who after the arrest of UDF leaders, called for them to be charged and brought to court if they had broken the law.

Two weeks ago the Labour Party hauled themselves back into the realm of credibility with a fierce onslaught against these very pieces of legislation in a private member's motion and in the process gave the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, a torrid time.

This week they slumped back into the role of an acquiescent junior partner in government, a role which quite simply they cannot afford if they are to make good the boast made on winning the August elections that they were now the real opposition.

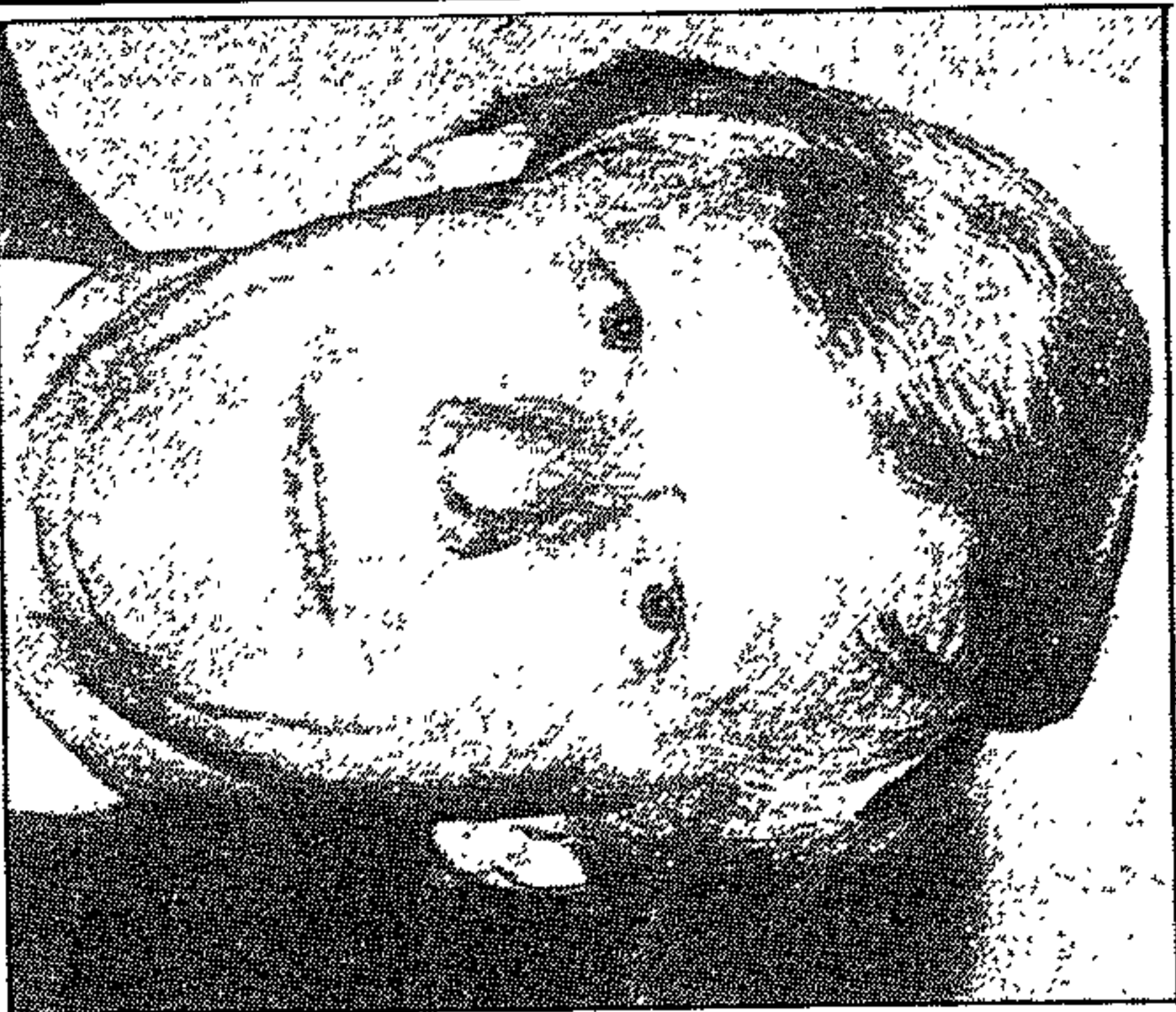


The spotlight falls once more on the jailed ANC leader

# Mandela - symbol of defiance

C. Herald 23/2/85

304A



● BORLAINE — Ruse failed when Mandela set his own conditions.

## Is the debate about to start?

FOR the last 20 years his home has been a prison cell — first at Robben Island, now at Pollsmoor. And it is an offence to quote him, to campaign for his release, even to carry his photograph ...

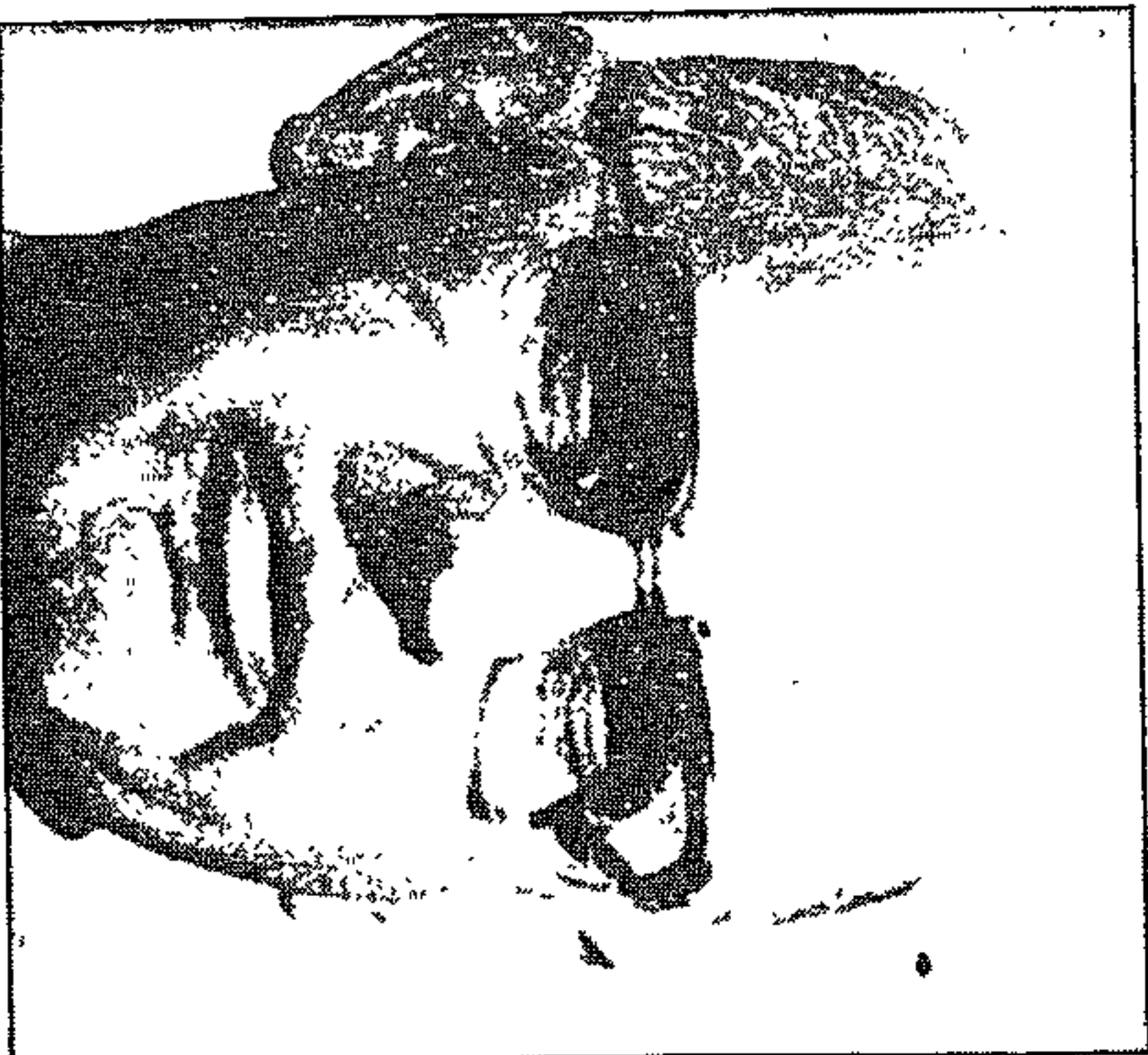
Yet, through all this time, the spirit of Nelson Mandela lives on in the hearts of thousands of South Africans. Indeed, he has become the symbol of defiance which unites the thousands who cannot or will not participate in State President PW Botha's vision of a new South Africa.

Events in recent months — both internally and internationally — have pushed the jailed African National Congress leader firmly into the spotlight.

The fast growing United Democratic Front, although hotly denying Government accusations that they

## defiance

Report: DOUGIE OAKES



● BOTHA — We'll release him, on condition he rejects violence.

when he was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia trial and, more recently, his response to PW Botha's conditions for freedom

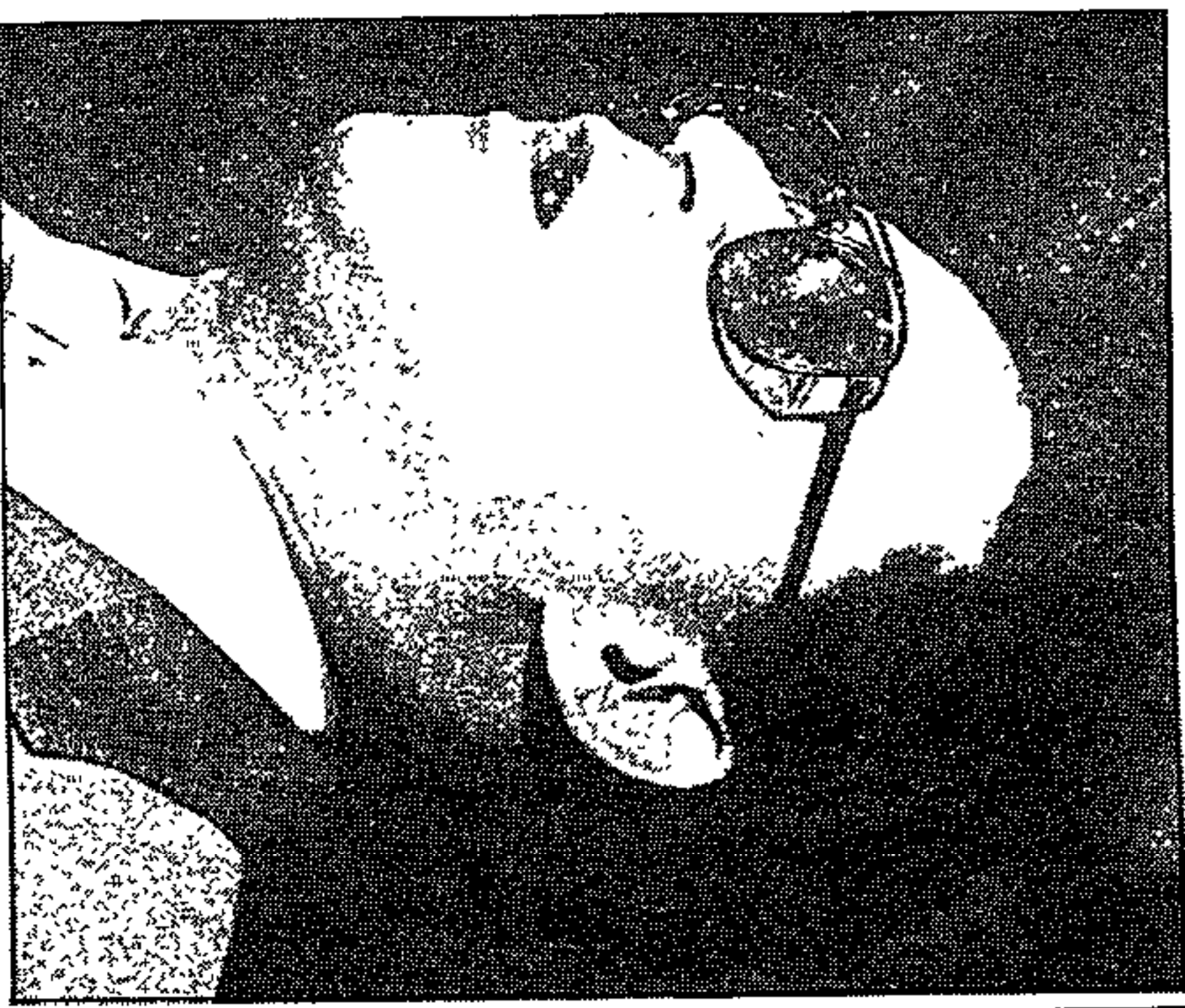
speech by her father. There were roars of approval when it was announced that he would rather remain in prison than submit to the President's demands.

Mr Botha reacted to Mandela's reply last week, by stating that since the ANC leader refused to reject violence, he would remain in prison.

□ ■ □ ■ □

However, knowledgeable observers believe a train of events has been set in motion which will eventually lead to the release of the ANC leader.

Says Dr Borlaine: "I'm not in the least disillusioned by the State President's reaction. The moment he brought up the subject of Mandela, he put the ANC on the agenda. Remember, the Government had previously refused to even think about speaking to this organisation.



● BOESAK — Imagine THEM telling our leaders to renounce violence.

counter-proposals as the opening rounds of a far larger debate.

"Certainly, the UDF has played a part in this process but I believe the international community has also put a lot of pressure on the Government.

"I think PW thought he was being clever by making a conditional offer of freedom to Mandela. He probably thought he'd be able to say to the international community



C. Herald

23/2/85

304 A

ANC, have kept him in the public eye at every mass meeting they have held.

"Who is our leader? Who is our leader?" asks UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak.

"Mandela is our leader, Mandela is our leader," roar thousands of people from Rocklands and New Brighton in the Cape to Jabulani in Soweto.

And then they launch into renditions of the most popular freedom song doing the rounds these days: "Mandela Will Be Free, Amandla. Mandela Will Be Free."

So what is the reason for this aura around a man who, after all, has not been seen or heard for more than 20 years?

Says Progressive Federal Party MP, Dr Alex Boraine: "Well, he is a rather special man. The speech he made

him, were hallmarks of a great statesman. It showed him to be a man of great intelligence and steadfastness. I am convinced that he will be freed soon."

Pie-in-the-sky? Or is there a real chance that Mandela will indeed be allowed to walk out of prison a free man?

□ ■ □ ■ □

In a significant development recently, State President PW Botha departed from the granite-like stance of his predecessors when he announced that consideration would be given to freeing Mandela provided he gave an undertaking to reject violence in all its forms.

The President's offer was greeted with derision in some quarters and welcomed in others. Most of the media urged the ANC leader to accept the offer, arguing that for the first time and opening to the impasse bedevilling South African politics had been provided by the State.

But at a meeting at the Rocklands Civic Centre on Saturday February 9, UDF patron Dr Boesak reacted to the offer with ridicule: "THEY are telling our leaders to renounce violence."

When the ANC was formed, said Dr Boesak, it was committed to working towards peaceful change. But they were harassed by the State and their leaders detained. It was only when all peaceful means were closed to them, that they resorted to an armed struggle, the fiery cleric said.

On February 10, Mandela's response to the offer was read out at a rally in Soweto attended by almost 10 000 people.

He rejected it out-

● d i s m a n t l e apartheid

● unban the ANC

● guarantee free political activity.

Men and women in the huge crowd wept openly as Miss Mandela read out what amounted to a rousing

But now, I believe, that even in the National Party, there are many people who realise that they will eventually have to talk to the ANC.

"So, I see the Government's proposals and Mandela's

nity. Look, I've offered him freedom under reasonable conditions, but he's turned it down."

"The ruse failed when Mandela set his own conditions — and now there's no turning back."



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# Americans against Apartheid

g day for more than  
all kinds of weather,  
placard-bearing dem-  
onstrators gathered  
at their lunch hours  
in the streets of

By  
**BRENDON  
ROBERTS**  
in  
**PITTSBURGH,  
USA**

statement would result  
in an end to the demon-  
strations, he was  
wrong. The persistent  
protestors simply  
moved to the pavement  
outside Ferraz's new  
place of employment.  
A few months later,  
he changed his job  
again, moving to a new  
building. The dogged  
demonstrators followed.  
More than 27 months  
after the daily demon-  
strations started, Fer-  
raz's employers, who  
saw him as an embar-



rassment, fired him.  
The next day he re-  
signed as South Africa's  
honorary consul, say-  
ing: "Basically, from  
the beginning, I said I  
was against apartheid

His plans for the fu-  
ture: "I would just like  
to basically go into the  
anonymous world . . ."

And as Gui Leite-Fer-  
raz disappeared into  
the crowd, the Pitts-  
burghers Against  
Apartheid (PAA), the  
coalition of 35 organisa-  
tions which had organ-  
ised the protests cele-

His mother raised the  
family on her own, do-  
ing housework to pay  
the bills.

"She was typical of  
American black wom-  
en," he said with a  
sense of deep sadness.  
"She raised a family  
and made her lot out of  
nothing."

Then animatedly  
drawing a parallel with  
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**Are they really the hammer-and-sickle-wielding commies they're made out to be, these anti-Apartheid activists?**

# America against Apartheid

EVERY working day for more than two years, in all kinds of weather, the chanting, placard-bearing demonstrators spent their lunch hours protesting on the streets of Pittsburgh.

Their target, a Portuguese-born stockbroker named Gui Leite-Ferraz. Reason? Ferraz, who had once spent 12 years living in South Africa, part of that time working for the SABC, had accepted an appointment as South Africa's honorary consul in Pittsburgh.

After two-and-a-half months of daily protests outside the building occupied by the company for which he worked, Ferraz resigned from the company complaining that the protesters were trying to eliminate his livelihood.

"It is reverse apartheid," he said at the time, adding: "I oppose apartheid and have made this clear."

And if he thought that that remarkable

By  
**BRENDON  
ROBERTS**  
in  
**PITTSBURGH,  
USA**

statement would result in an end to the demonstrations, he was wrong. The persistent protesters simply moved to the pavement outside Ferraz's new place of employment.

A few months later, he changed his job again, moving to a new building. The dogged demonstrators followed.

More than 27 months after the daily demonstrations started, Ferraz's employers, who saw him as an embar-



rassment, fired him. The next day he resigned as South Africa's honorary consul, saying: "Basically, from the beginning, I said I was against apartheid . . ."

His plans for the future: "I would just like to basically go into the anonymous world . . ."

And as Gui Leite-Ferraz disappeared into the crowd, the Pittsburghers Against Apartheid (PAA), the coalition of 35 organizations which had organized the protests celebrated and began

His mother raised the family on her own, doing housework to pay the bills.

"She was typical of American black women," he said with a sense of deep sadness. "She raised a family and made her lot out of nothing."

Then animatedly drawing a parallel with South Africa added: "The lack of economic opportunities for black people in general has put pressure on the black American family and that is why we can identify with black

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USA

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And as Gui Leite-Ferraz disappeared into the crowd, the Pittsburghers Against Apartheid (PAA), the coalition of 35 organisations which had organised the protests celebrated and began planning new strategies for opposing the policy.

But who is behind PAA? A bunch of hammer and sickle-wielding commies, as some would have us believe?

More like knitting needle and Bible-wielding "ordinary folk," say two of the coalition's staunchest supporters, Dr Jake Milliones and his wife, Dr Barbara Sizemore-Milliones.

They say that while PAA does include a few political groups and trade unions, by far the greater majority consists of "ordinary church folk" who attend the demonstrations as faithfully as they turn up at Sunday services.

I visited the Millioneses at their home to find out what makes this middle-aged, black American couple tick. What made them devote so much of their time and energy to opposing a policy in a land which they had never visited? What made them care?

Part of the answer stems from his childhood experience.

Dr Milliones was born near Atlanta, Georgia, and he and his six brothers and sisters were brought to Pittsburgh by his mother when he was seven years old.

His mother raised the family on her own, doing housework to pay the bills.

"She was typical of American black women," he said with a sense of deep sadness. "She raised a family and made her lot out of nothing."

Then animatedly drawing a parallel with South Africa added: "The lack of economic opportunities for black people in general has put pressure on the black American family and that is why we can identify with black South African families which are being broken up."

His mother's efforts were not wasted. Today, Milliones, 43, holds a Ph D in Psychology and is an assistant professor of psychiatry and psychology attached to the University of Pittsburgh. He is also the president of the city's school board.

His wife, Dr Barbara Sizemore Milliones, is the acting head of the university's Black Studies programme — a position which will be filled by South African poet Dennis Brutus later this year.

So what makes them turn their backs on the leisurely life their combined incomes offer them?

"I have worked with children all my life and I just can't get over the reality of white South Africans having the highest standard of living and black children dying in the Bantustans. I can't accept that personally or professionally," he said.

"The thing that drives me is the lack of opportunity for the young while I have children and see how fortunate they are.

"It is only by chance that people are born into privilege."

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Every weekend when the couple march in the PAA's current anti-Kruggerand demonstrations, the children march along with them.

And they have earned their "battle scars." In a recent protest, three of the children were arrested along with their parents.

He describes how seeing children suffer during a visit to Senegal affected him. "I was devastated by the poverty. I've seen poverty and degradation in this country but seeing the children (in Senegal) had a profound effect on me. It was very sad. I visited a psychiatric facility and saw the mentally ill, the most oppressed group, and they were not treated very well."

Milliones' feelings for children is not limited to talk. Beside his work on the city's school board which oversees hundreds of schools, he also works with abused and neglected children and their families, drug addicts and teenage mothers.

Would he like to visit South Africa one day?

"There is no way I could go now. After all I am encouraging a boycott," he said with a smile. But added: "Somehow, though, I will not feel complete unless I visited South Africa one day."

So what would the ideal South Africa, which he would visit, look like?

"One in which there is opportunity for everybody to realise their full potential."

Does he have a similar vision for his own country?

"Absolutely!"

Has he reacted positively to any changes in South Africa?

"No. I hear the propaganda but I don't see anything positive happening."

When does he feel it will be time for PAA to pack up and call it a day?

"We'll only split up when we feel that the oppressed people of South Africa are no longer oppressed and I don't see that happening soon."

"We feel we're not free until they're free. So long as there is oppression here or there, there will be a need for a group like Pittsburghers Against Apartheid."

What effects does he hope PAA will have on the US and South African governments?

"My strong belief is that the actions of groups like PAA will bring the government (of America) to the realisation that it will have to deal with the question of South Africa."

And while the couple's perception of the South African situation is their primary motivation for their anti-apartheid activities, there are other influences.

Pride of place in their living room is given to a bust of Dr Martin Luther King Jr and a painting of Malcolm X.

"King taught us to love and turn the other cheek while Malcolm taught us to become so angry that we would fight back," Dr Barbara Sizemore Milliones explained.

They have synthesised these apparently contradictory philosophies into a weapon which they hope will lead them to end injustice as they see it.



# Post Focus

## By DIRK VAN ZYL Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A watershed shift in Government thinking on the constitutional position of blacks outside the homelands has been a hallmark of the first working session of South Africa's new Parliament.

It was highlighted again this week in a speech by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who gave more "body" to guidelines laid down at the start of the session by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

As the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, put it this week: "The Government has crossed a Rubicon with the State President's speech."

Dr Slabbert commended the Government for broadening the base for negotiation on blacks' constitutional future, but stressed that important differences remained between the Government and the official Opposition.

An important one was the concept of free association between individuals in the political sphere — something which lies at the basis of Progressive Federal Party philosophy but which the National Party, with its adherence to the "group" concept, has not been able to embrace.

Increasingly, however, it is becoming clear that the "odd man out" in Parliament is the archaic Conservative Party, which is anxiously trying to cling to old-

style separate development, or partition.

It has been said in South African politics for years — including by no lesser an apartheid luminary than the late Dr H F Verwoerd — that there are only two ultimate directions in which the country would have to move: integration or partition.

And of all the Parliamentary parties, it is now only the CP which propagates the latter in its pure form.

Thus it was that CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, on Thursday moved a private member's motion that the House of Assembly should reject the "Government's intention to extend the existing political integration and power-sharing so as to include blacks, and affirms that partition is the only meaningful political solution for South Africa."

Dr Slabbert and Nationalist speakers tore into Dr Treurnicht's postulations — Dr Slabbert obviously with the most relish — and labelled them as a theoretical pipedream far removed from practical reality.

The Opposition leader, in order to give the debate its right historical perspective, pointed out that what the CP was arguing was basically what the NP had propagated for 30 years and more.

But he delighted NP members, who used the opportunity to goad the CP with interjections, by quoting an early speech of Dr Verwoerd in which he had said partition could never work in a pure form.

Dr Slabbert listed a number of reasons of his own why it could not have worked, but, lest Nationalists got too cosy, added the rider that the NP was at present sitting on two stools.

It, for instance, wanted to scrap Section 16 of the Immorality Act but yet wanted to retain Group Areas, he said.

In his speech closing the debate, Mr Heunis put the Government's "vision of the future" regarding the black's constitutional development.

In probably the most significant paragraph, he said that in the times ahead thought would have to be

given to "means whereby all the different entities, and this includes whites, coloureds and Indians as well as black communities *outside their areas* (my emphasis) can eventually be accommodated in an overarching framework."

This smacks to many a political observer of a form of eventual federalism for South Africa — a constitutional option which has for years been punted by the present and immediate past official Opposition.

(It could be necessary for the country to move through a "confederal" stage before reaching the logical off-spring of federalism).

Mr Heunis also took a step further a guideline presented by Mr P W Botha in his speech opening Parliament last month, when he said, significantly, in this week's debate:

"Structures must be developed for blacks on the local level outside their areas to enable them to have full self-determination over their own affairs up to the highest level. They must be decision-making struc-

tures with legislative and executive components. (My emphasis.)"

Thus the new bodies will have much more power than mere "talking shops".

They could, clearly, provide the basis for supplying elected representatives to the "over-arching framework" Mr Heunis referred to.

And, of course, this week the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, further emphasised the Government's irrevocable acceptance of the permanence of urban blacks by announcing that blacks in the established Western Cape townships could qualify for 99-year leasehold rights.

This had for many years been the *bête noire* of Nationalist ideological thinking on blacks outside the homelands.

\* A second feature which has emerged during the session has had many an observer wondering: how long will it be before Parliament consists of one chamber, with all groups represented

there?

Senior Nationalist spokesmen, wedded at this early stage to their tricameral constitution based on racial group differentiation, officially deny this strenuously, but unofficially greet the question with a nod, a wink and a joke to change the subject.

The arguments in favour of one chamber are becoming more irresistible by the day.

Already this session:

\* Duplicate debates have been held in the Houses of Assembly and Representatives on Port Elizabeth's economic plight, with the Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, having to deliver virtually the same speech in reply on each occasion.

\* The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, has had to sit through three second readings Little Budget debates.

\* MPs of the different chambers have complained that they have to read in the newspapers what their col-

leagues have been saying.

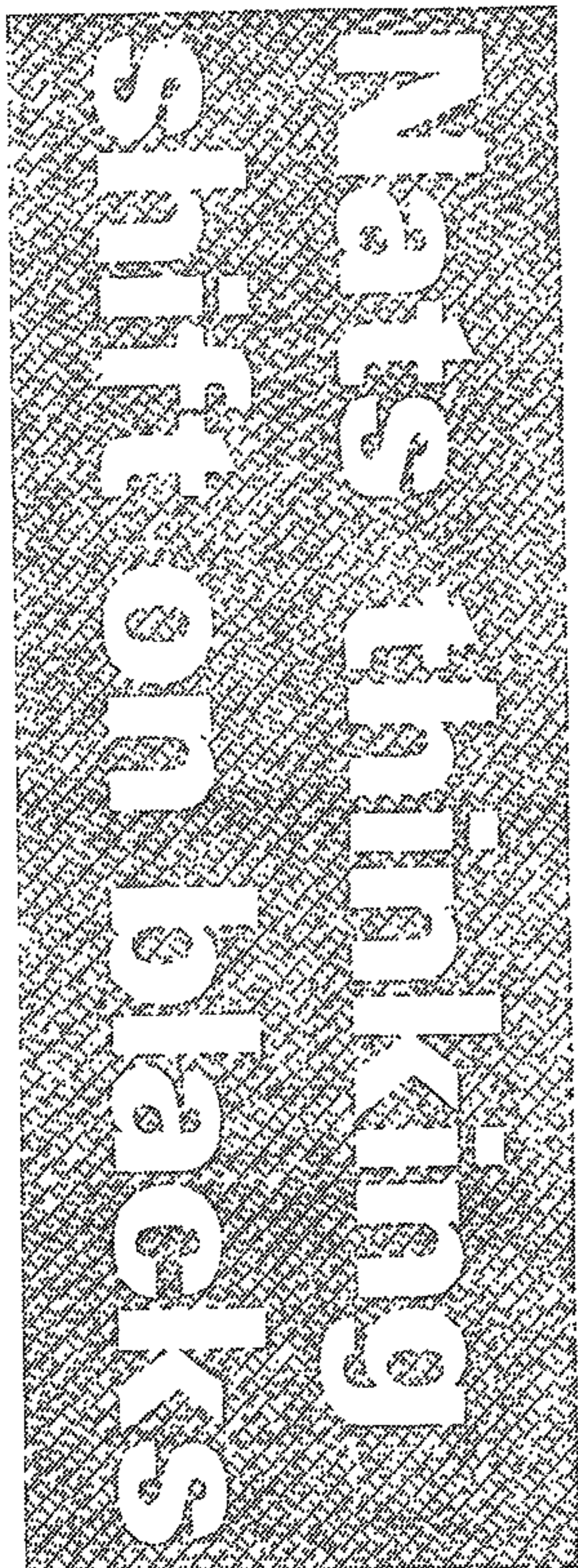
\* Debates on private member's motions have been postponed in the House of Representatives, and the House adjourned for the day, because the relevant cabinet minister could not be present due to business in one of the other Chambers.

As one cynic has put it, a major reason for one chamber coming about in time could in fact be complaints from cabinet ministers that they have to run around too much!

And observers also point out that a chamber big enough to house all MP's simultaneously in comfort is being included in a building arising rapidly between the present Parliament and the State President's office, Tuynhuis.

Officially MPs are only to gather in the new chamber, as they do in the crowded House of Assembly at present, for Ministers' second reading speeches.

But, certain forces, some listed above, may very well prove to be irresistible in time, as senior Nationalists unofficially concede...



Minister CHRIS HEUNIS



The Urban Foundation's JAN STEYN, champion of reformism, on change through coalition.

# Man of patience

(304A) 23/2/85

door of freehold. "That is a practical example of how incremental reform works."

At the University of Cape Town graduation ceremony in December last year, Mr Steyn invited all who wanted change but not revolution to join in a "reform coalition" to give substance to that incremental reform.

And if the Government has neither the will nor the zeal to transform its many recent statements of reformist intent into reality, it surely must be looking over its shoulder at Mr Steyn, for it knows him well as someone who will keep at them until they do.

And now he intends to broaden the base from which he does it. It hasn't been all reluctance on the Government's part. The State President. Mr P W Botha, has provided the basis for commerce and industry's legitimate participation in politics (with a small 'p', says Mr Steyn) in contrast to his predecessor, Mr John Vorster, who believed politics should be left to the politicians, business to the businessmen.

Six years later the then West Rand Administration Board had sold 25 000 houses under that scheme — a quarter of its total housing stock.

This week Mr Steyn recalled the introduction of the scheme, at the time painfully aware of its inadequacy, but still sure in his dedication to reformism that out of it would come more.

"It was a tenuous kind of grip," he said. "You will remember there were tremendous bureaucratic delays at the time — probably, though I can't prove it, some kind of deliberate bureaucratic obstruction."

"Then in 1983 that 99-year leasehold became perpetual leasehold. "And now we stand at the

organisations into a process of dialogue with one another who would otherwise never speak to one another.

"In that way you broaden vision, you diminish prejudice and ultimately you can eliminate intolerance. Would you have believed that the AHI (Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut) and Nafcoc (National African Federated Chambers of Commerce) could sign the same statement on an issue such as the rule of law, detention without trial, forced removals?"

But it is not just vision — though that is an essential part of Mr Steyn's philosophy — that drives the reformist. It is vision based on sound empirical facts. Were calls for the abolition of influx control based purely on notions of justice, they might not have been as well heeded as they now apparently are.

For Mr Steyn, urbanisation is not only inevitable, it is desirable. And it certainly does not herald the traumatic "swamping" and urban upheaval that influx control was supposed to prevent. Quite the contrary.

"Take the nearly 1½ million people living on the outskirts of Durban. As you know, influx control is virtually non-existent in that part of the world. "Those people are surviving and they are doing so with a better quality of life than if they had stayed in Ujundi or Babalegi or wherever because each head of household has exercised a rational economic decision, which is that it is not better to stay in rural poverty than to move into what we might call an urban squatter settlement.

"What is going on there shows that our concept of what would occur in the event of influx control being abolished — the kind of dramatic deterioration and

traumatic transformation — is an unjustified fear and is not supported by the experience of Durban.

"I want to go further, however, and say this: what needs to be added is for it to be properly organised in the sense that the services you provide are appropriate and you create a formalised system of land tenure that would give much greater stability and cohesion.

"We believed that influx control was a shield to protect us, but what we have, despite influx control, is literally millions of people in our cities who we have not planned for. And we have not created the infrastructural conditions to enable them to live secure lives. Therefore we have really succeeded in getting for ourselves the worst of both worlds."

Does the country have the capacity to meet the aspirations of the teeming masses at Durban's door and elsewhere?

"The economic downturn is going to make it extremely difficult for us to deliver the goods that are necessary as demonstrable evidence of our bona fides.

"In any case, South Africans will have to come to terms with the fact that we have been living at standards beyond our economic capacity. I do not think we can sustain the high standards of living to which we have become accustomed.

"However, I do believe it is possible for us, by developing innovative methods in the provision of housing and job opportunities and through sound fiscal policies, to enlarge the cake.

"There will inevitably be a transfer of wealth in the process of development... The political implications of that kind of process are something that will have to be weighed very carefully, but how

The definition of a reformist, say reformists, is a person with a talent for forging temporary alliances on specific issues. Mr Jan Steyn, chief executive of South Africa's most important reformist organisation, the Urban Foundation, has called for a "reform coalition" aimed at turning Government and business statements of intent into realities. GRAHAM WATTS interviewed Mr Steyn.

that is managed I would prefer you to ask the politicians."

But, for the reformer there is hope.

"I would like to say that I am convinced that we are beginning to dismantle apartheid. We are coming to grips with the hard realities of institutionalised discrimination.

"Whatever the merits and demerits of the new constitutional dispensation may be, I do believe it is compelling us to confront the unacceptable face of ingrained racial discrimination. I think that through this process we are experiencing and are being exposed to the bitterness and

the deep-seated resentment that lies there."

On what basis should the variety of black organisations and leaders assess the legitimacy of Mr Steyn's reform coalition? How should they evaluate it as an instrument of change? Is this not just more participation in one's own "political suicide", as Chief Gatscha Buthelezi has called other reform initiatives?

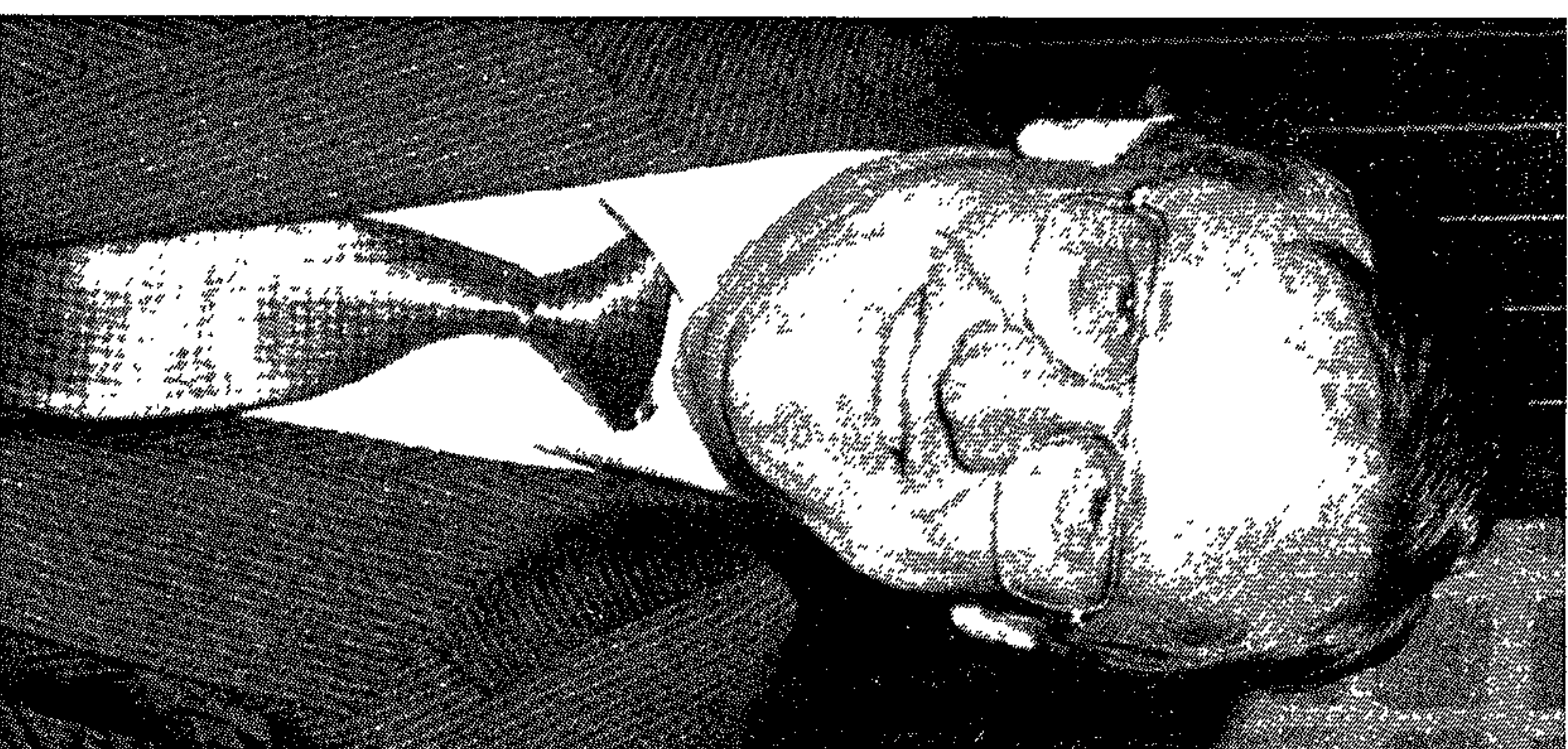
The only proper assessment of its value, says Mr Steyn, is: "Does it work?" It's that simple.

"I accept the legitimacy of non-participation politics, especially of people who are disenfranchised, but I also accept that if the opportunities for access to

power are created, it confers a responsibility on those who represent the disenfranchised to look very, very cautiously at the posture of non-participation.

"There is not a single black leader in this country who will say to us you are not to give people access to dignified living because if you wish to do so you are going to have to negotiate with people who we reject.

"Nobody, not even the most radical of those I have been in contact with, ever suggested that. "I am sure you've got to be that flexible if you want to make this damned thing go."





# SA may abandon the homelands

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa may be preparing to abandon the homelands for a series of multi-racial, semi-autonomous states, says the London *Daily Mail*.

The newspaper's Brian Vine, who has just returned from a visit to South Africa, says he does not accept as inevitable the apocalyptic vision of South Africa torn apart by racial civil war, drenched in blood and left a vast desert.

In spite of the outbreak of the worst violence seen in a decade, Vine saw a glimmer of hope.

"I got the impression President P W Botha is thinking of abandoning the homelands," Vine said. "This would mean a series of multiracial, semi-autonomous states such as exist in Australia."

"They would have local legislatures based on a general white and black enfranchisement though voting rights may have to be aligned to being a householder. Some would have black majorities in their legislatures, some would have white."



# THE MOST INTRIGUING SUGGESTION YET ON THE PRESIDENT'S REFORM STRATEGY

AH, that cosmic question — Whither South Africa? — which is being asked with such new urgency these days.

While President Botha navigates the country through the as yet uncharted waters of reform, South Africans, no less than our friends and enemies abroad, puzzle ever more earnestly over the future.

But perhaps we need puzzle no more; perhaps a rough outline of Mr Botha's strategy, if not of his final vision for the future, already exists.

Which is why, this week, we dust off a copy of a lecture delivered in South Africa in September 1981 by Sam Huntington, a Harvard professor and an international authority on reform strategy.

## Approach

Word has got about (and not a few embassies have lately rushed to their files) that Huntington's address to the Political Science Association of SA made such a profound impression on Mr Botha and his close advisers that it has become something of a house manual for his administration, a kind of game plan for change that is frequently referred to in the inner circles of government.

Certainly there is an uncanny resemblance between the Huntington thesis and the pattern of political events during the past three years; in many respects it is as if his script was being followed almost to the letter.

I retrieved it from my own files after hearing the remarks of an eminent visitor from abroad who expressed wonderment at the dizzying pace of Mr Botha's retreat from the orthodox apartheid of old.

But why, asked the visitor, could the spate of recent reforms not all be neatly wrapped together in a package and presented to the world as a demonstration that apartheid is moribund, if not actually dead?

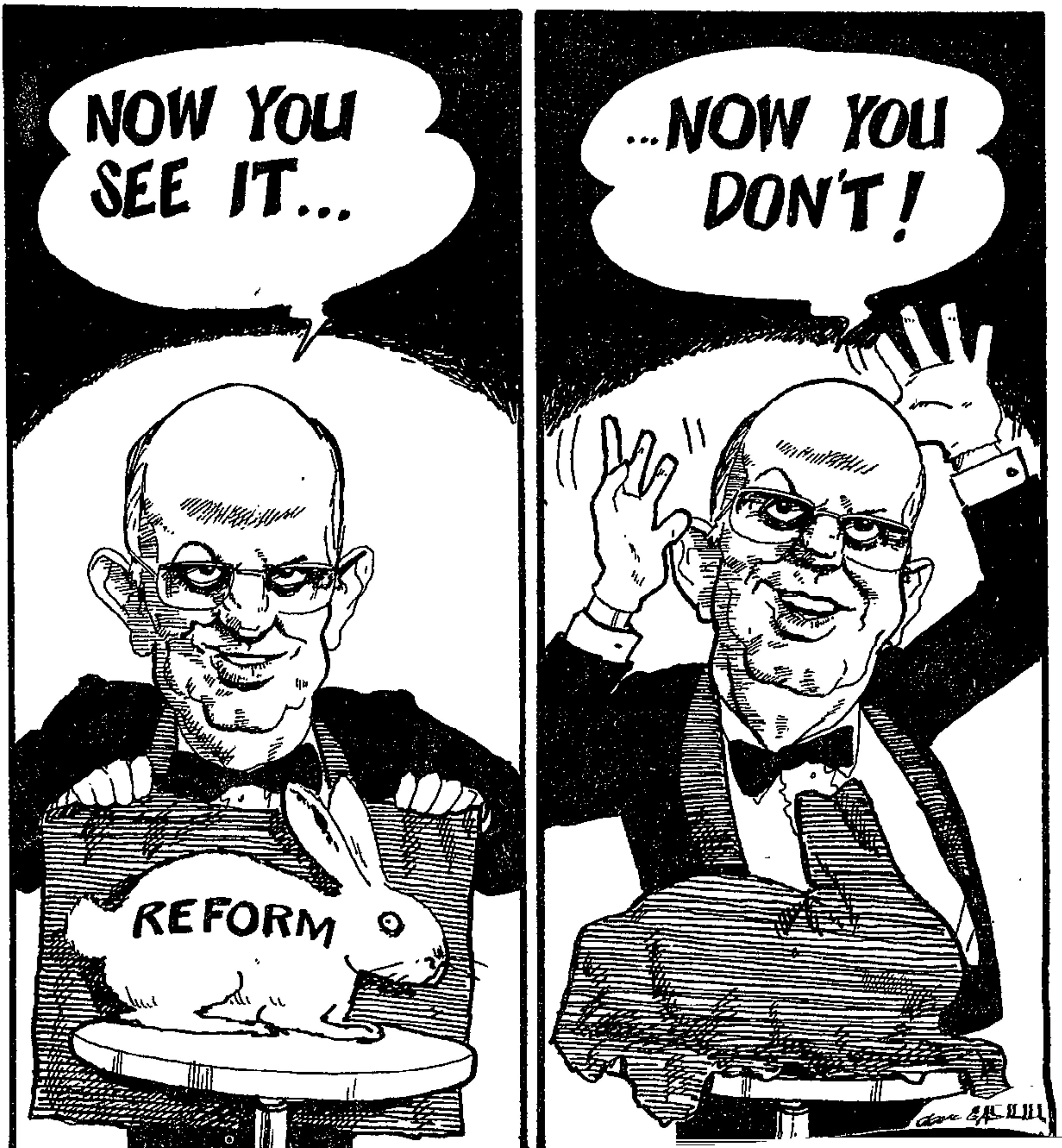
## Impact

Just look, he said, at the amazing departures from Verwoerdian theology, either in deed or in expressions of intent: the mixed Parliament, freehold title for blacks, citizenship for non-homeland blacks, mixed trading areas, the suspension of forced removals, the de-emphasis of punitive influx control in favour of urbanisation policy, the probable scrapping of racially-based sex laws, the offer of amnesty to imprisoned ANC leaders and the creation of a forum to debate black constitutional advance.

Properly marketed, said our foreigner enthusiastically (and he works

# Softly Softly Botha — is he really taking his cue from Harvard's top tactician?

*30UA*  
*S. Times*  
*24/2/85*





the epicentre of the new international upheaval over our race policies), such a package could have a profound impact on moderate world opinion.

Yes, it could. But how would it play in the Waterberg? Or in those blue-collar Nat constituencies that display a disquieting tendency to shift towards the CP?

Sam Huntington's thesis — with a heavy nod towards Machiavelli — may have been accepted as an alternative by the Botha administration.

The thesis is plain and baldly stated: "It is of the essence of the reformer that he must employ ambiguity, concealment and deception concerning his goals."

Without specifically accusing President Botha of any of the above, it is nevertheless rewarding to revisit Huntington (his lecture was published in the Sunday Times of September 20 1981) and to leave it to the reader to make comparisons between the strategies he advocated then and the political style adopted by President Botha now.

## Powerful

Of necessity (and perhaps unfairly to this thoughtful academic) his thesis must be severely summarised.

Both the possibility of reform and the difficulty of reform, says Huntington, arise from the existence of powerful forces determined to preserve the status quo on the one hand, and of powerful forces determined to make fundamental changes, through revolutionary means if necessary, on the other.

The politics of reform, therefore, is basically a tripartite process with the reform leader fighting a two-front war against both stand-patters and revolutionaries, while at the same time attempting to divide and confuse his enemies.

The highest priority, says Huntington, should be given to devising strategies for achieving transition to a post-apartheid political system.

In fact, at this point to know precisely where one is going is perhaps less important than to



By  
**TERTIUS  
MYBURGH**

know clearly how one can get there.

The successful reformer, says Huntington, with frequent references to Bismarck, Attaturk, De Gaulle and, more recently, the Brazilians, is always a master politician.

He must be able to inspire, confidence and provide some measure of charismatic leadership, while at the same time having the political ability and adaptability to engage in log-rolling and back-scratching, to shift allies and enemies from one issue to the next, to convey different messages to different audiences, to sense the eddies and tides of public opinion and time his actions accordingly, and to hide his ultimate purposes behind his immediate rhetoric.

In Huntington's view, the most promising approach for the reformer is what he calls a combination of Fabian strategy and blitzkrieg tactics.

This involves breaking up the reform programme into its various components and then taking them one step at a time, minimising the significance of each step and implying that each one will be the last.

But success with each individual reform, on the other hand, depends on blitzkrieg tactics.

Each reform is drafted in relative secrecy, it is revealed to a small group of political leaders whose support is essential to its success.

## Timing

And then, at the appropriate moment, it is dramatically unveiled, political support for it galvanised and the reform enacted before opponents can mobilise.

The timing of reforms — which can only be attained by fashioning an alliance of elites from different groups — is cru-

cial.

And here perhaps the hardest lesson to learn is to introduce reforms from a position of strength.

Reforms that appear to be granted under pressure from events and the demands of more radical groups can only further weaken the regime, strengthen the radicals, lead to more extreme demands from more groups, and provoke a counter-revolutionary backlash.

Huntington also believes that social and economic reform is normally facilitated by a relatively high concentration of power in the political system — indeed, he says, in South Africa the route from limited uni-racial democracy to a broader multi-racial democracy could well run through some form of autocracy.

## Violence

Somewhat depressingly, the Huntington thesis holds that no reform occurs without violence:

- Revolutionary violence organised by a distinct counter-elite in order to discredit, undermine and eventually overthrow the government.

- Spontaneous violence in the form of popular reactions to perceived injustices.

- Backlash violence by stand-patter groups opposed to change.

Yet, says Huntington chillingly, the reformer must be ready to welcome and even use violence when it serves his purposes since it is usually necessary in order to generate a broad enough coalition to put through reforms.

At the same time, though, a reform government cannot afford to lose its ability to control violence and to provide security for the bulk of its citizens.

The reform process, says Huntington, is rarely neatly or-

dered.

It is usually tedious, inconsistent and unsatisfactory for almost everyone involved. Dramatic achievements are rare, total victories non-existent.

He quotes Machiavelli: "Whoever wishes to reform an existing government in a free state should at least preserve the semblance of the old forms."

Hence continued adherence by the South African Government to the homelands policy, for instance, may make it easier to introduce political representation for coloureds and Asians.

Reform can only be achieved by a broad coalition representing all races.

As potential recruits to such a coalition Huntington sees the NP leadership, the Afrikaner bourgeoisie, the English-speaking business and professional establishment, some elements of the public service, the military establishment, leaders of the coloured and Asian communities, urban middle-class blacks, traditional black leaders and, externally, the governments of the United States and Britain.

Stand-patter opposition to reform, he says, could be expected from elements in the Afrikaner constituency.

At the other extremity, a reform coalition would also face intense opposition from radical black groups demanding the revolutionary reconstruction of South African society.

*It would be surprising if much of the above did not ring a bell with even the casual observer of the recent political scene in South Africa.*

Sam Huntington observes that fundamental change in South Africa appears to be waiting for its Lenin — a leader who will give the same intense attention to the strategy and tactics of reform as Lenin devoted to the tactics of revolution.

Is Mr P W Botha that man? Or does Bismarck provide a better model?

It may be worth recalling that Henry Kissinger described the man who fathered modern Germany through diplomatic manoeuvre and domestic innovation as "the white revolutionary".



Switzer 25/2/85 137 AIA 304A

# Apartheid under fire from unions

THE new alliances which emerged last year between the trade unions and the popular "community" organisation indicate a new phase of resistance to apartheid, said Professor Eddie Webster of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Speaking in a panel discussion on the topic, "Who called the tune in the East Rand stayaway and election boycotts

last year — the trade unions organised working or the broadly-based national democratic resistance organisations?" Professor Webster said he did not believe the East Rand stayaway was specifically the work of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

"With the overall depth of the economic recession and high levels of unemployment," said Professor Webster, "trade union membership steadily grew. In fact, South Africa is the only country in the world where trade unions have grown during the current recession."

## Power

"Workers' location and daily access to members in strategic centres of the economy have given trade unions greater capacity for the mobilisation of power than any other organisation within the black population."

"The situation in the economy though has also catapulted the trade

unions from factory floor organisation into other terrains, which was not worker-controlled," said Professor Webster.

## Strength

Mr Saul Gelb, of the African Studies Institute at the University of the Witwatersrand, said one has to examine both the communities and trade unions involved in a particular situation of resistance — "for example the community in the East Rand is a working class community, where the connection between the popular organisations and the trade unions is extremely close."

"Workers movements are becoming increasingly sophisticated," said Dr Duncan Innes, of the Industrial Sociology Department at Wits, "they understand the need to get more involved in community issues and to use the strength of their strength on the factory floor to resolve these community issues."



# 'New-deal' dinners for Parliament

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

COLOURED and Indian MPs, as well as their wives, may now be invited by white MPs to the House of Assembly dining room.

This follows an incident when Mr David Dalling, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Sandton, was refused permission to entertain two Indian MPs, Dr J N Reddy and Mr Pat Poovalingam, in the dining room.

The decision to change the policy was taken by the House of Assembly's catering committee. It also follows a decision, understood

to involve a number of National Party MPs, not to use the House of Assembly dining room because it was not open to MPs from the other two houses.

Mr Dalling said yesterday it was a pity "that forcing reform out of the National Party is like drawing blood out of a stone".

"Even now that it has been adopted, coloured and Indian MPs may not invite guests to the House of Assembly dining room and only coloured and Indian MPs and their wives may be invited.

"I can't even invite coloureds and Indians, let alone Africans, unless they



Mr Dave Dalling

are MPs.

"However, this small step should be welcomed, although there will be little rejoicing in Crossroads over it," Mr Dalling said.

And Mr Poovalingam, Solidarity MP for Reservoir Hills, also welcomed the decision.

"It was an unnecessary insult to people of colour who are MPs.

"I am very glad that those responsible have taken the right step.

"This will save embarrassment and will be a further indication that racism is slowly making its way out," he said.

Mr Poovalingam said, however, black

South Africans were still not in Parliament "indicating that we have not been making the progress we have to make".

The catering committee decided that members of the House of Assembly may entertain members of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates in the main dining room.

The VIP room in the House of Assembly remains available to white MPs to entertain guests regardless of race.

However, the coffee lounge and the bar of the House of Assembly will remain restricted to members of the House.



## Post Focus

# of apartheid R6 billion

304A 2. Post 26/2/85

The ideological decentralisation of industries milked the taxpayer of over R232 million during 1983-84, while the figure for the development of decentralised areas was some R35 million. No one quibbles at economically sound decentralisation, but the amount wasted for racial reasons on this project is astronomical.

The costs of the new and ethnic constitution have never fully been spelled out. However, if we look at the running costs, the following estimation seems to be reasonable:

President's Council R5 million; House of Assembly R7 million; House of Representatives R3,5 million; House of Delegates R1,9 million; administration R14 million; Cabinet R2 million. Total: R33,4 million.

Not to mention the capital costs of building all those separate debating chambers, restaurants

and committee rooms.

But what about Population Registration? This useless and degrading function is paid for in rands. Black citizens (that is, reference books) cost R5,3 million in 1984. Population group classification appeals took some R1,5 million out of the taxpayers' pockets.

So now, we are almost into the R1 000-million bracket.

Perhaps the US could afford to waste that. But can a small country like ours?

Yet there is more.

The amount blown on the consolidation of the homelands in 1984 alone amounted to over R126 million. This money did not help to grow one more grain of wheat, nor one more mealie. It was the cost of merely transferring land from white farmers to homeland governments. Over the years, well over R2 000 million has been spent in this

manner.

We spend well over R1 000 million a year in propping up the corrupt and tyrannical regimes created in the former homelands — Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and so on. For big cars, private airports and helicopters, for pocket Napoleons. Become independent and rent a casino: Sol Kerzner style. In gambling alone, the money flowing out of the Republic tops the R100-million-a-year mark.

But what are the hidden costs of Nationalist apartheid?

The billions lost from foreign countries and businesses who will not and have not invested in the Republic.

The billions presently on risk due to the US disinvestment campaign.

The enormous losses absorbed annually by municipalities throughout the country, in providing separate facilities, sepa-

rate transport, separate job opportunities for separate communities.

The millions lost by the SATS in separating races in their transport system.

The millions spent by private enterprise in trying to comply with government restrictions and racially orientated laws.

And what of productivity?

How does a person, forced by law to live 30 or many more kilometres from his workplace (and perhaps hundreds of kilometres from his wife and family) perform in his work function?

All in all, if a R6 600 million annual figure is slapped on to the bill of the corporate and individual tax payer, it would not be a wild assumption.

Can we, in 1985, afford it?

But more important. Can we justify it morally?

And here I know I am right. No we cannot.



2. Post 304A 26/2/85

# 'Cost

By DAVID DALLING,  
PFP MP for Sandton

VIRTUALLY all humanity, except a few die-hard South African racials in government and to the right of government, regard apartheid as being abhorrent, immoral and insupportable.

From within our borders and beyond the majority of those opposed to apartheid have based their stand on moral and ethical grounds. And I am one. But have we ever considered the economic cost of apartheid?

In the days when the rand was strong, when gold was rampant, when inflation was not a major factor, when the possibility of disinvestment was laughed at, when real economic growth was the order of the day, political madnesses were affordable.

No longer.

Certainly the cost of apartheid, of "separate development", is not easily quantifiable. But let us try.

In 1984-85 a sum in excess of R96 million has been and is being expended in labour regulation, a euphemism for repatriation of persons seeking work in areas which apartheid laws deny them. Whether he or she be a gardener in the suburbs or a factory worker,

R96 million goes down the drain.

The pass laws cost a bomb. Every time a pass law offender is arrested police, court and prison costs are involved. If one uses the estimated figure of R220 per pass law arrest, the sum arrived at is mind boggling. In 1984 the amount arrived at is some R60 million. Can you believe it? Is the misery and economic deprivation caused worth that much?

Did you know that in South Africa there are 18 separate educational authorities? All based on race. For whites there are five. One for Indians. One for coloured people. One for urban and rural blacks. And 10 separate departments governed by the homelands and by the homeland states. At least R100 million in my view could be saved if there existed a single educational authority, serving all our country.

Budgetary aid to the Namibian central authority, which in turn finances the many ethnic bureaucracies, including official residences, motorcars and perks, was R348 million in 1983-84. The cost of apartheid, and luxury for the few, is not cheap: and we pay for it.



RPM 26/2/88 ~~SECRET~~ 304A

# I was consulted about Mandela, says Mangope

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

IF THE imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, was released without restrictions on the exercise of his political rights, he would seek fulfilment of his political aims through non-violent means, President Lucas Mangope, of Bophuthatswana, has predicted.

Chief Mangope disclosed in an interview with the Rand Daily Mail that he had been consulted by the SA Government on whether it should release Mandela from jail.

"When the SA Government spoke to me on this issue, they didn't mention that conditions would be laid before Mr Mandela to accept," he said.

"My view was that Mr Mandela should be released ... That would still be my feeling."

When the release offer was discussed with him last year, Chief Mangope understood that Mandela would be free to engage in political activity once released.

President P W Botha has since made the release offer conditional on Mandela formally renouncing violence as a means of achieving political ends, a condition rejected by Mandela partly because it was not based on a similar renunciation by Mr Botha.

Commenting on the apparent impasse, Chief Man-

gope, officially recognised leader of South Africa's more than two-million Batswana, said: "I don't see the need for Mr Mandela to renounce violence. If he is free to engage in political activity, he would automatically not see the need for violence."

It was put to Chief Mangope that Mandela would only come to that view if the ban on the ANC were lifted (a condition which the ANC leader himself laid down in an interview with the British peer, Lord Bethell, as a necessary prerequisite for ending the ANC's armed struggle).

Chief Mangope, however, saw Mandela's release as the catalyst which could lead to the lifting of the ban on the ANC.

"The freeing of Mr Mandela would make it possible for the SA Government and the ANC to talk and that would result, in my view, in the unbanning of the ANC," he said.

"One would lead to the other ... If he were allowed to engage freely in political activity, in what capacity would he do that, other than as head of the ANC?"

Asked for his assessment of the ANC, President Mangope replied: "I have said on several occasions that any reasonable black man would subscribe to its policy, minus the violence ... They have always stood for what we stand for. But perhaps our way to achieve the end result is different."



CAC Tint 28/2/85

304A

# Lift ANC ban, says chamber

By ROBERT GREIG

THE president of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Mr Philip Krawitz, has called for the eventual unbanning of the African National Congress and for the government to negotiate with it.

He also said that this would facilitate the release of Nelson Mandela "who is undoubtedly today still regarded by the vast majority of South African blacks as their true leader".

Mr Krawitz was speaking in the City yesterday

about the role of business in the reform process to the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business Association.

The chamber believed that the time of whites prescribing solutions to blacks was over and it was "incredibly pleasing" to note the government's willingness to hear blacks' views.

Mr Krawitz said he believed that the chamber's efforts with government had helped lead to recent changes in policy.

But he added: "I must

state quite categorically that the credit for these changes must fall squarely on a courageous initiative grasped by the State President and evidently following through to his parliamentary caucus."

Conceding that he was entering an "extremely sensitive area", Mr Krawitz outlined the ANC's origins and history.

He referred to the Youth League faction within the ANC, formed by Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela.

## Violence

Mr Krawitz said: "It is evident that violence — something which our chamber will never condone — was chosen as an alternative route to negotiation and conciliation simply by virtue of the fact that the government at that time did not seem well-disposed to negotiated change."

The situation had changed, he said, and therefore he felt it "perhaps appropriate" for the ANC and the government to both "recommit themselves to a process of change through peaceful negotiation, thereby allowing the ANC to become unbanned and facilitating the release of Nelson Mandela".

"If commerce can act as honest brokers in this endeavour, you will certainly not find us shying away from this responsibility."



# New era in SA politics — Slabbert

By ROGER WILLIAMS  
Chief Reporter

CAPE TOWN 28/2/85 30KA

**THE** Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday he believed — and welcomed the fact — that South Africa was moving away from confrontation politics “and beginning to approach a new era of negotiation politics”.

He saw the State President's guidelines for further black constitutional development as representing a clear shift in policy and as a tacit admission by the government that it could no longer “go it alone”.

Addressing a lunch meeting of the Cape Town Press Club, he added: “They (the government) are now going to have to take a good hard look at whom they want to negotiate with.”

Dr Slabbert said that while a philosophical shift by the National Party leadership would definitely affect the character of the relationship between the Progressive Federal Party and the National Party, “it makes the task of the PFP more important and more urgent than ever before”.

## ‘Realities’

“A shift in philosophy does not necessarily mean a change of the realities or the problems of South Africa; simply a difference in approaching these problems.”

“The realities are still with us: Poverty, underdevelopment, shortage of housing, unemployment, discrimination etc. And the time-scale in which they must be solved is shrinking every day.”

“Therefore the role of the PFP must be to get the government to give flesh and blood and real meaning to the vague outlines drawn by the State President — in other words to convert intentions into actions, and to turn philosophies into policies.”



The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

“In this respect I believe the PFP has a monitoring role to play.”

Dr Slabbert said that in the long term the party's role “must obviously be to begin to prepare the people in Parliament and in white politics generally for what life is going to be like in a post-apartheid society”.

During the era of con-

frontation politics, he added, so far as black constitutional development was concerned the PFP could take credit for hammering away almost non-stop for 12 years in Parliament at these issues:

- The inevitability of black urbanization;
- the untenability of racial discrimination;

- the unavoidability of black South African citizenship;

- and the necessity for negotiation politics rather than confrontation.

“On all these issues the government has now shifted and made adjustments.”

“I am not saying the PFP was solely responsible for highlighting these issues, or for keeping up pressure for them. But one thing cannot be denied — that in Parliament and within the confines of white politics, these issues were fundamental aspects of our political platform.”

Dr Slabbert said the days were over when economists could decline to talk on issues because these were “political” and when politicians could avoid discussion of matters they regarded as belonging “in the field of economics”.

“We say there is no difference between the politics and the economics of the country, and that in highlighting the facts of our situation one cannot separate the two.”

- Dr Slabbert said one thing of which he was convinced was that the government “cannot fix it alone”, and that the essence of negotiation politics was that one needed the assistance of those with whom one was negotiating.

He added: “We in the PFP are willing to assist if there is progress on the path of reform — and we will continue to oppose if there is not.”



Rivonia trialist in dramatic dash to airport

RAM 1/3/85 304A

# Goldberg freed flies to Israel

By ANTON HARBER in Johannesburg  
and ROY ISACOWITZ in Tel Aviv

**MR DENNIS GOLDBERG**, the only white person convicted in the famous Rivonia Trial, was released last night after serving 21 years of a life sentence and immediately flown to Israel.

Mr Goldberg, 51, had apparently responded to the State President's offer of conditional freedom by pledging not to involve himself in politics.

His acceptance came as a surprise since the other seven Rivonia trialists, led by Nelson Mandela, have refused the State President's offer.

It comes after a two-year effort to have him released involving senior members of the Israeli Government; Mr Arthur Goldreich, another Rivonia accused who escaped from prison and fled to Israel before the trial; and the United Kibbutz Movement of Israel.

The final deal was apparently secured by Mr Herut Lapid of the Kibbutz Movement's prisoner rehabilitation programme.

Yesterday morning, Mr Goldberg was taken in great secrecy from Pretoria Central Prison to Jan Smuts Airport.

There was tight security at the airport as he was taken to a VIP room and allowed to say goodbye to a small group of friends.

He went through the normal immigration exits about an hour before the flight took off and was on board El Al flight 512 which left at 12.30pm.

He left on a South African passport and was said to be composed.

He was due to arrive at Ben-Gurion Airport, near Tel Aviv, shortly after 10 last night and was to be met by his wife, Esme, who had flown in the previous day from London, and his daughter, Hillary, who has lived for the past two years on Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch.

He was expected to be met on the runway by a car and whisked away to an undisclosed destination.

Goldberg will apparently make his home on Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch, a communal village on Israel's northern border with Lebanon.

Mr Goldberg is the fifth political prisoner to be released in terms of the State President's offer, but the first from the ranks of the African National Congress.

Four members of the Pan Africanist Congress were released last week.

Seventeen other political prisoners have accepted the offer, according to the Department of Prison Services.

However, they have not served enough of their sentences to be released in terms of the offer. Their acceptance will be taken into account when they are eligible for remission.

The Department of Prison Services has declined to identify them.

Mr Goldberg was jailed alongside Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, and other key leaders of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

They received life sentences on two counts of sabotage, one under the Suppression of Communism Act and one under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and became the most famous of South Africa's political prisoners.

Mr Goldberg was found to have used his knowledge

as a highly successful engineer to manufacture various devices used for sabotage.

A graduate of the University of Cape Town, he was a member of the Communist Party and reached prominence in the Congress of Democrats — the white element in the Congress

## From Page 1

Alliance led by the ANC — in the early 1950s.

He was active in organising the Congress of the People in 1955 and was detained in the 1960 Emergency.

When police swooped on the Rivonia farm in 1963

and arrested the key leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Goldberg was among them.

The two-year effort to release him was initiated by Mr Goldreich.

A source close to the initiative told the Rand Daily Mail last night that at the request of Goldberg's daughter, Hillary, a bi-partisan committee of Knesset members had been formed to explore ways of securing his release.

The United Kibbutz Movement, the umbrella body of the Kibbutzim, played a crucial role in co-ordinating the effort.

Among those who participated in or lent their support to the initiative, were President Haim Her-

zog and former Defence Minister Moshe Arens. However, the efforts failed to bear fruit, due apparently to South African unwillingness to be seen making political concessions.

The initiative picked up momentum several weeks ago when Ma'ayan Baruch requested the assistance of Herut Lapid.

Mr Lapid, who in addition to rehabilitating local prisoners on Kibbutzim has succeeded in gaining the release of several Israeli and Jewish prisoners from foreign jails, flew to South Africa about two weeks ago.

He succeeded where politicians had failed.

Sources in Israel confirmed that the South African authorities had set several conditions for Goldberg's release and that he had signed an undertaking to desist from political activity.

Yesterday, the Israeli Ambassador flew from Cape Town to Pretoria for just a few hours, but an embassy counsellor, Mr M Podem, firmly denied that it was connected with Mr Goldberg's release.

He declined to comment when asked if there had been any Israeli intervention leading up to Mr Goldberg's release.

## To Page 2



Mr Herut Lapid, a key person in the two-year Israeli efforts to have Mr Dennis Goldberg released from prison.



# 'Exhausted' Goldbergs released

CAPE TOWN 1/3/85

30/4/85

30/4/85

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Dennis Goldberg, the only white person convicted in the famous Rivonia Trial, was released yesterday after serving 21 years of a life sentence for sabotage and immediately flew to Israel.

Mr Goldberg, 51, had apparently responded to the State President's offer of conditional freedom.

His acceptance came as a surprise since the other seven Rivonia trialists, led by Nelson Mandela, have refused the State President's offer.

Before leaving he told friends: "I'm going because I'm exhausted."

Mr Goldberg declined to speak to the press when he arrived in Israel.

Sources close to him said strong pressure from his family had overridden his hesitation to accept the offer.

Mr Goldberg's release comes after a two-year effort involving senior members of the Israeli Government, Mr Arthur Goldreich, another Rivonia accused who escaped from prison and fled to Israel before the trial, and the United Kibbutz Movement of Israel.

Yesterday morning, Mr Goldberg was taken secretly from Pretoria Central Prison to a VIP room at Jan Smuts Airport where amid tight security he was allowed to say goodbye to a small group of friends.

He went through the normal immigration exit about an hour before the

Flight took off at 12.30pm.

He was said to be composed.

He was due to arrive at Ben-Gurion Airport, near Tel Aviv, soon after 10pm last night and was to be met by his wife Esme, who flew in on Wednesday from London, and his daughter Hilary, who has lived for the past two years on Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch.

Mr Goldberg will apparently make his home on Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch, on Israel's northern border with Lebanon.

He is the fifth convict to be released in terms of the State President's offer, but the first from the ranks of the African National Congress.

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Congress were released last week.

Seventeen other political prisoners have accepted the offer, according to the Department of Prison Services.

However, they have not served enough of their sentences to be released in terms of the offer. The department has declined to identify them.

Mr Goldberg was jailed alongside Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, and other key leaders of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

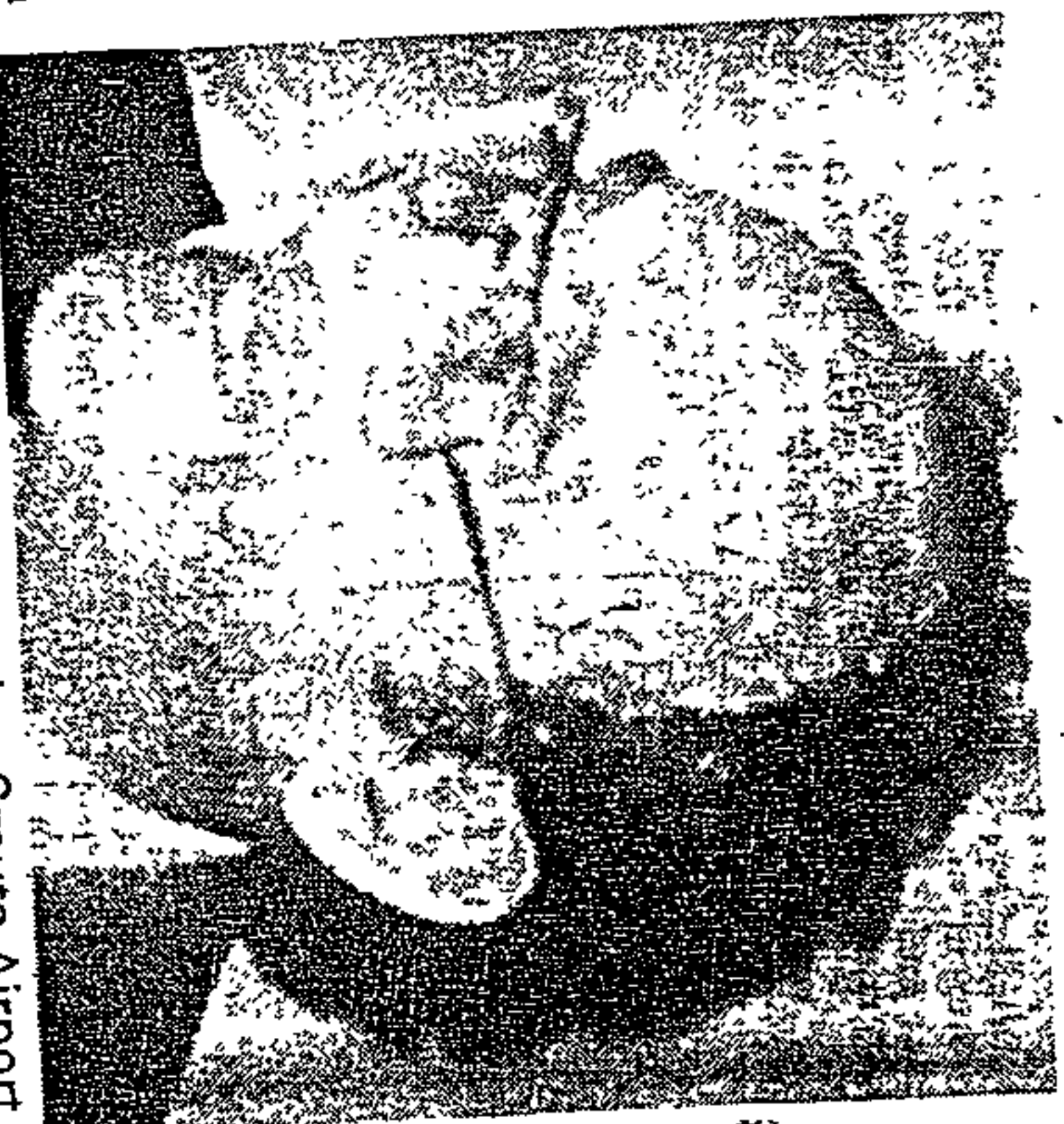
They received life sentences on two counts of sabotage, one under the Suppression of Communism Act and one under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Mr Goldberg was found to have used his knowledge as a highly successful engineer to manufacture various devices used for sabotage.

A graduate of the University of Cape Town, he was a member of the Communist Party and reached prominence in the Congress of Democrats — the white element in the Congress Alliance led by the ANC — in the early 1950s.

He was active in organizing the Congress of the People in 1955 and was detained in the 1960 Emergency.

When police swooped on the Rivonia farm in 1963 and arrested the key leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Goldberg was among them.



Mr Dennis Goldberg at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.



## Goldberg speaks out

□ From Page 1

"I can give all sorts of reasons why I did give the undertaking that was demanded.

"But, in the end, the emotional reason was the important one.

"I needed to be out of prison," Mr Goldberg said.

Mr Goldberg's decision to take up Mr Botha's offer — he is the first member of the banned African National Congress to do so — has set the exile community in London abuzz.

There was no comment yesterday from the ANC offices in London although there is clearly concern that Mr Goldberg's decision could lead to other ANC prisoners taking up the offer.

It will take a long time for Mr Goldberg to acclimatise to his new home in the shadow of snow-capped Mount Hermon.

He does not display much emotion, but his excitement and bewilderment are palpable.

The Kibbutz greeted him like a long lost son.

Certainly, on Ma'ayan Baruch, his past is not regarded as criminal.

The Kibbutz secretary, Mr Shlomo Yahel, who was instrumental in organising the two-year covert campaign that led to Mr Goldberg's release, said: "As a society, we on the Kibbutz are all standing a few inches taller today."

Mr Goldberg said his thoughts were with those he left behind, both in jail and out.

He stressed that in leaving South Africa, he did not abandon his mission.

He will continue to believe in and work for change in South Africa.

Twenty-one years in jail have left Mr Goldberg thin, pallid and balding.

But he looks fit, and says that he feels good.

Less than a day after arriving in Israel, the strain of the journey and the stream of visitors and journalists have left him exhausted.

The second hero of the saga is Mr Herut Lapid (literally "torch of freedom") a fast-talking bulldozer of a man.

Mr Lapid, who heads an organisation that rehabilitates prisoners on Kibbutzim, flew to South Africa two weeks ago to see what he could do. On Thursday he flew out with Mr Goldberg

er, Mrs Sylvia Lathleiffe, has very difficult to free, especially

## Goldberg tells of his promise on violence

By JOHN BATTERSBY  
London Bureau

LONDON. — Mr Dennis Goldberg, freed after serving 21 years in prison for his part in the Rivonia conspiracy, said yesterday that "emotional reasons" had decided him to give an undertaking to renounce violence.

"I would like to be an active person and not a passive symbol," Mr Goldberg told a Press conference shortly after his arrival in Israel.

He said in a BBC radio interview that the decision to give the undertaking to renounce violence was "not an easy one".

But Mr Goldberg said that he had not changed his views about South Africa.

"I still think that our country is wrong.

"I wrote a letter to the State President and I said that until we had a united democratic republic of South Africa we would have no

peace in our country.

"And until we achieved that all the agonies would go on."

Less than 24 hours after his release from prison Mr Goldberg was walking around his new home — Kibbutz Ma'ayan Baruch where his daughter Hilary has been living for the past few years, ROY ISACOWITZ reports from Israel.

He received a standing ovation when he walked into the dining-room yesterday.

The flight from Johannesburg to Tel Aviv was his first time in a plane.

The television set in his apartment was the first he had seen.

Explaining to the BBC why he had accepted President Botha's offer of conditional release, Mr Goldberg said: "I must admit it wasn't an easy decision to take."

□ To Page 2



IN a major reversal of National Party policy strict influx control is to be replaced by a policy which encourages "orderly" urbanisation by blacks.

This is a remarkable new development in the reform policy initiated by State President P W Botha in his opening address to Parliament just over a month ago.

Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, confirmed the new approach in an interview with the Sunday Express this week.

"Influx control has not stopped blacks streaming to the towns," he said.

"Black urbanisation is a fact of life and we have to learn to live with it.

"It is far better to have orderly urbanisation instead of uncontrolled squatting, which is what we have now.

"Moreover urbanisation raises black living standards. If blacks want to become urbanised, we should encourage them."

Mr De Beer confirmed the policy switch could also mean that the government intends dropping the so-called Riekert criteria for black urbanisation — a job and a house.

It is widely believed among sources close to the government that if this happens it will in future be unnecessary for a black to have found employment in order to qualify for Section 10 rights.

Section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Act lays down employment and residential qualifications for blacks who live in towns.

### Informal

The envisaged change, it is said, will allow blacks to make a living in towns by running their own businesses in the informal sector.

It will also return to 'site and service' housing, which was abolished by the Nationalists when they came to power.

This means that blacks may build shacks in special areas in towns until they can afford to build or buy their own houses on the sites.

First hints of the new deal came this week from Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation and Development and Education, during snap debates in the House of Assembly and the House of Delegates on the Crossroads situation.

Dr Viljoen told the House of Assembly that Crossroads squatters would be provided with sites in Khayelitsha which would be provided with basic services such as water and refuse removal and on which they might erect their own temporary houses.

He also said that self-supporting informal sector businesses would be encouraged in Khayelitsha.

Later Dr Viljoen told the House of Delegates that he was committed to redrafting the controversial Orderly Movement and Resettlement of Black Persons Bill and to introducing a new Bill on orderly urbanisation later in the session.



● Mr Sam de Beer

## PC report supports black urbanisation

Political Correspondent

NEW initiatives in influx control are said to be based on the new Population Development Project.

This in turn arises out of the report of the science committee of the President's Council on demographic trends in South Africa.

The report — published last year — was put on ice until the tricameral Parliament came into being.

One of the main thrusts of the report is that only the rapid urbanisation of blacks will stabilise South Africa's population at a manageable 80-million by the year 2020.

If the population increased beyond this figure, the country would run out of resources to support them, said a PDP briefing document.

Dr F G L Quint, vice-chairman of the council's committee on social affairs, said: "I see the 100-year plan envisaged by the PDP as virtually South Africa's last chance."

"The rapid and controlled urbanisation of blacks will preclude the growth of uncontrolled squatter camps and at the same time provide for the hundreds of thousands

of blacks who cannot be accommodated in the homelands.

"Giving them a stake in the towns will, I think, make for peace and stability," he said.

The committee found that black urban populations increased at a lower rate than rural blacks.

The chief components of the PDP are:

- An acceleration of social, economic and physical development including health, education, housing, and rural development.

- A community development programme in towns which relies largely on self-help and is administered by local authorities in combination with second-and third-tier input.

The PDP was launched in Cape Town by Dr Bert Schoeman, chief director of population development in the Department of Health and Welfare.

The emphasis in the initial briefing was on achieving a lower total fertility rate.

Minor adjustments to the present pass laws were announced later in the week to allow greater freedom of movement to blacks who have Section 10 rights.

Housing experts, economists and the Urban Foundation have long stressed the need for informal sector business and site and service housing in black urban areas.

### Strategy

Ms Ann Bernstein said at an Urban Foundation seminar in Johannesburg this week that influx control had largely inhibited the development of a strategy to cope with urbanisation.

Mr Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on black affairs, said that proposed policy changes — if they came about — would make a major contribution towards achieving a measure of peace in black areas.

"It is the sensible thing to do economically and politi-

cally — if it comes off.

"It is time to start carrying out all these new ideas instead of just talking about them."

However many people are cynical that the proposed changes will amount to anything concrete as far as blacks are concerned.

The Riekert options, which slightly relaxed the pass laws, were accompanied by increased penalties for employers and blacks, they said.

A member of a black urban council who refused to be named said bluntly: "Stop talking and start doing."

Mr Graham McIntosh, chairman of the PFP's urbanisation committee, issued a statement expressing cynicism at the proposed changes to the pass laws announced by Dr Viljoen.

The concessions to Crossroads and minor changes in Section 10 were "tiny steps forward tinkering with an ideologically based and demonstrably failed policy of excluding blacks from urban areas," he said.

The new approach is one of a series of dramatic policy switches which have taken place within the last few months.

Now Nats encourage orderly

S. Express

3/3/85

3044

influx



# Participation is playing with toy telephones

THE question of participation in government-inspired structures has never constituted a grave or time-consuming debate in the black community. (By black is meant all those who have been classified other than white, who, by law or tradition, have been politically oppressed, socially denigrated and economically exploited).

From their formative years blacks have learnt to be suspicious of the intentions, acts and utterances of their white rulers. The unreliable environment in which blacks have been forced to grow up has instilled in them a mistrust for any white-initiated plan for participation in the decision-making processes of the country.

The black has learnt from bitter, often traumatic, experience that he does not signify for himself, that his life is incidental. He knows that from the time he leaves the womb till he enters the tomb he is important only when he is harnessed in the service of white interests or when he is construed as hampering white development.

## Swiftly

In the latter case, he would be swiftly removed to facilitate white progress, whatever the cost in national budget or human misery. The great god of white power has arrogated unto himself the good life and the power to decide who should live where, work where, die where.

Since the irruption of white settlerdom in the Cape in the latter half of the 17th century, the indigenous people resisted every manoeuvre designed to co-opt and traduce them into selling their birthright.

Nevertheless, history is spiced with dispossessed individuals who have been duped by either the *bona fides* or the ability of the white rulers to effect some meaningful change, and deluded by their presumed powers of persuading the ruling class to share power.

The advocates of participation have ranged from

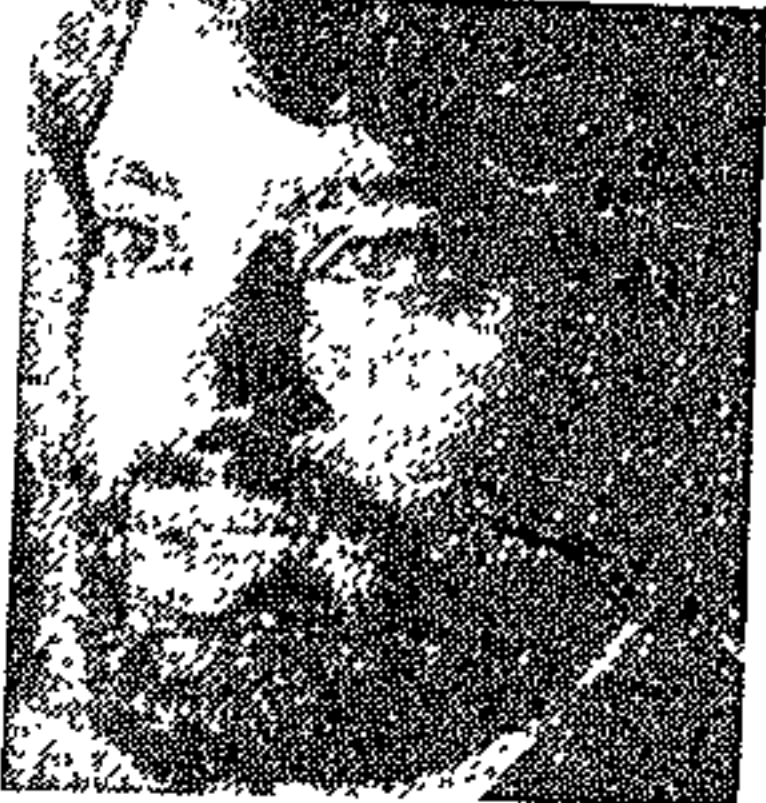
*Continuing our series on whether blacks should participate in government-created institutions, such as the forum announced by Mr Botha last month. This week: SATHS COOPER, convener of the National Forum Committee*

downright collaborators like Patrick Mphahlele (President of Venda) to the Communist Party. The Labour Party was regarded as part of the 'liberation movement' in some misguided circles until its fateful Eshewe decision in January, 1983. Over two decades ago ANC leaders like Professor Z K Matthews and Chief Albert Lutuli participated in the Native Representative Council. They resigned in frustration when they realised they were playing with toy telephones.

## Bandwagon

The very first National Party government came to power in the mid-Twenties through coalition support that the Communist Party backed. This latter coterie extolled the benefits of the 1905 Russian example of 'working from within'. Indeed, some campaigners for participation in the 1981 SA Indian Council election, who today appear on the anti-participation bandwagon, and some tricameral candidates last August, used the very same argument.

Unfortunately for all these



● Mr Saths Cooper, National Forum Committee convener

self-seekers in benefactor's clothing, they did not account for the natural resistance and spirit of boycott of the masses of the black people. Blacks' steadfastness in rejecting any participation and refusing to collude with the ruler's deceit and shallow promises is so deeply etched in their collective consciousness that they even question for example those who send their children to white private schools.

The centuries of hurt, deception and suffering inflicted on blacks are revealed in such implacability to any violation of principles they hold integral to the full realisation of their aspirations. Also revealed is an astounding, almost unending store of patience with the rulers' reforms and continued administrative violence, bungling and arrogance.

The black mind knows that while this patience is self-containment and a conserving of its energies and resources for the rendezvous of victory, every now and then the strains are tested at Sharpeville, Soweto or Crossroads.

You cannot participate in a game of political poker with

a government that is dealing with a marked deck and has some hidden cards up its sleeves. The stakes are loaded against you. If at all you emerge in one piece from the encounter, it will be at the expense of your soul, your credibility, your entire being in relation to your people.

You are bound to lose something in the process; invariably it's the interests of the vast majority of the people. Of course, you can also gain: maybe some police protection against a couple of petrol bombs, certainly an incredible rise in your personal wealth!

No reform or time-buying solution can work in the long term; the nightmare stretches way back to 1652. The only prescription for change is change itself, not reform, not buying out puppet 'leaders'.

## Artificial

True change, total change, can only take place when it dawns that we are one nation, not a plethora of artificial 'nations' within one country. We are one nation whether we have straight hair or curly hair, blue eyes or brown eyes, thin lips or thick lips, light skins or dark skins, whether we have different religions and different mother tongues.

Our destiny is one and we ought to be one people, owing no allegiance to any power but our self-determined Azanian nation.

But can Baas Whitey come off his high horse in time to recognise that John and Mary are not just servants but are feeling, equal beings whose bitterness and anger is belied by their seeming compliance? Can he give up his irrational fear of blacks and his position of privilege in time to prevent this country from plunging irrevocably into disaster?

We have consistently been branded as unbending fanatics who reject negotiated settlement and a national convention as a bourgeois sell-out. But I say negotiation can take place any time — if it concerns the hand-over of power to the majority of citizens of Azania.



# PFP Youth congress votes for UDF liaison

**Mercury Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN—The Progressive Federal Party Youth's congress agreed at the weekend to 'establish liaison with all non-violent extra-parliamentary groups in opposing apartheid', including the United Democratic Front.

However, a motion to approach the PFP's fed-

eral council to consider the possibility of the party participating and gaining a majority in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives was defeated.

At the congress, held at Rondebosch, the motion moved by Natal Inland delegates urging the PFP Youth to support the aims and principles of the UDF was amended.

Congress decided that at this stage the PFP Youth and the UDF had two different roles to play and that no advantage in supporting it could be gained by the party.

Instead, congress agreed to establish lines of communication with all non-violent extra-parliamentary groups such as the UDF and pro-black-consciousness

groups like the Azanian People's Organisation and the National Forum affiliates.

Speaking in support of the defeated motion recommending that the PFP federal council consider fielding coloured and Indian candidates in the new Houses, Mr Wayne Mitchell, PFP Youth Eastern Cape chairman said: 'The powerbase of the PFP could be strengthened if the party recruited candidates to the two Houses. In a short-term attempt leading to the long-term goal of a "federal system", members of the UDF could also be possible candidates.'

Speaking against the motion, Mr Donovan Gordon, member of the Western Cape executive, said that it would be 'insanity' to participate in the 'dummy chambers'. To do so would be to 'trade the party's credibility' which was the last thing it could afford to do.



# Pik Botha, Tutu at odds

By BARRY STREEK

THE government's decisions on the future of the Crossroads were a clear indication of its determination to implement its programme of reforms despite adverse circumstances, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in an interview released yesterday.

But Bishop Desmond Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize-winner, said the turmoil in Crossroads and the arrests of UDF leaders was "the classical situation of giving with one hand taking back with the other".

"When people were beginning to get excited about (the government's new reform) initiative, we were suddenly struck by cold reality," Bishop Tutu said.

Both leaders were interviewed for this week's cover story in the United States news magazine Newsweek.

Mr Botha said: "Further reform initiatives were announced after the riots in Crossroads took place, important reform initiatives which affect the people of Crossroads."

"This ought to serve as a clear indication of the government's determination to implement its programme of reform de-



Mr Pik Botha ... important reform initiatives.

spite adverse circumstances.

"However, the government is equally determined to ensure that change in South Africa takes place in a controlled and orderly manner."

Mr Botha said the government had become aware of the arrests of the United Democratic Front leaders only after they had been made. It had followed a decision by the Attorney-General.

But Bishop Tutu said that whatever credibility the reform moves may



Bishop Tutu ... suddenly struck by cold reality.

have engendered, "they have been seriously undermined by the recent arrests and rioting".

He said: "We don't want apartheid liberalized. We want it dismantled."

"You can't improve something that is intrinsically evil."

"All of our efforts are turned to the removal of apartheid, so the only questions that are still at issue are how this going to be effected: By violence or by dialogue."

Mr Botha, however,

said the government was "committed to change or to repeal laws and practices which discriminate in a negative, inhumane or humiliating way against people on account of their colour or their skin".

"Yes, South Africa is changing. But it is changing at a pace which we believe the white voters can absorb."

Mr Botha also said he presumed President Ronald Reagan had embarked on the policy of constructive engagement with the intention of furthering the interests of the United States.

The US and South Africa had "a common interest in removing communism, in developing the regional economy, in developing a free-market system".

Bishop Tutu said constructive engagement had "made things quite desperately bad for blacks".

"I didn't believe it was leading anywhere before. Now (since the riots in Crossroads and the UDF arrests) it has been completed discredited," Bishop Tutu said.

He also said the most serious threat to stability in South Africa was apartheid, not the Russians.



# Conscription: E Cape didn't support move

309A S. Post  
5/3/85

Post Reporter

THE chairman of the Young Progressives in the Eastern Cape, Mr Wayne Mitchell, says this region does not support some of the resolutions passed at the national congress in Cape Town at the weekend.

He said the East Cape region voted against a controversial call for the immediate end to military conscription.

It also voted against seeking affiliation with extra-parliamentary organisations like the United Democratic Front.

Membership of the front came up during discussion on a resolution proposed by Mr Mark Stein condemning the Improper Political Interference Act.

Mr Mitchell said yesterday that Mr Stein was not an executive member of the East Cape region. He was, in fact, a Rhodes University student, and

represented Border.

On the conscription issue, Mr Mitchell said he "deplored the fact that some delegates sought to clash with the party's MPs, particularly the leader, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, who clearly spelt out party policy on this issue in his opening speech".

Mr Mitchell said his branch submitted a resolution calling on the party to consider the possibility of taking over the House of Assembly and House of Delegates by putting up coloured and Indian candidates. This was defeated by one vote.

He said he regretted that some members tried to be a "protest group rather than part of the political power struggle".

● Mr Andrew Miller, of Cape Town, was elected chairman and Mr Stein vice-chairman.

(Report by Kin Bentley, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth.)



CAPE TIMES 5/3/85

# Swart: Inkatha sceptical of 'forum'

Political Staff

THE Inkatha movement was still sceptical of the move by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to create a "forum" for discussions with black leaders, Mr Ray Swart, PFP spokesman on black affairs, said in Cape Town yesterday after a meeting with senior members of the organization.

Inkatha still wanted more details of how it

would work said Mr Swart who, with other members of the PFP, met Dr Oscar Dlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha and Kwazulu Minister of Education, Dr Frank Ndhlose, Minister of Health, and Dr Dennis Madide, Minister of the Interior.

With Mr Swart were Mr Nic Oliver, MP and the PFP's chief research officer, Mr Graham McIntosh

(PFP Maritzburg North) and Mr Peter Sole (PFP Johannesburg North).

Mr Swart said the meeting in Cape Town was attended from time to time by the PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who at the weekend called on blacks to join the negotiation process, and other members of the PFP caucus.

The agenda had included a general overview of current political trends

and discussion of the address by Mr Botha at the opening of Parliament, the future of the Buthelezi Commission recommendations, Kwazulu consolidation and population removals in Natal.

Mr Swart said Inkatha had initially rejected participation in the President's forum but said there had been a general view yesterday that more information was re-

quired as to how it would operate and how opened it could be and more specifically what formal negotiation procedures could be considered by the forum.

Inkatha was watching "with great interest" the government's moratorium on removals.

It was also waiting with interest for the latest proposals on consolidation.



POLITICS

# Foundation hammers government

Government's failure to consult with popular leaders has been condemned by the normally cautious SA Foundation as being responsible for leaving the country without a credible voice in the world community.

Both foundation president Ted Pavitt and director general Peter Sorour emphasised that there was growing anger in business circles at government policies.

In an address to the organisation's agm in Cape Town, Pavitt said: "After more than 30 years of prescriptive politics the government has become unaccustomed to consultation."

He added: "Do businessmen and bankers, with their wealth of experience and expertise, have a sufficient input into the formulation of our economic and fiscal policies?"

"Does the government know how the ordinary law-abiding citizen in a riot-torn black township thinks the problems should be tackled?"

"Does it know what priorities and time frames the majority of blacks would settle for in a planned programme of reform and dismantling of discrimination?"

"The real voice of the people of SA is not being heard on world forums because we are not reaching each other here at home. That is why radicals can get away with claims that they speak for the people."

Sorour said that in business circles "not only is there impatience, there is also anger. Much of the blame for the parlous economic situation is laid at government's door."

Of businessmen, Sorour said: "They accuse government of having their priorities wrong for too long, of profligate spending of time and resources on ideological politicking while neglecting the country's economic and international interests."

"They find government unprepared to consider information and take advice from outside its own official sources and they resent again having to pay the piper while not being able to call much of the tune."

Sorour added that the private sector recognised the dangers of "runaway reform" and was troubled by black organisations that wanted "repossession of the land in a socialist state."

However, while business expectations would, therefore, not be excessive it was likely the private sector would be more insistent in demanding that government take practical steps to eliminate the apartheid issue from SA's international affairs.

Supporting this line, Pavitt said: "The business sector has of late been loudly and clearly expressing its commitment to a programme of economic, political and legislative reform. It will expect government to respond with more opportunities for consultation."

"We urge that the same facility be made available to all sections of our society and that communication must be two-way. The government must listen as well as speak."

had common interests in preventing war and building mutual confidence and trust.

By Soviet standards the speed of Gorbachev's rise to power has been phenomenal. He is the youngest leader since Stalin (who was 43) and has been a member of the ruling Politburo for only five years. Gorbachev's climb is also remarkable for the fact that it was achieved in spite of his earlier job in charge of agriculture, the chronic failure of the Soviet economy.

The best-educated Soviet leader yet (with degrees in law and agronomy), Gorbachev is seen as flexible but hard. He is expected to accelerate the pace of change and reform in the Soviet economy started by his mentor, the late Yuri Andropov. But until time takes its toll of the septuagenarians in the Politburo, Gorbachev is not likely to produce any major initiatives in foreign policy.

According to Professor John Ericson, head of Soviet Studies at Edinburgh University, Gorbachev's first task will be to restore to his job as First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party some of the power which slipped away from it during the later years of Brezhnev's illness. That could take two years. And in tandem with the invigoration of the economy, his other priority is re-establishing Russia's foreign influence in a world in which it now finds itself with few real friends. "If he brings more efficient leadership to harness the



Pavitt ... speaking out ... against 'prescriptive politics'

## SOVIET RUSSIA

### 'Youth' at the helm

The mould-breaking election of Mikhail Gorbachev (54) to succeed Konstantin Chernenko as Russia's leader aroused cautious hope among the Western heads of government who hurried to Moscow for the funeral this week.

The first post-war Kremlin boss to have grown up after the Stalin era, Gorbachev comes to power with an unprecedented image. His wit, charm, intelligence and toughness made a deep impression when he visited Britain three months ago. And with his attractive, elegant wife, Raisa, he evoked the question: could Gorbachev be to the Soviet Union what Jack Kennedy was to the US?

British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, who is no fan of the Soviet leadership, was certainly impressed. "I like Mr Gorbachev. We can do business together," she said. In spite of their political differences, said Thatcher, she and Gorbachev



Russia's Gorbachev ... breaking the gerontocratic mould



reservoirs of skills, technology and energy in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev will prove a very formidable opponent for the West," said Ericson.

Sir Anthony Kershaw, chairman of the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee, who has met Gorbachev, commented: "He is more dangerous because he is better up to the job than the old men. He is less dangerous because the Soviet Union won't blunder into danger by mistake because he will be more likely to see the implications of his actions. I think one can expect the same policies more intelligently applied."

Other Western observers say Gorbachev leads a "school" of new-generation thinkers in the middle levels of the Soviet power structure who believe in building greater détente with Western Europe. This has a dual purpose of gaining access to the technology needed to revitalise economic growth and of putting pressure on the US over arms negotiations.

No one expects any significant shift in the Soviet position at the Geneva arms talks. But at the same time Gorbachev is known to be anxious about the drain on economic resources caused by the arms race — and his technical fluency makes him better equipped than his predecessors to argue with the Soviet military establishment.

A significant clue to Gorbachev's thinking came in a speech in December to a conference on Soviet ideology. He emphasised the need for "profound transformations and creative approaches" in the economy and in "the entire sphere of social relations."

Gorbachev also called for more openness in information within the Soviet Union. Little change, however, is likely in the rigid ideological control of the Communist Party and its enforcement by the KGB. The only blot on Gorbachev's trip to Britain was his reaction to MPs who criticised Russian repression of dissident thinkers and Jews, and its actions in Afghanistan. He angrily dismissed the charges saying the UK's unemployed and Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland represented "oppressed minorities."

## POPULATION

### Mass resettlement

While arguments rage about resettlement and influx control, government is quietly going ahead with the development of "deconcentration points" to house overflow population from the urban townships. Hundreds of thousands of people have already been settled in these areas.

So far, however, there has been little outcry over the policy, mainly because government has undertaken to preserve the urban residential rights of people settled in the new townships. There are, however, some doubts about the precise meaning of the undertaking.

These doubts have led to a threat by some 3 000 residents of the Ekangala township that they will return to the PWV area if Ekangala is incorporated into KwaNdebele.

While most families in the "deconcentration settlements" seem to accept the government's word that their own urban qualifications will be protected, they doubt that children born in the new areas will enjoy the same legal protection.

They also point out that it seems to be the intention to incorporate many of the settlements in various homelands, and although government has said it will protect the rights of non-homeland citizens in such areas, there is no comparable undertaking about the rights of homeland residents.

#### Rights threat

Thus the wording of an undertaking given to Ekangala residents by the East Rand Development Board says that provision will be made for the protection of Section 10(1) rights of "non-Ndebeles" living in Ekangala when the area is incorporated into KwaNdebele. This implies that Ndebeles in the area could lose their rights when KwaNdebele becomes independent.

It is estimated that there are now about 325 500 people living in the "deconcentration" areas of Ekangala on the KwaNdebele border and in Soshanguve and Bochabelo near Bophuthatswana borders. Ekangala, a new area with only some 5 500 residents so far, is intended to eventually accommodate 750 000 people.

Soshanguve, situated on trust land about 40 km north of Pretoria, houses 80 000 people, most of them former residents of Pretoria's black townships. Bochabelo, which is about 65 km east of Bloemfontein, is only six years old and already has 240 000 residents. In most cases people were moved, or moved voluntarily, because of the shortage of housing in existing areas.

Co-operation and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has said: "Provision is being made for legislative amendment so that black people enjoying privileges under Section 10(1) of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 will not lose such privileges if they move to a trust area of a national state." On the face of it this is an explicit promise, although it does not include the children of such people.

Referring specifically to Ekangala, Viljoen said: "Provision will be made by agreement with the KwaNdebele government for the protection of the rights of non-Ndebeles living in the town as well as for the settlement of non-Ndebeles in the multi-ethnic part of the town."

The Black Sash's Sheena Duncan says she doesn't see how the government can put thousands of SA citizens into what will soon be a foreign country and still talk of protecting their rights. "This matter is serious," she says, "but it will not be possible to say what the future holds for these people until the wording of the proposed legislative amendment is known."

Ekangala residents, who, through the Ekangala Residents' Action Committee,



Viljoen ... promising to protect 'rights'



- (2) whether his Department informs welfare organizations of such surpluses; if so, in what manner?

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF HEALTH AND WELFARE:**

- (1) No.  
(2) Falls away.

**Teachers: productivity**

\*9. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether the Commission for Administration has proposed any measures to promote the productivity of teachers; if not, why not; if so, (a) what is the nature of these measures and (b) in what manner is it proposed that these measures be implemented?

**†THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

- (a) The Commission for Administration did not propose measures aimed specifically at increasing the productivity of teachers. However, like all other sectors of the central and provincial government services, education is included in the comprehensive programme for increasing productivity which was announced by way of a press statement on 6 December 1984. The purpose of the programme is to strive to increase productivity over a period of time with 8% as the target. Departments were requested to investigate all possibilities and to make proposals aimed at promoting productivity which naturally also applied to those departments responsible for education.

- (b) The hon member is referred to the statement made by the State President. Mr Speaker, I might add that, what may be intended in education, will be done in close co-operation with organized teachers' associations.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he

HQA

give a clear indication as to whether the recent announcements of the State President affecting the freezing of a number of vacancies also affects vacancies in the teaching profession?

**THE MINISTER:** Mr Speaker, the reference to vacancies in the statement does not affect the teaching profession at all. The organized profession has been informed of this fact.

Mr H H SCHWARZ: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, will he indicate to us whether the reduction in respect of the service bonus applies to those people whose service bonus payments were postponed until after 1 April, or whether it only applies to those where the actual accrual takes place after 1 April?

**THE MINISTER:** Mr Speaker, this question would have been a better supplementary question with regard to the reply to question 24, but while I am on my feet, let me reply. The bonus deduction will affect all the bonuses of 1985; in other words, those people whose birthdays fall in January, February and March and who will only receive their bonuses in April, will have a reduction in their cheques when they receive them in April. Their next bonus will be dealt with as part of the 1986 Budget, whatever may be decided in that regard.

*Handwritten: Hancock Q. 6/1/396 5/3/85*  
Beaufort West: certain person shot dead  
\*11. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the South African Police have conducted an investigation into the death of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, and who was shot dead on or about 22 January 1984 at Beaufort West; if not, why not; if so, with what result;

- (2) whether a public inquest is to be held into the matter; if not, why not?

*Handwritten: Hancock Q. 6/1/396 5/3/85*

**THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:**

- (1) Yes, the Attorney-General has on 4 March 1985 instructed that an inquest be held by the magistrate, Beaufort West.

- (2) Yes.

*Handwritten: Hancock Q. 6/1/397 5/3/85*  
\*12. Mr P R C ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether steps have been taken to ensure that the two senior officers of the South African Defence Force carrying out the investigation referred to in his reply to Question No 8 on 12 February 1984 are not members of the Ruiterweg or any other related secret organization; if not, why not; if so, what steps;

- (2) whether the South African Defence Force security clearance system includes a method of ascertaining whether members whose duties require security clearance are members of the Ruiterweg or any other secret organizations; if not, why not?

**†THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:**

- (1) No. The two officers have been security cleared.  
(2) Only when an organization's activities constitute a danger to the State, can membership of such an organization influence a member's security clearance.

Mr P R C ROGERS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, does he not think it a strange situation when investigating an organization such as this, the investigating officers themselves may be members of that organization? The second part of the reply to this question indicates that they do not in fact have security clearance in respect of membership of such secret organizations. How does he know that those

officers themselves are not inquiring into an organization which they are a part of?

**†THE DEPUTY MINISTER:** Sir, I have told the hon member that with regard to persons who are members of these kinds of organizations, security clearance is only undertaken if such an organization constitutes a danger to the State. There are many such cultural organizations in our country. [Interjections.] There are in fact hon members on the opposite side who are members of the Sons of England, the Round Table, the Rapportiers and the Broederbond. [Interjections.]

**†Mr SPEAKER:** Order!

**†THE DEPUTY MINISTER:** If such an organization constitutes a danger to the State, attention is given to them. That is my answer to the hon member.

Mr P R C ROGERS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I want to refer to his reply to the original question as to whether this incident was being investigated. It was in respect of members of the Ruiterweg having access to classified SADF personnel computers. The hon the Deputy Minister indicated in his reply that two senior investigating officers had been appointed. What we on these benches would like to know is whether those senior investigating officers are fit to conduct that investigation in view of the fact that they might be members of that organization which is making use of those computers. It is ludicrous to tell us that they are not because there is no security clearance required unless the organization represents a danger.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! The hon member must cut his question short. I cannot allow speeches.

Mr G B D MCINTOSH: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, will he tell us whether he is a member of the Ruiterweg or not? [Interjections.]

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER:** Sir, I am prepared to answer. I am not a member of the Ruiterweg. Will that hon member tell me

HQA



# Revolution cannot resolve SA situation

CH 7/15/85  
9/3/85  
30 CH

THIS is an extract from the statement made at Oxford this week by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, in the course of a debate on a motion that all ties with South Africa should be broken.

NO EXTERNAL factor, be it government, business or special interest lobby will, or can be, the major deliberate determinant of internal changes in South Africa.

Such a factor could play a "last straw that broke the camel's back" role, but then only because of major internal developments.

All the evidence seems to support the conclusion that to the extent that an external factor has tried to play such a deliberate role, the consequences have been counter-productive to the intentions. Blacks have not benefited in any ostensible sense, nor has the South African government been weakened.

On the contrary, more often than not, an increased sense of isolation and external moral condemnation has been repeatedly used with great effect by the South African government to consolidate its support among whites and to foster a siege-like "us-against-the-world" mentality.

However, there are those who persist with an "external factor" strategy towards South Africa because they believe in a certain theory of change regarding the country.

The hardliners who reject all forms of gradualism, or reform, or evolutionary change and are committed and convinced that violence and revolution is the only way in which to resolve the conflict in South Africa will not be persuaded by the arguments I have mentioned.

Let me make a few observations on violence and South Africa. It is generally accepted that there is a clear relationship between the extension of coercive government in a society and the increase in violence in various forms to react to and oppose such coercion.

This is so because those who are subjected to such coercion experience it as violence to their person. In this way violence begets violence.

There is no question that South Africa went through an extremely coercive phase in the initial implementation of its policy of apartheid/separate development. The defining characteristic of this policy in the constitutional phase was the enforced or compulsory racial segregation and ethnic group membership of individuals for the purpose of politically ordering the South African society.

Therefore, at its core the policy denies the voluntary association of the individual for social, economic and political activities.

Consequently those organizations outside of Parliament which legally and constitutionally opposed this system and were not prepared to accept the assumptions or goals of apartheid/separate development and appeared to the authorities to have significant or widespread support of the black population were declared illegal or banned. Thus the ANC and PAC went underground and violence was accepted by them as a means to oppose the system.



Dr Van Zyl  
Slabbert

A full-blown revolutionary situation or a state of civil war is one where violence becomes the pervading means on either side of the divide to either maintain or change the status quo. I do not believe it is in either stage yet. In other words, there is still sufficient flexibility or "give" in the system for other modes of change to succeed. This of course becomes small comfort if those other modes are not vigorously pursued.

## Only way out

If the government prevents peaceful and legitimate protests, if it uses arbitrary arrests and detentions, raids and other intimidatory tactics, we can be certain that an increasing number of South Africans, who are at the receiving end of such methods, will begin to define the domestic situation in such desperate and inflexible terms that violence will be seen as the only way out.

Also, if the government continues to remain insensitive or ignorant of the interactive relationship between coercion and violence in South Africa, it is quite likely that violence and counter-violence will become the dominant strategy between itself and many of those who oppose it. I have no doubt that this will be a tragedy beyond comprehension for all of us.

I say this because I cannot see how the South African situation can be resolved through revolution or by a return to old-style racial domination.

Those who propagate a transformation of the status quo through violent means are victims of a romantic delusion. Whatever the legitimacy of their grievances or the intensity of their feelings about them.

At the same time, I cannot see how those who govern can do so successfully by also only depending on coercive or violent measures.

By "successfully" I mean maintaining a kind of operative stability so that "normal life" appears to carry on. The same kind of logistical and organizational problems which confront those who wish to promote revolution have to be faced by those who wish to prevent it. The point I am making is that the use of inconclusive violence in a country such as South Africa is likely to end in siege.

A siege can last for a long time and we in South Africa can do well to learn from countries such as Lebanon, Sudan and Northern Ireland.

## A warped society

A siege society is of course a warped society. All its resources, economic, physical and human as well as the most routine aspects of daily life become subject to the predicament of siege. The hallmarks of a siege culture are suspicion, mistrust, defining all situations and actions in terms of threat potential; a kind of "us" or "them" approach to the future.

In South Africa, we are not quite there yet, but only the myopic would deny that in some areas in our metropolitan communities we are already on that road.

The real tragedy about violence as a strategy to bring about or prevent change, is that those who rely on it become immune to reason and the weight of factual evidence against its use.

One can point out how unpredictable it is in achieving the desired ends; one can wax eloquent on the horror and despair it causes and even advance the most compelling moral arguments against it, but those who have committed themselves to it, either to change or maintaining the status quo, are victims of the highly questionable assumption that by using it they are teaching "the other side a lesson" which can change their actions and convictions. In fact, more often than not, exactly the opposite happens and the familiar spiral of violence and counter-violence is the consequence.



# President Botha facing test of nerve and statesmanship

CAP Tm 9/3/85 304A

AS THE economy slides, President P W Botha is under intense pressure both at home and abroad.

Civil servants, most of them Nationalists and accustomed to tender treatment, are enraged by his plans to trim a third off their annual birthday bonuses.

Railway workers, facing a similar deprivation, are threatening action. Public service protest meetings are taking place throughout the country.

Nationalist public representatives are increasingly nervous as they eye the activities of the right-wing parties in their constituencies. Civil servants and also the white working classes, feeling the economic pinch, are ripe for recruitment by Dr Treurnicht's Conservatives.

On the other side of the racial divide, police action against continuing unrest in the black areas, while not tough enough to please the right wing, is fuelling anti-apartheid emotions in countries abroad, notably in the United States, where the disinvestment lobby is making steady gains.

South African blacks may be rightless, politically speaking, and pretty well impotent, militarily and economically, but they are managing to exert considerable pressure on the Botha administration.

## Resistance

The squatting phenomenon, accompanied by unrest, has been effectively mobilized by blacks to force the government to make significant changes of policy.

Crossroads has become an international symbol of resistance to apartheid. The government has been obliged by a combination of foreign and domestic pressure to abandon its cherished notions of a Western Cape without permanent blacks.

It has been a stunning reversal. Is the threat of American disinvestment really so great and are its effects really likely to be so catastrophic? Economic sanctions never work, the saying goes, and there will always be a government or a company willing to step into a gap if there are profits to be made. It remains true, by and large, that business will always find a way as long as there is a chance of profits.

But are attractive profits still to be made, people are beginning to ask themselves. For how much longer? At what



Mr P W Botha ... under intense pressure

## Political Survey

By GERALD SHAW



Mr Harry Schwarz ... situation can be contained



Mr Herman Nickel ... warning on investment

cost? What about security? What is the medium and long-term outlook?

The key variable is confidence—faith in the will and capacity of the South African people to resolve their problems in the decade ahead without tearing the country apart.

## Unemployment

It is certainly true, as Mr Harry Schwarz noted this week, that the mild disinvestment measures at present in prospect—a ban on new investments and bank loans and on the importation of Krugerrands—will not of themselves create a situation which cannot be contained.

The measures will cause inconvenience, affect growth, create some unemployment and add fuel to the potential for unrest, all of which we can do without. But the numbers of persons employed by American firms and the proportion of the national product generated by these firms are relatively small.

It may well be, as the American Ambassador,

Mr Herman Nickel, warned recently, that even a ban on new investment could still be enough to drive American business from the country. This in itself would not be catastrophic, however.

It would be a severe blow, nevertheless, as part of a cumulative process of isolation which would also mean loss of access to new American technology and expertise.

## Investment

The decisive factor is confidence. If the United States under a Reagan administration has so little faith in South Africa's future that the legislation in prospect is actually passed in 1985, the blow to confidence would be tangible.

If influential people in the investment community around the world give us the thumbs down the process could spread beyond the United States and harm business relations with our trading partners in Europe and the Far East.

Still, previous experience suggests that sanctions ultimately do not work, so why the acute concern?

There seems to be a nagging fear that maybe

this time it could be different. If the failure of League of Nations sanctions against Italy when it invaded Abyssinia in the Thirties is often cited to pooh-pooh the sanctions threat, it should also be noted that apartheid, as a compelling emotional issue, is pretty well unprecedented in its capacity to unite diverse people and governments everywhere in a common attitude of hostility.

If doing business in and with South Africa becomes too much of a hassle, as the US jargon would have it, and too much money and valuable executive time are needed to field the flak and get round the legislative barriers, a point may be reached where it is just too much trouble and the exercise is not worth the candle.

## Colonial

As in most things, timing is everything. The threat of disinvestment is troubling because it coincides with a severe economic downturn, involvement in an expensive colonial war in Namibia, a falling gold price, a tumbling rand and a wave of black unrest which shows every sign of becoming endemic in certain parts of the country.

There is the continuing failure to achieve peace in the region, not only the South African failure to withdraw from Angola and Namibia, but the continuing upheaval in Mozambique as a result of the spreading terrorism of the MNR, which operated until the Peace of Nkomati virtually as a covert extension of the South African Defence Force.

People abroad do not doubt that the Botha administration or its successor can impose its

will on the sub-continent by military force. It is acknowledged that this country's military power is adequate to contain any threat, internal or external, for the foreseeable future.

But investors feel that military force is no substitute for peace-making diplomacy in the region and racial reconciliation at home—areas in which the Botha administration's continuing failure, in spite of reforms, is manifest.

Long-term investment which has to be secured at the barrel of a gun, if it comes to that, will be increasingly unattractive in an international community which loathes apartheid.

All this helps explain why the Botha administration is showing a much greater sensitivity to foreign opinion than its predecessors, who were blessed with a buoyant economy.

At the same time, there are the contrary pressures coming from the Afrikaner right—which will intensify as unemployment grows in the white working-class community in places like Port Elizabeth.

President Botha is in the middle. He is under intense counter-pressure from the South African business community, which is demanding significant reforms—such as the abolition of influx control—rather than the tinkering with the system which has taken place so far.

Yet President Botha's political instinct will be to draw back from reform while wielding the big stick to crush the unrest and relying heavily on arrests and detentions, student-bashing and other crowd-pleasing undertakings to palliate the right.

At this stage such a response would merely compound his problems at home and abroad while failing to satisfy the right.

President Botha is in the middle, facing a searching test of nerve and statesmanship.



The military force of a country should be a protective shield and not a force with ambitions in other spheres — like maintaining the policy of partnership. Sir Richard Pethick, a former principal and a vice-chancellor of the University of London, said here on Thursday night at the opening of the 30th Black Sash conference.

Saying he wanted an end to compulsory military conscription in South Africa, Sir Richard himself a former soldier, said the country could encounter greater problems if it continued with its military policy than if the policy were abandoned now.

Sir Richard said the government was propagating apartheid with a whites-only compulsory military force.

"Does the government fear lack of loyalty?" he asked, and added that a majority government that was morally good would attract a strong volunteer army. A minor-

ity government did not deserve to survive. Sir Richard said that if the military failed to represent the country, bitterness and distrust would result.

He said the army's increasing involvement in the African townships which was becoming "close to routine" needed to be morally questioned.

"It is not fair to put young men in painful

He pointed out that South Africa had fought two world wars without compulsory conscription.

"The worthiness of the call was good enough then."

Sir Richard congratulated the Black Sash for being one of the first to press for an end to military conscription.

MPC IOP Walmer, Miss Molly Blackburn, were left stranded in pouring rain late on Thursday night when the tyres of their vehicles were slashed in Baakens Street here.

All had attended the 30th annual conference of the Black Sash in the City Hall earlier.

One of the victims, who did not want to be named, told the Eastern Province Herald that two men, standing at the cor-

## Own Correspondent

REPORT ELIZABETH. — Several people, including 21 nuns and the Progressive Federal Party MP for Welmeir, Mrs Molly Blackburn, were left stranded in pouring rain late on Thursday night when the tyres of their vehicles were slashed in Bakenes street here.

ganization, the Rev Michael Mjekula, an Anglican priest and former chairman of the Cradock Residents Association (Cradoks), and Cradock community leader Mr Matthew Goniwe, who may not be quoted, told an audience of about 80 at the BlackSash Conference of events in their communities.

Outlining the motivation for this weekend's proposed stayaway, Mr. Jack said several organizations had met following the bus-fare increase and had decided a stayaway was the best course of action.

ner of Castle Hill and Bakers Street, laughed aloud when the vandalism was discovered.

● Mr McNusell Jack, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Or-

Mr Mienkua said he believed there was a solution to save South Africa from "doom and further bloodshed, so let us not repeat the mistakes of yesterday".



DURING the 1960s, it was widely assumed that reforms would take place under conditions of economic expansion and prosperity. Whites would find it easier to accept a smaller share of the cake if the cake was getting bigger.

In fact the government showed no inclination to change during that decade of sustained economic growth and political repression.

As it turned out, the domestic and international forces for change only really got under way during the uncertain 1970s, and gathered momentum as the economic crisis intensified during the 1980s. As the government struggles to cope with the crisis, it is being forced to distribute increasing proportions of declining revenues to repressive agencies, such as the police and army, on the one hand and a large share to welfare for blacks on the other.

The government also faces the problem of having to try to restore the conditions of profitability to business in a changing political and economic environment through infrastructural development and investment incentives amongst other things. This is expensive.

Whites still enjoy the biggest share of the cake, but they face the prospect of being forced to accept a diminishing slice of a cake that is getting smaller. Many are already eating crumbs. Many are learning the reality behind the rhetoric of free enterprise.

How will these developments affect white support for the government, and particularly support for the National Party? And what effects, intended or not, will the new constitution have in dealing with potential opposition from the electorate as voters lose jobs and access to welfare?

## Alliance

By the 1960s, changes had begun taking place in the relations between the Nationalist government and party and its electoral support, precisely because of the opportunities created for social mobility by the economic growth of the 1950s and 1960s. The Nationalists had won the 1948 election on the basis of an alliance between Afrikaner business, agriculture and workers.

This old populist alliance began to unravel during the late 1960s. The party became dominated by a new affluent, educated and professionally competent stratum with close links to state institutions. They introduced a new style in party politics. The folksy camaraderies (remember the *stryddog*?) which had previously enlivened party business gave way to a new managerial style in which policy was dictated from the Cabinet, and perhaps debated in the caucus, and announced to the party.

By the late 1970s, party congresses had become rubber stamps. The congress of the Transvaal party which met after the dismissal of the party leader, Dr Connie Mulder, from the Cabinet, ended its business a day early for lack of anything to discuss!

The Hetsigste Nasionale Party, formed in 1969, tried to exploit the resentments of small farmers, businessmen and workers who had missed their place on the gravy train. Despite a racy rhetoric, the HNP failed to make much progress. But there is no reason to assume that the HNP, or the more significant Conservative Party,

By PROFESSOR  
A W STADLER  
head of the department of  
political studies, University  
of the Witwatersrand

# LET THEM

● The white worker today: Angry railwaymen protest the bonus cuts this week

Picture: Courtesy Rand Daily Mail

# EAT KOEKSISTERS

How the Mats fell off their traditional base (it hurts now, but it won't leave a bruise)

It recommended (shades of Victorian England) that property owners, including businesses, should have votes additional to those enjoyed by residents. It recommended that municipal delimitation should be based on the value of property, not on the number of voters. As a result, the middle and upper classes will enjoy enhanced representation.

Perhaps more importantly, the power of municipalities and provinces will decline significantly. It is in the regional and metropolitan levels of government that local power will lie, and big business will have immense institutionalised power at these levels. The President's Council distinguished between 'hard' and 'soft' services, and allocated the former to the regional and metropolitan bodies.

They include power over the elements of physical social capital (like power and water) which are not centrally controlled, as well as power over planning. An insight into their criteria for good regional planning is provided in an appendix to the President's Council's second report which consists of the recommendations of a group of engineering consultants about the optimal size of cities. This was deduced from the optimal costs of providing services, not on any criteria relating to electoral or popular interests.



● The white worker yesterday: Adulation for Prime Minister Hans Strijdom at a Pretoria rally in 1958.

are fated perpetually to be electorally insignificant, particularly as the recession bites deeper.

These thoughts may have passed through the minds of government leaders and party managers as they set about reorganising the state structure during the late 1970s. For certainly, one of the effects of the new constitution will be to insulate government decision-making from popular pressures and diminish institu-

tional bases for political groups which mobilise support via party-electoral politics. The constitution is also likely to institutionalise and entrench the bias towards the representation of big business and technocrats in policy-making and government.

The establishment of the President's Council, an appointed body of putative expertise and business leadership, and the dissolution of the indirectly elected Senate were indications

of the direction of state restructuring. The replacement of the premiership by an executive presidency insulated key decision-making areas from electoral pressures, and vastly enhanced the decisional power of the central state, a power which lies as much in control over information and intelligence as in repressive power.

The establishment of three Houses, and the complexity of their procedures, will increase the difficulties of

any groups which seek to mobilise concerted opposition to the government, or indeed any other collective intention not initiated by the government itself.

The President's Council's proposals for reorganising local and regional government (tellingly remained 'management'), some of which are being incorporated in legislation, offer a broad view of the kind of changes taking place.



# PW leaves his constituency behind

FOR the first time in 35 years the National Party is moving so far ahead of its constituency that it risks losing massive voter support.

Senior Nationalists in Cape Town — including a Cabinet Minister — have freely admitted that the NP would lose both the Transvaal and the Free State to the Conservative Party if there was a general election within the next few months.

This could lead to a realignment in South African politics, with traditional voters switching allegiances in the greatest political upheaval since the great depression of the 1930s.

Ironically, this has come about in curiously similar conditions to those which led to the Pact and Coalition governments of that era — drought, the gold price, a depressed economy and labour troubles.

This week the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced cuts in the civil service which will save the country an estimated R500-million. In the face of outbursts of anger on a scale unusual among white voters, Nat MPs have kept up a brave front.

But they do not disguise the fact that they are worried. They admit that votes lost to the right will have to be regained somewhere else.

Significantly, senior Nationalists are beginning to talk of the NP and the Progressive Federal Party as the political centre.

And they hark back to the referendum vote, as if that magical 67% will carry them through this crisis.

A senior Prog said the PFP would stick to its policies and was not prepared to budge from them.

## Dead right

"Of course the State President is dead right, although I wouldn't say so out loud."

So the NP appears to have made up its mind to accept a serious if temporary setback, with the probable loss of the Newton Park parliamentary seat and the Harrismith provincial seat in forthcoming by-elections.

Up to now, white voters have — apart from the committed right — shown cautious approval of reforms announced by the Nationalists since the new constitutional system came into being in September.

Interpreting his massive win in the referendum as a mandate, the State President and his Cabinet have pushed ahead with a reform policy that has very little to do with what people voted for in the referendum.

The referendum, after all, was to decide whether a majority of white voters approved of the new constitution, which omitted blacks altogether.

But since last September, when Mr Botha became State President, most of the debate in Parliament and most of the reforms announced by the government have concerned the future of blacks.

● In his opening address to the new tricameral Parliament, Mr Botha said blacks outside the national states would be given "political participation and a say at higher levels".

● He acknowledged the permanence of blacks in white areas, and undertook to look into influx control and

By JEAN  
LE MAY

Political Correspondent

freehold for blacks in areas where they at present have leasehold.

● He spoke about "orderly black urbanisation", which has since become a watch-word of the reformists.

● Earlier, he announced that the coloured preference area in the western Cape was to be done away with and that blacks would be allowed leasehold there.

● The Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, suspended removals, pending investigation.

● He then performed a dramatic volte-face on Crossroads. He announced that the squatter camp would be upgraded instead of demolished, that there would be no forced removals to Khayelitsha and that blacks would get freehold in old-established Cape townships.

● At the same time, Dr Viljoen announced amendments to the pass laws which will give blacks greater freedom of movement.

● Within the last month blacks have been brought into Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis's Co-ordinating Council for Local Authorities.

● The Mixed Marriages Act and Sec-



● Birth of the ultra-right: Delegates to the first HNP congress

tion 16 of the Immorality Act are almost certain to be done away with during this session.

● The President's Council is making a survey of amendments and adjustments to discriminatory legislation, including the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

The Conservative Party meanwhile has continued its unceasing allega-

tions that the government has abandoned whites, that it is moving towards integration, that it has adopted the policies of the PFP, that it is spending too much on blacks and that it is running a coalition government with coloureds and Indians — a view apparently supported by both the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leaders of majority parties

in their respective Houses and Cabinet Ministers without Portfolio.

All of a sudden, the happy philosophy of 'tomorrow is another day' has caught up with white voters.

The crunch for them is now, with:

- 31 000 retrenchments of whites in the private sector in the last year;
- close on 3 000 firms liquidated;
- a spiralling cost of living; and,
- increases in travel, transport and communication costs.

## Punitive

They now face a punitive Budget in a week's time.

On top of this, Mr Botha announced the most savage cut of all — in the once-cherished civil service.

There are many in Parliament, Nationalists included, who see the move as a sign that, at last, the Nationalists have grown up as a government.

For once, commented PFP finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz, the government has been prepared to take advice as to what will be best for the country in the long run, although he said earnings should not be cut unless a commensurate effort were made to contain prices.

Bewildered NP backbenchers are hoping Mr Botha will pull something out of the bag and that things will have changed before the next general election, probably in 1989.

Maybe so, but it will be tough sledding for the NP in the meantime.

## Consumption

Municipalities will be represented on these bodies in proportion to their consumption of goods and services controlled by the metropolitan and regional bodies. As industry is the major consumer of power and water, industrialised areas will be better represented than dormitory areas.

The impending demise of the provincial councils is likely in the long run also to diminish the significance of the provinces as base for political parties, and therefore make it difficult to organise nationally significant parties.

The provinces are old historic blocks. They are also about the right size for a party to use as an organisational base — neither so small as to be ineffective in national politics, nor so large as to destroy the leader-follower relationship which is the essence of party politics.

These factors suggest that political leaders who have a power base in party-electoral politics will find it harder to achieve any institutional leverage.

That is not the end of the story, however. As the history of black politics in South Africa shows, groups denied effective institutional access to power are likely to mobilise support outside of, and in opposition to, State institutions. Whites have exhibited a marked degree of political complacency for several decades.

But in a situation in which larger numbers of them become impoverished, and in which they find it difficult to gain effective access to government institutions, that might change too.



3040

# Survey: Need for black/white 'forum'

Political Reporter

MORE THAN 80 percent of white South Africans, including most CP and HNP supporters, believe a forum for consultation between government and black leaders is necessary.

And support for the Conservative Party has grown to its highest since March 1983.

These are some of the findings of a country-wide opinion survey among some 2 000 white South Africans

conducted by Mark en Meningonames (Pty) Ltd and published in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport yesterday.

The survey sample was canvassed before plans for such a forum were announced recently.

A vast majority of respondents, 82,3 percent, said such a forum was necessary, with 7,9 percent saying it was not. The rest were uncertain.

The newspaper noted there was little difference between English and Afrikaans speakers on this matter — 80,6 percent of Afrikaans speakers and 85,3 percent of English speakers were in favour of consultation.

"Unexpectedly," the newspaper said, "71 percent of CP supporters and 54 percent of HNP supporters also believed such a forum was necessary." The only group that disapproved such a forum was the "small hand-

ful" of English-speaking CP supporters, it said.

But 38,2 percent were also in favour of negotiation with organizations such as the UDF and Azapo and only 16 percent felt they should include the ANC. (The total is more than 100 percent because respondents could give more than one answer.) Almost 13 percent of NP supporters said there should be discussion with the ANC and 37 percent with Azapo and the UDF. On the nature of the fo-

rum, most respondents — 51,2 percent — felt it should be merely advisory, while 24,5 percent felt it should be able to take binding decisions. The remainder did not know what form it should take.

Afrikaans-speaking support for the NP had dropped about nine percent since July last year while its support among English speakers had grown to 37 percent of English speakers, close to the 39 percent for the PFP, it found.

It was significant that the English speakers who supported the NP during and after the referendum still did so, Rapport said.

The survey found a slight drop in English-speaking support for the PFP since last July while its support among Afrikaans speakers had almost doubled to 4,8 percent.

The NRP was at its lowest ebb yet with support among only 3,2 percent of the electorate.

## Nkomo rally without incident

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — One of the largest rallies to be addressed by the opposition Zanu leader Mr Joshua Nkomo since Zimbabwe's independence five years ago passed off without major incident in Bulawayo yesterday.

Only a week after thousands of armed troops and police staged a massive swoop for pro-Zanu dissidents in the Matabeleland capital, 50 000 Zanu supporters turned up to hear Mr Nkomo denounce the rule of the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe.

In an exceptionally

party supporters to that perpetrated in Hitler's Germany.

He said the general election planned for mid-year had been reduced to a fraud in advance by obstacles placed in the path of legitimate campaigning by parties other than Mr Mugabe's ruling Zanu (PF).

Mr Nkomo accused his former partner in the Patriotic Front alliance, which fought to overthrow the governments of Mr Ian Smith and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, of giving Zimbabwe "independence without freedom" which was meaningless.

On Saturday Mr Nkomo appeared in public with first time since his release from detention by Mr Smith in 1974, joining the UANC leader at the funeral of opposition party members allegedly killed by Zanu (PF) supporters.

Mr Nkomo claimed at the funeral that they were among nearly 400 people either murdered or abducted in Matabeleland this year.

Mr Nkomo also challenged government claims last week that he and his party were implicated in the murder in July 1982 of six white tourists, whose bodies were last week confirmed to have been found in the Insiza area 100km north of Bulawayo.



YFS view men rest com days AI tory cove proj lish of \ pop tors pop Q is i seri ture ore lool T mal kid hou Ger tou the SA. T ere gra hoc tho col. J ser tra nig con oth dut lab at c inn



Let's stand together, urges Botha

# US anti-SA

RDM 13/3/85

(304A)

## moves can

## hurt — Pik

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT.

**SOUTH AFRICANS** should accept that the disinvestment campaign in the United States could lead to "significant economic damage" — including loss of jobs — the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, warned yesterday.

Speaking in the House of Delegates in a debate on a Private Member's motion on disinvestment, Mr Botha said the Government viewed the threats seriously and would do all it could to contain and defeat them.

"We have faced sanctions before. We have faced this threat for more than two decades. We beat the arms embargo. We beat the oil embargo. With the country's help we will once again beat this threat," he said.

In spite of opposition to sanctions by the US Administration and by the governments of South Africa's other major economic partners, the threat was considerable.

The US legislative process, combined with the "anti-South African" majorities in the House of Representatives, the majority of states, and in most major cities, made a variety of "hostile" actions possible.

But "boycotters" could not succeed. "Indeed, we can and will not allow it. We must, nevertheless, be forewarned of and prepared for the dangers," Mr Botha said.

The threat would be defeated because most South Africans strongly resisted disinvestment — including some black leaders who represented consistently anti-Government viewpoints.

The "misplaced and perverse" sense of justice and humanity being displayed by the "wealthy men and women" in the US who advocated disinvestment would lead to famine and degradation for millions of blacks.

"We Africans face a harsh reality which is too little understood in the US. This is the reality of the first of all human freedoms, perhaps the most fundamental of them all: freedom from want and famine. Destroy a job and you take away a family's food," he

Mr Botha reaffirmed the Government's determination to allow South Africans to determine their own future.

"We welcome the constructive help and advice of our friends, but we reject demands and prescriptions," he said.

He called on all South Africans to speak and act together, promptly, systematically and in co-ordination to counter disinvestment campaigns.

"Most Americans and Europeans are men and women of sound judgment and goodwill. Too many are misled because they do not hear what South Africa's people really want. We can and must reach them," Mr Botha said.

Yesterday's debate was noteworthy for the unanimous rejection of disinvestment by the Indian MPs.

Most speakers, however, reaffirmed their opposition to apartheid, which some blamed for the current disinvestment campaign.

The chairman of the Indian Minister Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said the presence of US firms in South Africa had played and would continue to play a significant role in bringing about change in the country.

The leader of the opposition, Dr J N Reddy, called for even greater involvement by US firms in promoting social and economic upliftment among less privileged South Africans.

The proposer of the motion, Mr Ahmed Arbee, the Solidarity MP for the Eastern Transvaal, called on US legislators not to rush into legal curbs on investment in South Africa.

Mr Pat Poovalingam, the

## Pik's appeal to SA

From Page 1

Solidarity MP for Reservoir Hills, said he did not want to see the country damaged just because the Government did "stupid things".

RICHARD WALKER reports from New York that the influential Wall Street Journal has reported that US companies have begun in private to question the value of staying in South Africa.

Caught between SA's problems and growing political outcry at home, US business plans "no new major investments or bank loans in South Africa anytime soon", the business daily said in a front page review of current attitudes, adding that those who years ago resisted the lure of investing in SA "are glad now that they did".

"Many corporate planners and politicians believe that US involvement in

South Africa is now at a turning point," the paper reported.

"While American companies continue in public to fight the growing pressures on them, in private more and more are questioning the value of staying."

One executive with long involvement in SA told the journal: "This is a very pivotal time. A lot of corporate planners are saying that unless there's significant change in apartheid in the next one or two years, we're going to get the hell out. The situation will only get worse."

Only one instance of a US company moving into SA was cited — an insurance broker specialising in protection against fires, revolutions and other calamities.

"Our clients have a greater need for our services in South Africa now," it told the journal. "They're concerned about getting wiped out."

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# Assocom urges action

(304)

By ANDREW DUNCAN

**BUSINESSMEN** must take immediate action to counter the threat of disinvestment, says the Association of Chambers of Commerce.

Assocom added in its latest quarterly review that everyone in business should act before irrevocable machinery was set in motion in the US.

People should urge their American contacts to lobby congressmen and senators to vote against any form of US disinvestment.

The publication said anti-SA sentiment had reached far beyond arms embargoes and original concepts of the Sullivan Code. Bankers were being forced to reconsider and, perhaps stop, loans to this country (Citibank has already stated that it will not grant new loans after March).

American trust and investment companies were being urged to shed holdings in US companies with trading links in this country.

The next step, said Assocom, would be to apply as much pressure as legally possible to force companies with interests in this country to sever all ties.

Assocom said businessmen dared not be indifferent to what was happening in the US nor should they regard pickets in Washington and legislative moves as being the actions of a crankish minority.

They were all sections of a lobby gaining strength and which could do tremendous damage to this country.

Assocom said the country's economic potential and political stability could not be ensured without a stable, secure and prosperous workforce.

Employer organisations had had some success in urging the SA Government to make policy changes in widening labour relations and in opening up equal opportunities for all, in advancing black home-ownership rights, educating and training people of all races, and in encouraging black entrepreneurship, especially in the informal sector.

It said employer organisations were still working towards further reforms in the structure of society.

These included more political participation for blacks, full participation in a private enterprise economy, full SA citizenship and a free and independent trade union movement.

Assocom said that time was, however, running out fast. Events were moving against SA and once decisions to disinvest or apply sanctions had been made they would be almost impossible to reverse.

The political juggernaut in this country often moved at a frighteningly slow pace, said Assocom, and action would have to come from the private sector.



# Get on with the reform, PW told

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

**BIG business yesterday strongly reaffirmed its commitment to reform and offered to put its shoulder to the wheel to help President P W Botha give "visible expression" to his reformist intentions.**

Organised business made its belief in the need for urgent reform manifest in a combined statement by six major employer bodies and in forthright speeches by top businessmen at the annual meeting of the SA Foundation.

Both developments came in the wake of a unanimous resolution by the United Nations Security Council condemning the South African Government for the deaths of people at Crossroads and the arrest of top members of the United Democratic Front on charges of treason.

The combined statement came from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Chamber of Mines, the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce, the Federated Chamber of Industries and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation.

The six groups, which employ more than 80% of the workers in industrial, mining and commercial sectors of the economy, committed themselves in January during the visit of Senator Edward Kennedy to full political participation and to common citizenship for all South Africans.

They said yesterday: "(We) are keenly aware of the positive impact which visible progress along this road is likely to have on overseas opinion and especially on the current disinvestment debate in the United States."

Since their January declaration, they said yesterday, several important statements of intent had been announced by President Botha and members of his Cabinet.

These included, they noted, extension of freehold rights to blacks, resolution of the citizenship issue, suspension of forced relocation of people, de-emphasis

of "negative influx control measures", recognition of the permanence of urban blacks and increased involvement of blacks in decision-making bodies.

"The signatory organisations welcome and fully endorse these significant statements of intent," the statement said.

"Nevertheless, it is vitally important that visible expression is given to these intentions.

"Accordingly a meeting was arranged with the Minister of Co-operation and Development and Education, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, who has the responsibility for the practical implementation of most of the reforms announced.

"The organisations offered their full co-operation and assistance in generating concrete results as soon as possible. (The) offer was accepted and the ne-

☐ To Page 2

☐ From Page 1

cessary channels of communication explored to facilitate effective co-operation with the various Ministers concerned."

The six organisations expressed confidence that their initiative would "accelerate the process of peaceful change" and make an important contribution towards "realising the legitimate economic and political aspirations of black South Africans".

Meanwhile, in Cape Town yesterday Mr Peter Sorour, director-general of the SA Foundation, warned

that the impatience abroad at the slow pace of reform in SA was paralysed by the impatience of businessmen at home.

Mr Sorour's warning, contained in his report to the annual meeting of the foundation, was another clear sign of the growing anxiety in the business community at the failure of President Botha's admini-

stration to proceed boldly with its declared commitment to reform.

The outgoing president of foundation, Mr Ted Pavitt, chairman of Gencor, spelt out essentially the same message.

## Pik on gloomy future

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The increasing strength of the international anti-South African Government campaign was stressed again yesterday when the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, warned against under-estimating the the possible consequences of actions by the United Nations Security Council.

His warning followed Tuesday's unanimous council approval of an African bloc-sponsored motion condemning the Government's domestic policies.

For the first time, the United States representative voted against South Africa. Britain also supported the motion.

In a similar warning in Parliament on Tuesday, Mr Botha said South Africans should accept that the disinvestment campaign in the US could lead to "significant economic damage", including the loss of jobs and the damaging of hopes for the future.

In a sombre statement yesterday, Mr Botha said: "Just as in the case of the disinvestment campaign being waged against South Africa in the US and elsewhere, we must not underestimate the possible consequences of the direction that the Security Council has adopted."

He warned that some elements in the UN were aiming to foster violence and revolution in South Africa in order to force the Security Council to declare the situation a threat to peace and thereby enforce mandatory sanctions on South Africa in terms of Chapter 7 of the UN manifesto.

Action at the UN would hit all Southern Africans equally hard — particularly South Africa's neighbours who were already suffering under severe economic strains, he said.

Mr Botha called on all the countries of the region to make the combatting of the threat a priority.

In Tuesday's parliamentary debate, Mr Botha said that in spite of opposition to sanctions by the Reagan Administration and by the governments of South Africa's other major economic partners, the threat was considerable.

The United States and Britain voted for the resolution — which incorporated a call for the dropping of the treason charges against United Democratic Front officials — after the sponsors removed some of the more heated accusa-

☐ To Page 2

## Pik's gloomy SA warning

☐ From Page 1

tions levelled against Pretoria, reports RICHARD WALKER from New York.

Meanwhile, political and diplomatic observers in London believed the decision of Britain and the US to fall into line with international opinion on South Africa at the expense of alienating Pretoria was a recognition of mounting impatience with the slow pace of change, reports JOHN BATTERSBY from London.



# Botha backed by big business

CAPE TIMES 14/3/85

(304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Big business yesterday strongly reaffirmed its commitment to reform and offered to put its shoulder to the wheel to help President P W Botha give "visible expression" to his reformist intentions.

Organized business expressed its belief in the need for urgent reform in a joint statement by six major employer bodies and in forthright speeches by top businessmen at the annual meeting of the South Africa Foundation.

The statement came from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Chamber of Mines, the National African Feder-

ation of Chambers of Commerce, the Federated Chamber of Industries and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation.

The six bodies, which employ more than 80 per cent of industrial, mining and commercial workers, committed themselves in January, during the visit of Senator Edward Kennedy, to full political participation and common citizenship for all South Africans.

They said yesterday: "(We) are keenly aware of the positive impact which visible progress along this road is likely to have on overseas opinion and especially on the current disinvestment debate in the US."

Since their January

declaration, they said yesterday, several important statements of intent had been announced by President Botha and members of his cabinet.

These included extension of freehold rights to blacks, resolution of the citizenship issue, suspension of forced relocation of people, de-emphasis of "negative influx control measures", recognition of the permanence of urban blacks and increased involvement of blacks in decision-making bodies.

"The signatory organizations welcome and fully endorse these significant statements of intent," they said.

A meeting was arranged with the Minister of Co-operation and Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and their offer of full co-operation in generating concrete results "was accepted and the necessary channels of communication explored to facilitate effective co-operation with the various ministers concerned."

They expressed confidence that their initiative would make an important contribution towards "realizing the legitimate economic and political aspirations of black South Africans."

● Calls for end to 'rule by decree', page 11

## 'Deviant' West getting worse

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Here, for the benefit of the SABC and others who wish to paint the West as increasingly deviant and unwholesome, is a useful comparison.

Provided by something called the Biblical News Service, an outfit dedicated to promoting "the crucial biblical-family-moral issues", and apparently based on official statistics, it comprises lists of the major discipline problems in US public schools in 1940 and 1982.

Both are in descending order.

1940: talking, chewing gum, making noise, running in the halls, getting out of turn in queues, wearing improper clothing, not using waste paper baskets.

1982: rape, robbery, assault, burglary, arson, bombings, murder, suicide, absenteeism, vandalism, extortion, drug abuse, alcohol abuse, gang warfare, pregnancy, abortion, venereal disease.

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# SIX demand sweeping reform

14/3/85  
The private business sector today increased pressure on the Government to accelerate sweeping reforms to remove apartheid and defuse the overseas disinvestment campaign.

In a significant show of unity, all six of the main business organisations, whose member firms provide 80 percent of the entire national labour force, have linked forces to ensure full clout to the demands.

The signatories to a joint statement pledged support to initiatives to speed up "an ongoing process of economic and political reform".

They signatories are: Association of Chambers of Commerce; SA Federated Chamber of Industries; Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut; Chamber of Mines; Steel and Engineering Industries Federation; and National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce.

## PROGRESS

The announcement of their stand follows warnings issued to the Government yesterday by the South African Foundation that impatience and anger was growing inside big business over the slow pace of reforms.

A joint statement said: "Realism dictates that economic and political reforms must be pursued on their own merits.

"Nevertheless the organisations are keenly aware of the positive impact which visible progress along this road is likely to have on overseas opinion, and especially on the current disinvestment debate in the United States."

Initiatives taken so far have had the full support of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa.

The six organisations listed five main targets:

- Full participation by all South Africans in a private enterprise economy and in the political dispensation of the country.
- A common loyalty to the country as expressed through citizenship for all.
- Ending forced removals.
- Safeguards for the administration of justice by the courts.
- Further development of a free and independent trade union movement.



# Calls for end to 'rule by decree'

Cape Times 14/3/85  
304A

By DIANE CASSERE

DECADES of government neglect of the need to consult with the popular leaders in all communities had left South Africa without a voice in world forums, according to two top members of the South Africa Foundation.

In their addresses to the annual general meeting of the foundation yesterday, both the president, Mr Ted Pavitt, and the director-general, Mr Peter Sorour, emphasized the intense criticism in business circles of the government's economic and political programmes and the effect this lack of consultation was having on South Africa.

In his speech Mr Pavitt, who is also the chairman of Gencor, one of South Africa's major mining and industrial groups, outlined some of the private sector's criticisms.

"After more than 30 years of prescriptive politics, the government has become unaccustomed to consultation," he said. "It rules by decree rather than through consultation with the popular leaders in all communities and fields of endeavour."

Do businessmen and bankers with their wealth of experience and expertise have a sufficient input into the formulation of our economic and fiscal policies?

"The real voice of the people in South Africa is not being heard in world forums because we are not reaching each other here at home. That is why radicals can get away with claims that they speak for the people."

Mr Sorour emphasized in his speech the growing anger in business circles with present government policies.

"Not only is there impatience, there is also anger," he said.

## 'Profligate'

"They have accused government of having their priorities wrong for too long, of profligate spending of time and resources on ideological politicking while neglecting the country's economic and international interests."

"They find government unprepared to consider information and take advice from outside its own official sources and they resent again having to pay the piper while not being able to call much of the tune."

At a closed meeting of the foundation trustees yesterday afternoon, it was decided to appoint a sub-committee shortly to consider organized action against disinvestment by the private sector.

● Dr Fred du Plessis, chairman and managing director of Sanlam, was elected president of the foundation at yesterday's AGM. He succeeds Mr Ted Pavitt, chairman of Gencor, whose two-year term of office has expired. He also serves on the President's Economic Advisory Council.

## Delays in reform 'harmful to SA'

Staff Reporter

DELAYS IN scrapping the objectionable facets of apartheid were causing South Africa avoidable harm and private sector impatience at government inaction is growing, according to the director-general of the South Africa Foundation, Mr Peter Sorour.

Delivering his report yesterday to the annual general meeting of the foundation in Cape Town, Mr Sorour reviewed the situation facing South Africa.

"There is undoubtedly a greater impatience at the slow pace of political action in South Africa, even among our most sympathetic well-wishers."

The Mixed Marriages and Immorality acts used to be prime targets of anti-apartheid attacks and for four years the government has hinted at their removal. But "anti-apartheid campaigners, reading the signs, made good use of the time given them to discount the significance of the acts, so that their removal now will make little international impact."

The anti-apartheid lobby stayed ahead while the political and bureaucratic machines in South Africa plodded along "several steps behind", he said.

"There is consensus that several of the most objectionable facets of apartheid could be scrapped immediately without serious consequences, and delaying doing so is simply causing South Africa avoidable harm," said Mr Sorour.

Businessmen were being urged to take action against the disinvestment campaign in the US, but the campaign's root cause was apartheid.

In its 25 years of trying to project objective information and analysis on South Africa, the foundation had not gone out either to defend government policy or propagate a particular point of view.

"Change rarely comes without pressure — but we have tried to influence pressures from counter-productive into constructive channels."



# Business warned on disinvestment

15/3/85

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Staff Reporter

BUSINESSMEN were told today that unless they did something about issues such as detention without trial, forced removals and discrimination, South Africa would be doomed under disinvestment pressure.

Professor James Leatt, professor of business administration at the UCT Graduate School of Business, said if the problems of civil and political rights in South Africa were not solved the country's economic structure would fail.

He was addressing a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce seminar on corporate social responsibility, which he described as "voluntary expenditure of resources to do something not

required by law and without immediate economic benefits". He said the survival of the country depended on this.

Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay, told the meeting businessmen had to stand up to government and lobby for reform. He said businessmen could also play an important role by promoting South Africa overseas.

"A group of overseas bankers visited South Africa and were given a whitewash by the Government and the bad news by the Progs and they were switched off South Africa.

"Nobody told them that businessmen had negotiated the changes in the housing system which led to 99-year leases. When overseas people hear this they acknowledge we are worth fighting for."

A policy of corporate social responsibility could lead to economic growth.

"Don't avoid competition, don't maximise profits and don't fix prices. Break cartels and boards which export food at a loss and fight government to keep subsidies on basic food-stuffs," Mr Ackerman said.

"You can play a role in your community. No businessman can afford to ignore how much the consumer can help his business. This is just as important as buying and marketing."



# ANC to stay banned until it is 'no threat to SA stability'

## Parliamentary Staff

THE African National Congress would not be unbanned until it rejected violence and until it provided evidence that it was not a threat to the internal stability of South Africa, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, told the House of Assembly.

Replying to a private member's motion proposed by Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton), calling for an end to detention without trial, and for banning orders on individuals and organisations to be lifted, Mr le Grange said it was clear that the ANC's standpoint "was far from that".

South Africa was as committed to justice and freedom as any other country, and the security laws about which Mrs Suzman complained had been passed by Parliament.

Listing the number of incidents of sabotage since 1980, Mr le Grange said he could not understand how "in this period"

PFP members could call for a "liberalisation" of security legislation.

The police also had evidence that a Transvaal couple — the Jouberts — "coldbloodedly" murdered earlier this week, were killed by "ANC terrorists".

AK 47 cartridges were found near the scene of the crime, and three black men were believed to have driven the Jouberts' bakkie to Bophuthatswana.

At several stages during the debate there were angry exchanges across the floor between Mr le Grange and Mrs Suzman.

When Mrs Suzman said that stringent security laws, such as those operative in South Africa, did not apply in Northern Ireland where political violence was widespread, Mr le Grange replied: "Go to Northern Ireland then and be happy there. We'll give you an exit permit if you want it."

Towards the end of his speech, Mr le Grange caused a

storm of anger in the PFP benches when he said Mrs Suzman's motion was deliberately intended to be of assistance to "some of your friends".

Mrs Suzman challenged him to say what he meant by the statement, and when he failed to do so, accused him of being "a coward" and "having no guts".

Mr Brian Bamford, PFP Whip, said across the floor: "You haven't got the guts to be specific."

Earlier, Mr le Grange said hundreds of people had been killed or injured in unrest, which was created by the organisations which security laws were designed to act against.

PFP members, supporting Mrs Suzman's motion, said it was clear that people in South Africa had increasingly less respect for the law, as a result of harsh security laws.

Mr Peter Gastrow (PFP Durban Central) said urban riots showed that people had "less and less respect for the

law, the police and the Government".

Referring to a court case in Durban involving several UDF leaders, which had been raised by the Nat MP for Krugersdorp, Mr L Wessels, Mr Gastrow asked how the NP could justify the situation where State officials had decided they should be refused bail.

Members on the Government benches said chaos would ensue if the Government were to scrap security laws.

Mr Wessels said the security laws were necessary to protect the processes of democracy and reform.

"These laws are necessary to allow the important political reforms to go forward," he said.

The Conservative Party nominated member, Mr L Theunissen, who proposed an amendment to the motion, said Mrs Suzman should realise when she was beaten.

The CP motion, asked that the security laws be strongly and responsibly applied.





# Govt given EEC, Nordic protests

By BARRY STREEK

IN a rare move, 15 European countries have delivered formal protests to the South African Government about the arrests of United Democratic Front leaders.

They also protested about recent events in the Crossroads squatter camp near Cape Town.

The protests, presented last week in the form of a demarche, regarded as a strong diplomatic step, preceded the unanimous vote in the Security Council this week against South Africa but reflect the extensive international concern about the arrests of the UDF leaders, who have been refused bail and are facing treason charges.

One demarche was presented on behalf of the ten European Economic Community (EEC) countries by the Italian Ambassador in South Africa, Dr Giacomo Ivancich Biaggini.

The other was presented on behalf of the five Nordic countries by the Norwegian Consul-General in South Africa, Mr Gunnar Flagstad.

Both demarches were formally received by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans van Dalsen.

## Would not comment

The EEC protest was issued on the instructions of the foreign ministers of the ten countries.

Dr Ivancich Biaggini could not be contacted yesterday, and another spokesman for the Italian embassy would not comment but, according to diplomatic sources, the demarche was aimed at expressing concern at the recent arrests of UDF officials.

The Nordic demarche, issued on the instructions of the five foreign ministers, expressed concern about the UDF arrests because they violated human rights.

It is understood that both protests urged the South African Government to release the UDF officials.

Although the European countries have supported the process of reform in South Africa through peaceful means, they feel the arrests of the UDF officials have reduced dialogue and ran counter to the spirit of President P W Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament this year.

It is understood that the Nordic countries also protested about the increasing number of detainees in South Africa — put at 61 by President Botha in Parliament this week — and called for their release.

The high-level protests reinforce the view of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, that South Africa should not underestimate the consequences of the Security Council vote.



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# Black Sash wants 'honest'

## ANSWERS

THE 30th anniversary conference of the Black Sash began in Port Elizabeth last night. In her presidential address, Mrs Sheena Duncan highlighted the confusion of the government's "reform" plans and asked businessmen for some honest answers on their own commitment to reform. This is an edited version of her speech:

It is a disaster that President P W Botha's "reform" programme has been marked by ever-greater repression and that there are no signs whatsoever that he intends to repeal of any of the repressive laws; quite the opposite in fact.

Some people have suggested that the present government has deliberately adopted a strategy of sowing confusion and uncertainty in order to introduce piecemeal reforms. This would be such an incredibly dangerous course of action that we cannot believe that any rational group of people could embark on it.

The other interpretation of current government actions is that it is as confused and uncertain as everyone else and is therefore being totally inept. Whatever the reason, this country cannot afford the current lack of clarity about government intentions nor

the contradictory statements which often follow one another on a daily basis from the mouths of the same ministers.

There is no doubt that the sudden enthusiasm for reform is a result of increasing pressure from the black majority inside South Africa as well as from the Western democracies together with the economic crisis. The dictates of Afrikaner nationalism are no longer a priority. The preservation of the capitalist system is the overriding concern, now enshrined in our constitution. But you cannot preserve capitalism by continu-

ing to exploit the black majority and continuing to deny them all the basic individual freedoms which capitalism claims to protect.

So we suddenly see the business sector urging government to reform and to what seem to be quite radical changes.

Where were they during all those years when one apartheid law after another was placed on the statute book? Their silence was deafening.

We welcome the claims made by employers' organizations in their memorandum to Senator Edward Kennedy in January this year. Will they hold these

commitments if the threat of disinvestment and divestment is removed? They must prove to us that they would do so.

I am sure that most members of the Black Sash would agree with me in saying that nothing must be done which will cause one more person to lose a job. But we have some questions to ask of the business community here.

The unemployment which exists on so large a scale now is not a consequence of disinvestment, divestment or economic sanctions. We ask those who are most audible in their criticism of the disinvestment and divestment lobby over-

seas: How many jobs have you destroyed in the last five years because you have mechanized?

Did you worry about unemployment when you merged and relocated and rationalized your operations? What have you done about the growing monopolistic control over industry and commerce, about price-fixing, about destruction of competition, about squeezing out the small man?

You have told us you are totally opposed to disinvestment and to divestment because it will cause increased unemployment here. You must tell us why

South African businesses have become multinational.

Have you heard of the amendment to Section 10 which made the housing shortage a more stringent influx-control tool than it has ever been before? You were told about it, but we never heard you complain.

You must start being honest with us. We have to be persuaded that your operations really do create jobs, really do spread the profits of capitalism through the whole society.

The evidence is not in your favour.

● Leading article, page 8



# Labour backs down on schools

ON Monday the two Uitenhage schools that were closed by the Department of Education and Culture after discipline had broken down, were once again reopened and all pupils will be unconditionally re-admitted.

And in what is seen as a backdown by the Labour Party controlled education department, the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim has also reversed his earlier decision to transfer three teachers at one of the affected schools to other parts of the country.

Trouble started at the Uitenhage Senior Secondary School and the John Walton Senior Secondary School at the beginning of February when pupils, dissatisfied with the running of sportsfields in the area by the local coloured management committee, starting boycotting classes.

Matters came to a head two weeks ago when both schools were closed.

## DISCIPLINE

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, said at the time that discipline at the schools had broken down and that shutting the schools was the only way out.

The schools' closure resulted in pupils at all of Port Elizabeth's secondary schools and the Dower College boycotting classes in sympathy with Uitenhage's pupils.

Then came the transfer of three teachers from the John Walton Senior Secondary School and this caused further rumblings among pupils and teachers.

## VOLATILE

A volatile situation was diffused last Thursday when Mr Hendrickse announced that the Uitenhage schools would be reopened on Monday, pupils readmitted without having to sign any undertaking, and the three teachers to remain at their posts.

Mr Hendrickse said in a statement that he and Mr Ebrahim, Minister of Education and Culture, had had another look at the situation in Uitenhage.

"We now appeal to parents, teachers and pupils to act in the interests of the school at all times," Mr Hendrickse said.

An assurance had been received from teachers at both schools that they would be able to control pupils and assist in maintaining discipline.

Mr Hendrickse said at a news conference last week that this meant the principles themselves had to tighten up discipline as they had to do at all times.

## REVERSAL

He said that the reversal of the Labour Party's stance was more the result of representation from responsible quarters and what was in the best interest of education and the community than giving in to demands of pupils.

● A spokesman for the education department said on Monday that the situation at Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth's was returning to normal.

At the Uitenhage Senior Secondary School, the Gambol Street Secondary School and Dower College pupils and students continued their boycott of classes on Monday morning but were negotiating with principals and education authorities.

There were normal classes at five schools while at the rest pupil attendance was between 40 and 90 percent.

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C. Herald 6/3/85



# Does left hand know what the right hand is doing? 30 CA

Cape Times 16/3/85



## Political Survey

By GERALD SHAW

THE decision by Britain and the United States not to veto this week's hostile Security Council resolution on South Africa is rightly regarded by Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as a most disturbing turn of events.

South Africans should not underestimate the possible consequences of this unanimous Security Council resolution, says Mr Botha.

As things stand, though, both governments still seem firmly committed to opposing a Security Council resolution enforcing mandatory economic sanctions.

South Africa is one of Britain's major trading partners. Britain would itself suffer greatly in enforcing sanctions.

If Britain seems unlikely to approve sanctions in present or foreseeable circumstances, the situation in the United States is rather different.

The decision to become constructively engaged in this part of the world could be as rapidly reversed — if it does not get results which are acceptable to American opinion and promote American interests.

The US stake in the South African economy is not so great as to place a decision to disengage beyond the bounds of possibility.

### SA embarrassed by resolution

This week's resolution "strongly condemned" repressive action against squatters and political opponents of the Nationalist Government. It was a matter of words rather than deeds. But the Security Council is not only a talking shop. It does not always stop at words. And the tough words spoken point to a trend of Western opinion which is disquieting.

South Africa has been greatly embarrassed by the unanimous adoption of this condemnatory resolution. It is noteworthy that the actions complained of — the arrest of UDF members on charges of treason and the shooting of squatters, including children — all result from actions of the South African Police in matters which could have been handled rather differently.

A more sophisticated style of riot control, with police properly protected against the menace of stone-throwing mobs, could have seen order restored



Mr Pik Botha

in Crossroads without gunfire and lives being lost.

The UDF arrests, like the arrest of UCT students in the middle of the night, were likewise matters of judgment and discretion in the hands of the police, once the Attorney General had decided to institute prosecutions.

Yet surely there is some measure of contact and consultation between the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Foreign Affairs? When a treason investigation is in progress are not the results regularly reported to the State Security Council?

And are not the consequences of a course of action carefully weighed to gauge the balance of advantage? Surely this is the role of the State Security Council, which the ministers most directly concerned attend under the chairmanship of President Botha himself? Does the left hand know what the right hand is doing?

Or perhaps the right hand is increasingly at odds with the left hand.

Only time will tell whether the security police have been justified in arresting the political leaders in question on charges of treason.

Whatever happens, the Western vote in the Security Council is ominous. It is not that there is



Mr P W Botha

an immediate danger of economic sanctions being voted by the Security Council, although South Africa's continued failure to bring the SADF out of Namibia is a source of worry on this score.

If mandatory UN sanctions are unlikely, so too is it unlikely that the Congress of the United States will enact punitive disinvestment legislation this year requiring the repatriation of existing US investment from this country. Milder legislation is certainly possible and even this could be severely damaging in its effects.

It is a matter of confidence — confidence in the South African economy and confidence in the ability of the South African people to solve this country's political problems.

At present confidence is very low on both scores. The economy is still on the way down, as far as the layman can tell, and it will not hit bottom for some time. And the Botha administration's credibility as a reformist government is likewise at a low ebb.

Washington, which has invested vast diplomatic capital in this region in a bid to limit Soviet expansionism, has been disappointed with the results so far. Some internal reforms have come to pass, certainly, but the pace of reform has been

painfully slow.

The greatest disappointments have come in regional policy. The major objective — a Namibian settlement — is still not in sight. The second objective — the securing of Mozambique for the West and the countering of Soviet influence in the area — is likewise yet to be attained. The Nkomati Accord, which was to pave the way for a closer and more helpful association with our increasingly desperate and poverty-stricken neighbour, is in pretty poor shape. So much so that Dr Machel could yet be driven back into the arms of the Soviets.

This week's American vote to condemn South Africa should be seen as yet another shot across the bows. Washington is serving notice that associations between nations are based on give and take. Both parties must do their bit.

### Sponsoring terrorism

Why the failure in regional diplomacy? The Department of Foreign Affairs seems to be genuinely committed to rapprochement. The military, on the other hand, seem keen on an aggressive policy of covert operations, with what end objective in view is obscure and can only be guessed at.

Critics of SADF policy point to the moral dilemmas of sponsoring terrorism in a neighbour state — and being ultimately responsible for the death of who knows how many innocent civilians.

Supporters can argue, on the other hand, that much has been achieved at relatively low cost. Mozambique has been declared out of bounds to the ANC and the rate of bombings and sabotage in South African cities has dropped.

Does the end justify the means? Will not the short-term gains fade as the whole exercise rebounds, turning very sour indeed, as already in Mozambique?

Whether Mr Pik Botha and his diplomats can save the Accord is uncertain. Let us hope they can. The consequences of an imprudent enthusiasm for covert operations — prior to the Accord — are all too evident. Is it not time that the military be called to account and the reformists and diplomats given their head?



CMT Tm 16/3/85 (306A)

# Prof warns of SA 'upheaval'

Staff Reporter

IN his outlook for the South African economy during the next five years, a leading Afrikaner academic has warned that the country — from an economic point of view — is destined for revolution.

Speaking at a conference at the University of Stellenbosch's Institute for Futures Research, the Director of the Bureau for Economic Research, Professor A J M de Vries, said yesterday that it was unlikely the country would generate a "higher average growth rate over the next five

years of more than three percent per annum".

"At the same time an average annual inflation rate of very nearly 10 percent appears likely," Professor De Vries said.

## 'Examination'

"Given the poor growth and inflation performance of the past 10 years and taking into account projected population growth and the number of new entrants into the labour market, the above-mentioned figures are disturbing," he said.

"In fact this could be a classical recipe, from an economic point of view,

for social and political upheaval."

Professor De Vries said that to ensure a better growth performance, the country's economic situation needed a careful, clear and "rather radical" examination.

He said that current upsurge of "crisis management" resulted in confusion, a lack of proper direction, mistrust between private and public sectors and a gloomy, depressed mood among both consumers and businessmen.

The need for proper longer-term planning and the devising of strategies to reach certain goals was obvious.

## Gold

"South Africa will have to come to terms with the fact that we cannot depend on gold to save us in tight corners any more.

"It will have to be accepted that the days when it was easy to make money are something of the past and that we will have to work to earn our keep and improve our standards of living."

He said it was also important to note that South Africa was not only a First World country but a mixed economy and this would have to be taken into account when looking at the country's "policy mix".

"It will have to be accepted that we cannot follow the total freemarket approach tried by the first world economies and that it will be necessary to adjust our policy mix to the realities of the Third World part of our economy."

## Foreigners

It was "quite vital" that the public sector curb its own share of the economy quite drastically.

However, the "attractiveness" of investing in the country by foreigners should be enhanced.

● Another speaker said that unless the South African economy began a period of growth similar to that of earlier decades, the country would only experience its next "boom" — like that of the early 70s — by the year 2000.

This was said by Dr D C Krogh, a director of the Development Bank of Southern Africa and Professor of Economics at Unisa, who delivered an address at the one-day conference on policy options that would contribute to improving the country's economic health.

The conference focused on long-term economic growth and inflation.

## 'Nightmare'

While South Africa appeared to be entering a period of economic difficulty from now until the end of the century, it would be important and perhaps necessary to realize that the future facing black Africa was "nothing short of a nightmare".

"There is a pessimistic outlook that unless the South African economy can grow with the same tempo as it had done during the previous decades, we can only expect the same high level of personally available income as we experienced in the early 70s, by the end of the century. In other words, in 15 years."

The coming period of a lower economic growth rate would remain "stagnant" for at least a decade, he said.

Dr Krogh warned that unless the consequences of such a situation were examined, the average per capita income of black South Africans would have the least chance to improve.



THE white worker in South Africa faces a less protected future as the recession bites deeper and the government moves towards a more market-dominated economy.

A Human Sciences Research Council study published this week showed a strong antipathy among white workers for the lifting of any remaining job reservation provisions and to a more open and competitive labour market-place.

At the same time conservative whites-only transport and other unions have reacted with anger at cuts in their income announced by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The prospect of further cuts in government expenditure and the absence of an effective welfare system in South Africa raise the spectre of an increasingly disenchanted white working class caught between competition from a larger, 'cheaper' and increasingly more competitive black work force on the one hand and government cuts on the other.

Thus the 'poor white problem', first recognised as such in the 1930s with the Carnegie report on poverty, is back on the agenda.

Since the Second World War the National Party has attempted to solve the problem through the growth of the civil service, transport departments, parastatals, development corporations and so on, which provided secure employment, health, housing and other benefits for hundreds of thousands of loyal white workers who might have done less well in a competitive labour market-place.

## Drowned

According to the Progressive Federal Party's parliamentary research department, as of June 1984 there were 520 000 whites in the employ of the state and parastatal bodies.

Kept afloat in government departments and through job reservation, many would have drowned in the most shallow of waters. With the tides changing this problem will become considerably worse. White unemployment between 1980 and 1984 is already up 80% and the worst lies ahead.

Support systems must be thought through and developed now.

The government, professions, and major corporations are likely radically to alter in complexion as more educated blacks, Indians and coloureds present themselves in the market-place.

More important, with political change the vast reservoir of qualified blacks in exile, studying, and working abroad, can be expected to return in droves.

Figures on South Africans in exile are sketchy and constitute guestimates at best. It is known that there are tens of thousands in Britain alone.

Another 12 000 black people are understood to have gone into exile during and soon after the 1976/77 disturbances. Of these, 1 500 took up scholarships in schools and universities around the world.

Clearly a sizeable percentage of those who have left, legally or otherwise, constitute a real drain brain, and are 'in waiting' as it were, for a more opportune political scenario.

However with depressed employment conditions abroad and a local economy slowly opening up to black advancement,

# Why those poor whites needn't eat koeksisters

*The good times have ended for the white worker — and he knows it. He faces the erosion of job reservation and further cuts in government spending. But what he doesn't yet notice, is that he by no means lacks for alternative opportunities ...*

**By JOHN BLOOMFIELD**  
OF THE SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION



● Last week's Sunday Express ... troubles ahead for white workers

there is already evidence that the trek home has begun in earnest.

Mr Joe Modibane, treasurer for the South African alumni of the Institute of International Education (IIE) which provides scholarships for study in the United States, notes that 95% of those who go are now returning. Though there is no formal base for comparison, this figure is believed to be significantly higher than in recent years.

The curricula vitae of graduates of American universities are placed on a recruitment roster and circulated to local companies who eagerly seek them out. The field of training of students on that programme in 1984 looks like this:

|                              |     |
|------------------------------|-----|
| Business administration..... | 30% |
| Engineering.....             | 30% |
| Computers/maths.....         | 15% |
| Law.....                     | 5%  |
| Humanities.....              | 10% |

These figures refute the common view that the majority of blacks studying abroad are to be found in the 'softer', less pragmatic disciplines, notably the social sciences.

Given this skills influx and heightened competition, what is to become of the white South African?

Not discounting the optimistic scenario of increased competition pushing the skills base upwards, the likely tendency will be for a 'sandwich' effect to evolve.

Many in the middle layer — the white middle class, those who are mobile with negotiable skills and with no real commitment to Africa — will emigrate.

The very wealthy at the top layer have the kind of fixed assets that will make them reluctant to go.

That leaves a vast residue at the bottom layer — the 'poor white'. Unskilled, confused, frightened, they comprise a large part of the total white population and constitute one of the greatest threats to stability and peaceful change — 'poor whites' in waiting.

## Stimulate

This somewhat pessimistic scenario for white South Africans is intended to stimulate thought and, it is hoped, action. Competition for scarce resources is not necessarily a zero-sum game with absolute winners and losers.

If, as a guide, one looks at the track record in post-colonial states throughout the world, it is in the domain of small business that whites have survived. As other options close, owning one's own business is the support lifeline.

The most common has been in the service sector, notably hotels, restaurants and entertainment establishments.

In Madagascar, which for the past 13 years has been in the Marxist camp, almost without exception the hotels from the

plush Palm Beach at Nossi Bé to the hells of central Antananarivo are in Malagash hands.

And Antananarivo is alive with boutiques, bistros and eateries.

In 1974 at the height of the war in east Asia, Vientiane, the capital of Laos, was alive with French entrepreneurs.

In Ethiopia, in stark contrast to the horrendous starvation in the rural north-west, Addis Ababa prospers with small Italian restaurants and nightclubs catering largely for the sizeable expatriate contingency in Addis, headquarters of the OAU and the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

All over Africa — Dakar in Senegal, Abidjan in the Ivory Coast, in Gambia, Kenya, many hotels and restaurants owned by whites.

One also finds whites in areas of particular expertise such as watchmaking, mechanics, importers/exporters, pilots, aircraft technicians.

In Zambia there is a sizeable African farming community which does well.

In all these cases the whites have traded in their former settler elite ties for the greater good of the new country. They considered themselves Malagashe, Kenyan, Guyanese or South African.

## Integrated

lese and had taken out citizenship.

They also identified and integrated the local population and had a vision with respect to where economic trends were moving.

And their businesses were adaptable and versatile and changed with the times. They saw the changing political scene as a problem but as an opportunity to challenge.

Clearly, conditions prevailing in the countries are different from those in South Africa now or in the future. But they are the only available pointers to the future and imagination where and what was needed, as it will be in this country.

In the US it has been estimated that 10 million of the 9-million new jobs created between 1969 and 1976 were by small businesses.

In South Africa, the establishment of the Small Business Development Corporation in 1981 was a step in the right direction. This body is handsomely equipped to address the challenges facing the 'poor whites' of the future.

Through a retrenchment assistance exercise the SBDC could make a significant contribution towards addressing the problem.

In many respects South Africa is doubly blessed with resources — natural and human — which far exceed those of the countries mentioned above. It is one of the last great frontiers with a tremendous infrastructure, an economic power that could sustain much of the continent.

The problem of the 'poor white' can be seen against this backdrop — in this case the problem looks more like an opportunity.

● John Bloomfield is on secondment from Anglo-American to the Small Business Development Corporation. He studied development economics at the University of Cambridge and the London School of Economics and has travelled and worked for four years in Third World countries.



# Sport: Craven's warnings

ALAN ROBINSON of the Argus Foreign Service spoke to Dr Danie Craven in Paris on the declaration by SA sports bodies.



"We believe that apartheid must be eliminated from society as well. It is an evil."

whole is preaching integration with one voice. All fair-minded people in the world will understand."

But Dr Craven warned against "overnight miracles". He said: "Of course there will be those who do not wish to know. If they do not want to listen, there's nothing we can do about it."

Asked what effect the declaration could have on public opinion in New Zealand regarding the All Blacks tour, he said: "That is impossible to assess. I can only appeal to the average New Zealander, who is a fair-minded, decent chap, to take our word for it."

"We have spoken from the heart..."

The declaration of intent has so far made no impression on British sports writers.

The subject is not mentioned in the sports pages of Fleet Street newspapers today.

But there are several references to South Africa in previews of the International Rugby Board meeting.

Tony Bodley of the Daily Express says the Republic's vote will be decisive on the World Cup issue.

"They accept that they would be unable to participate because of anti-apartheid problems and might now vote against or abstain."

Clem Thomas of The Observer, however, commented yesterday: "South Africa will know that they will not be included in the present climate, which in itself will give a hollow ring to any title of world champions."

"I would not be surprised if they abstained from voting on a competition issue they would not take part in."

SOUTH African sport's unanimous declaration of intent to rid the country of apartheid has been warmly welcomed by Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, who has for years carried the torch for integrated sport in the Republic.

But as he arrived in Paris yesterday for the crucial International Rugby Board meeting this week, Dr Craven warned against what he called "overnight miracles".

He told me: "Rugby, cricket, soccer and several other sports have been following the new code for years."

"I have gone from country to country, meeting to meeting, telling the world that apartheid in rugby is dead. Joe Parnisky has done the same for cricket. And there have been others..."

"What is wonderful about the new declaration of intent is that for the first time every single South African sportsman and sportswoman is telling the world with one voice that apartheid must go."

"We are united, we are unanimous about it — and all fair-minded people should take note," said South Africa's "Mr Rugby".

But Dr Craven went further: "This is not just a matter of sport. We believe that apartheid must be eliminated from society as well. It is an evil."

"However, we as sportsmen and sports administrators can only speak for sport. All South Africans, and especially our Government, must play their part, too. We are showing the way, the others must follow."

Dr Craven denied that he was taking copies of the code to lay before the IRB meeting, which starts on Wednesday. Reacting to reports that he was to present the code to Mr Cec Blazey, president of the New Zealand Rugby Union, in a bid to save this year's All Blacks rugby tour of South Africa, Dr Craven said:

"I do not carry a copy of the code in my back pocket. My friends, our friends, know exactly where we stand on this. We have been telling them of our policy for years and they know and understand it."

"South African rugby has been in the forefront of racial integration."

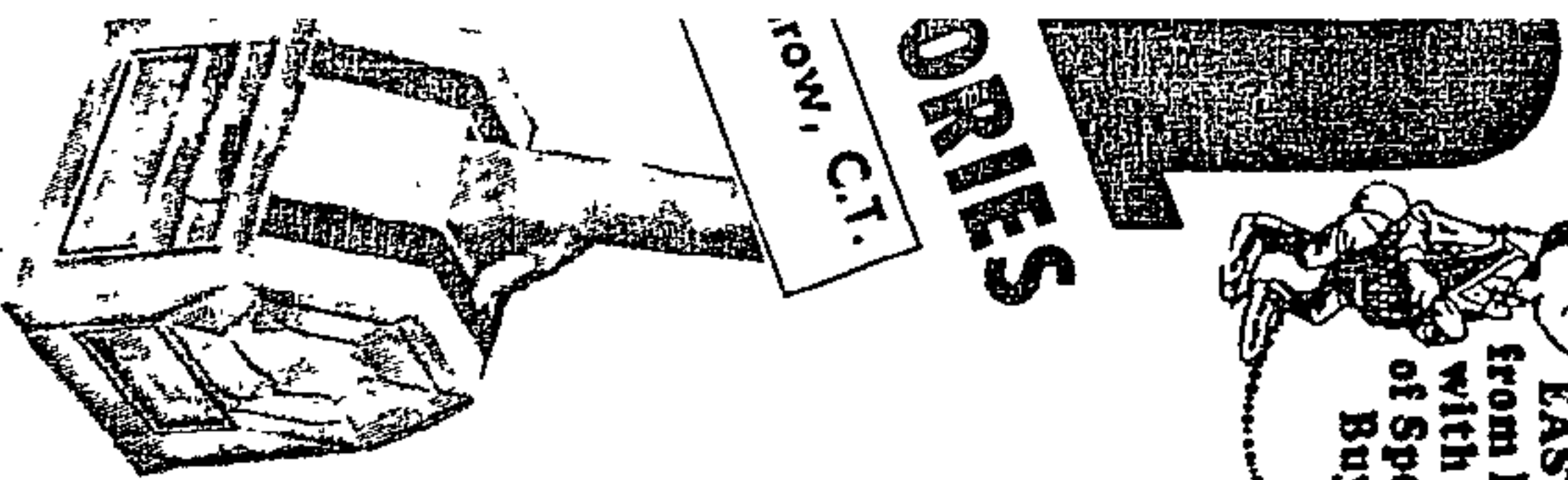
"What is new and what is so exciting about the declaration of intent is that sport as a

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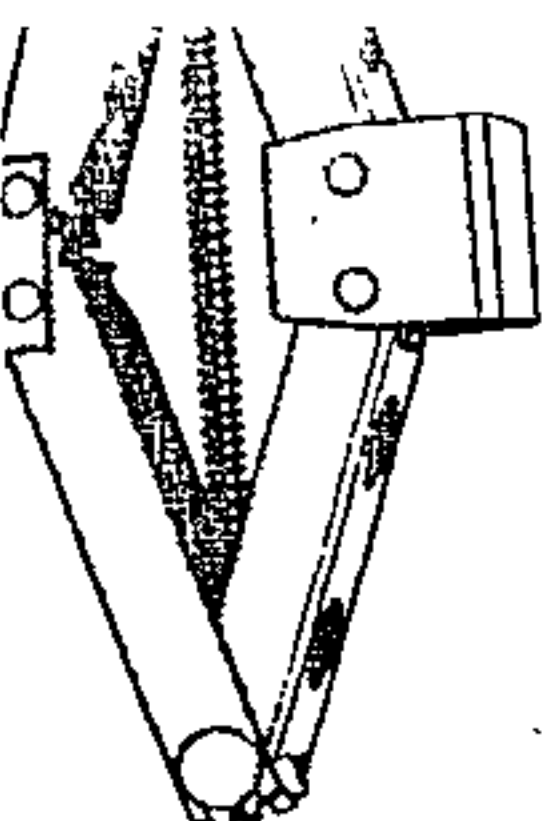


# Pik, Tutu in lively TV debate

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Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told millions of American television viewers early today that change could come to South Africa faster if the international community stopped trying to apply pressure.

South Africa still had time to change, because there was goodwill in the country. But the outside world should stay out of it and not try to prescribe to South Africans, black and white, what they should do, he said.

Mr Botha made his remarks on the ABC News television show Nightline against a background of a lively debate in the United States over economic sanctions as a method of forcing the South African Government to moderate and ultimately abandon apartheid.

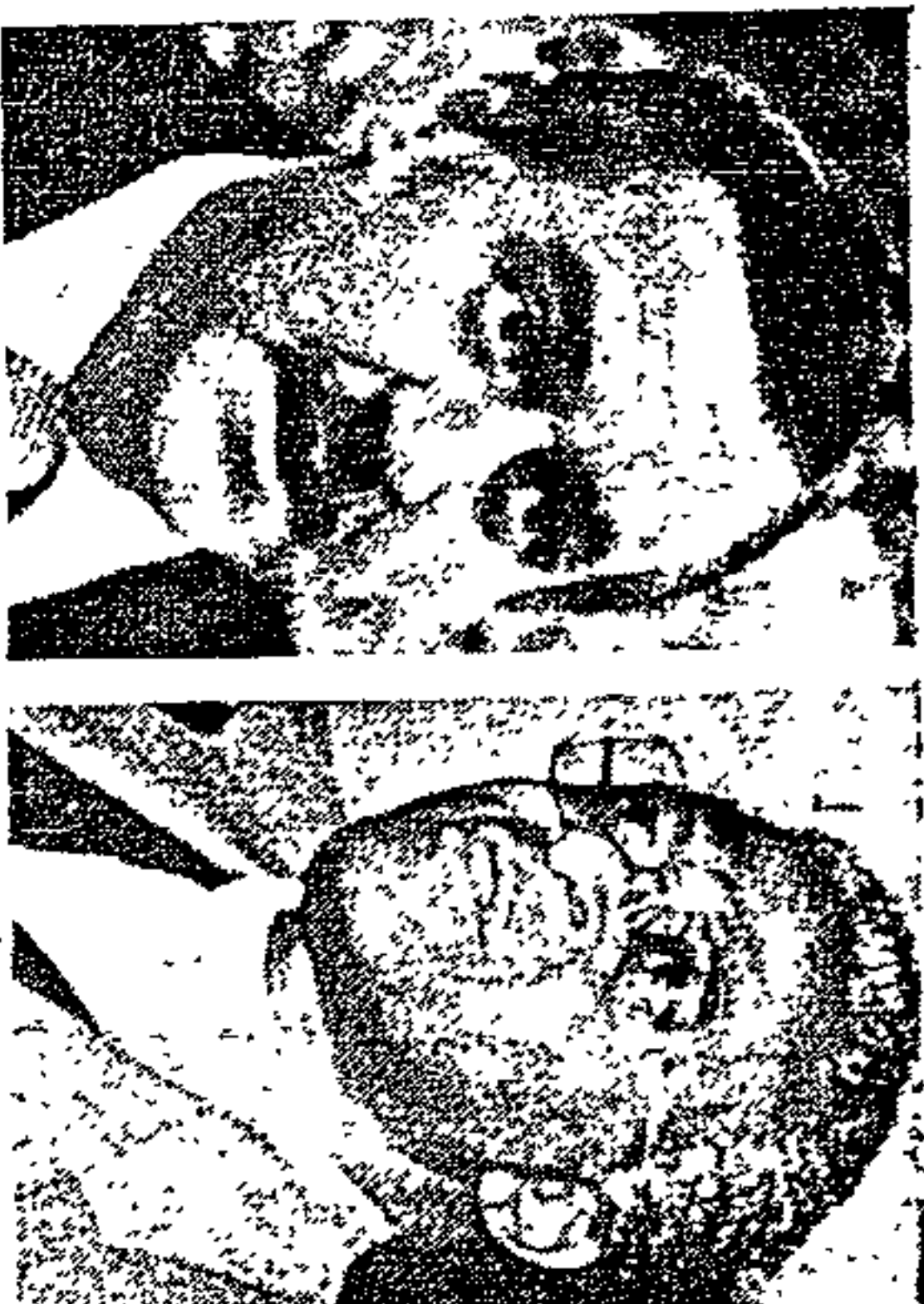
## First of five shows

During the show, the first of five editions of Nightline to be broadcast from South Africa and screened at midnight on the US east coast this week, Mr Botha had a number of spirited exchanges with Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The two South Africans were in separate studios (Mr Botha in Cape Town and Bishop Tutu in Johannesburg) while the show's host, American TV personality Ted Koppel, spoke to them from a third SABC studio.

One of the sharpest of their exchanges came after Bishop Tutu referred to apartheid as "something as evil as nazism and communism."

Mr Botha retorted with apparent irritation: "To



Mr Pik Botha

Bishop Tutu

● The SABC has bought the Nightline programmes. The first will be broadcast on News Focus tonight after the 8 pm news.

compare us with the nazis is an insult to the more than 100 000 South Africans of Jewish origin who came to this country, and to our forefathers who fought with the allied powers against nazi Germany."

Earlier, they disagreed vigorously after Mr Botha said that the SA Government was ready to negotiate with any black leader who disavowed violence as a means to effect political change.

## Boycott SA goods, say UK union men

Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Trade union leaders representing millions of British workers have appealed to their members to show their condemnation of apartheid by boycotting all South African products.

The general secretaries of 16 national trade unions yesterday signed a declaration urging British workers to avoid buying South African goods.

Their declaration is part of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's "month of boycott action" — a major campaign to increase the pressure on South Africa by stepping up the boycott action in Britain.

Signatories included Mr Gavin Laird of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, which has more than a million members, and Mr David Basnett,

Bishop Tutu said that the lie had been given to that argument by the arrest of United Democratic Front leaders.

The Foreign Minister and the bishop spent several minutes arguing over the process of law involved in the arrests and the right of the UDF arrested to apply for bail and the right of the Attorney-General to oppose bail applications.

Mr Koppel brought this exchange to an end with the comment that he and his American colleagues had been astonished by the liveliness of political debate in South Africa and the robustness of the country's Press.

Asked how change could be brought about, Bishop Tutu said the churches were calling for the Government to sit down at a national convention and negotiate not with imposed black leaders but authentic leaders like Nelson Mandela.

Mr Botha said that the Government's view had been made clear — it was prepared to talk with any leader who rejected violence.

## Three ways for change

Bishop Tutu said there three ways change could come to South Africa.

The first was with the vote but that was out of the question since blacks did not have the vote. The second way was violence, and most blacks eschewed this course.

"The third possibility is the one I have been calling for: the assistance of the international community to bring pressure on the SA Government to urge it to go the conference table before it is too late," he said.

## Namibia: Crocker for SA

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, will visit South Africa this week for talks on SWA/Namibia.

He is currently talking with Angolan government representatives.

Both meetings are thought to be about two outstanding issues that the United States is trying to resolve:

- Narrowing the gap between South Africa and Angola on the Cuban troop withdrawal issue; and
- Removing obstacles to the completion of the withdrawal of SA troops from Angola.



# Indian wants to join PFP

304 A 2. Post 21/3/85

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA in Johannesburg

OUR economy may be grinding to a halt, but we do have one growth industry — politics.

In the highly politicised Indian group area of Lenasia, near Johannesburg, people have to choose between the United Democratic Front — with its ally the Transvaal Indian Congress — the smaller Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and three other parties that are represented in Parliament.

Now a local trader, Mr Sonny Ragoo, has joined the fray by announcing that he intends launching, in defiance of the law against mixed political parties, a Lenasia branch of the Progressive Federal Party — if he can find 200 Indians to join him.

Mr Ragoo made headlines during last August's House of Delegates elections when he and his wife Ramola were injured after riot police and what he calls "political gangsters" chased demonstrators into their shop.

This week Mr Ragoo spelt out why he wants to join the PFP when there is such a wide choice of political groups available in Lenasia.

He is, as most Lenasians are, a victim of the Group Areas Act.

He produces copies of a strongly worded letter he has sent to Mr P W Botha to complain about the way the Government has treated him, especially its refusal to give him a permit to trade in central Johannesburg.

"The decision of your Government by ramming communist influence down my throat by precluding me from the free enterprise system, is unchristian and undemocratic which is only practised in barbaric countries," the letter says.

Mr Ragoo says he is an active member but not an official of the Transvaal Indian Congress, that he has the greatest regard for the TIC leaders and his heart is with the UDF.

But because the Government doesn't tolerate extra-parliamentary opposition, he says, being an activist in the TIC, UDF or Azapo could mean arrest or detention and being "immobilised".

So from the registered parties he has chosen the PFP. "Do you think they will arrest a black member of the PFP?"

And he trusts PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert more than any Indian or coloured MP.

Why not join the Indian parties whose policies are similar to the PFP's?

Well, says Mr Ragoo, those parties entered the tricameral Parliament without consulting the Indian people, accepted an ethnic set-up and were soundly rejected by the majority at the polls.

But the PFP, it is pointed out to him, is also part of an ethnic set-up and it, too, was soundly trounced at the white polls. Yes, he agrees, but the PFP at least has a record of fighting for human rights and exposing Government maladministration.

If he joins the PFP, he'll still have to be a candidate for the ethnic Indian House. "Yes," says Mr Ragoo, "but I'll stand as a boycott candidate. If I win, I won't take up my seat in the ethnic house."

But the PFP won't boycott the white ethnic elections, so isn't there a contradiction?

"The PFP has told us that if it boycotts the election, it will be destroyed like the Liberal Party and more people would support the Nationalists and their apartheid policy."

Will the PFP accept his boycott platform? "I've spoken to them about it and I've had no objections."

However, Mr Ragoo does differ with the PFP on at least one policy issue.

"They say they want a national convention to which all those against violence will be invited. That is ambiguous."

"I say that for the ANC, violence was forced on to them. Are they going to reject the ANC or are they going to reject the Government which proved its violence during the tricameral elections?"

"I also don't know if they will accept this concept: the wealth of the whites, including Mr Oppenheimer's, we blacks see as not being gained free and fair but via the Group Areas Act. I want the land to be restored to the original owners."

What support does Mr Ragoo have? He says he has spoken to TIC and Azapo leaders. "The response was not favourable."

But he has sounded out others in Lenasia and says he has had a favourable response from about 200.

And he intends to hold a public meeting. If 200 or more people join the PFP, he will start up a PFP branch.

If fewer than that join, it would mean, he says, that the people reject the PFP.

However, he says he will "follow his conscience" and join the party as an individual.



# P W. Tambo programme may be shown on TV1 soon

ARGUS 22/3/85 (22/3/85) CAX (24/3/85)

## Television Reporter

AN interview with President P W Botha and a debate featuring banned ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo may be screened on TV1 tomorrow night.

A spokesman for the SABC said the corporation would view the two-part programme and, if they wanted to screen it, would apply to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, for permission.

The American Broadcasting Corporation's Nightline team spent two hours with President Botha in Cape Town today.

According to ABC's Press spokesman in South Africa, Nightline interviewer Ted Koppel quizzed Mr Botha on progress towards settlement of the political issues raised during its interviews so far.

Immediately afterwards, the Nightline team was due to fly to Johannesburg to record a panel debate. This was to be broadcast to the US by satellite tonight, together with the interview with Mr Botha.

The panel lined up consists of ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Dr Allan Boesak, the leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and former MP Dr Connie Mulder.

The spokesman said ABC had requested a fifth panellist "on the level of Government Minister", to replace the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who has withdrawn from the programme.



# Failure at local level 'could lead to violence'

## Parliamentary Staff

WARNINGS have been given in the House of Representatives that failure of the new constitutional system at local government level could lead to unrest and violence.

Speakers of the majority Labour Party complained about continuing resistance by many white local authorities to coloured participation in local government affairs.

The House unanimously adopted a private member's motion from Mr Jac Rabie (LP Reigerpark) calling for full implementation of existing regulations to counter the "negative attitude" of certain local authorities.

## Attitudes

The motion referred specifically to attitudes under which certain local authorities were not allowing members of local affairs committees and management committees to become members of standing committees of local authorities.

Mr Rabie's motion also called on the Government to improve communication between local authorities on the one hand and local affairs committees and management committees on the other.

Mr David Curry, the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, said there were indications that the new constitutional system was failing at local government level.

## "Disturbing"

Replying to issues raised during the debate, he said the Government had created legislation providing for negotiation at local government level.

It was "disturbing" however, that certain local authorities were rejecting attempts by people of colour to negotiate or to participate in local government affairs.

The attitude of white local government officials was that people could take their complaints to their Ministers or their MPs — "we govern here," the officials were saying.

## Arrears

Attempts to liaise with local authorities on such issues as arrear rentals at a time of unemployment were being spurned.

The attitude of the officials was that "the law must take its course" and people would be evicted for failing to pay rent.

Mr Curry said such attitudes were turning "middle-of-the-road people" into radicals.

While some whites were going out of their way to create good relationships, others were doing their best, through their attitudes, to wreck the country.

Because of negative attitudes, leftists were saying the only language the whites understood was violence.

"What we fear is that guns, stones and petrol bombs will become the method of solving problems," Mr Curry said.

"At Cabinet and parliamentary level we can talk to the Government, but at local government level the system is failing."

## Higher rentals

Trouble often began with increased rentals, as in the Vaal Triangle. Subversive political groups exploited such situations.

"We don't want to see our country become a violent place.

"Who wants to live in Beirut? There they solve problems through the barrel of a gun," Mr Curry said.

Introducing his motion, Mr Jac Rabie said it was "astonishing and unhealthy" that local authorities should be indifferent to the interests of people of colour in their towns and cities.

"If this continues it can lead to confrontation."



P W ON NIGHTLINE, BUT:

# Heunis refusal 'chicken'

ARGUS

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Political Staff

MR Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, is "chicken" for pulling out of the Nightline TV programme, says the official Opposition.

Mr Heunis says he will not take part because it would be "contrary to the national interest" for him to be involved in a controversial debate.

However the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, decided to go ahead and was interviewed at Tuynhuys in Cape Town today by the Nightline anchorman, Ted Koppel.

The Botha interview — perhaps interspersed with an Oliver Tambo interview conducted separately — will be beamed across the US on the ABC network tonight.

Mr Heunis is the only Cabinet Minister to have rejected a Nightline invitation and the official Opposition spokesman on the media, Mr Dave Dalling, said today: "I think he's chicken."

"South African Cabinet Ministers are not used to being subjected to fair debate on television — they want interviewers to bow and scrape, whereas Mr Koppel doesn't do that."

## Panel discussion

He said in a formal statement issued by his department that the Nightline producers wanted him to take part in a panel discussion with Dr Allan Boesak, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Dr Connie Mulder.

This, he said, "would jeopardise the negotiation process in this country".

A public debate aimed mainly at a foreign audience could lead to a hardening of positions by participants, and his department needed to work in an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding which could be harmed by such a debate.

"I reaffirm my preparedness to appear on the programme but not in the climate of confrontation which must of necessity result from the suggested format," Mr Heunis said.

Mr Koppel — busy with the President Botha interview today — was not available for comment.



304A

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE recent tribal squabbles between Sothos and Shangaans in the northern Transvaal was caused by the announcement of complicated land consolidation proposals made by the South African Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

These findings are contained in a researched article by the South African Catholic Bishop's Conference (SACBC) after the dispute that left at least one person dead and about 95 others injured. The SACBC said to the outside world it was yet another tribal squabble — Sothos and Shangaans at war over a piece of land.

According to the SACBC, the problem started last October when Dr Viljoen announced that 2020 ha of Gazankulu territory would be returned to South Africa; 7 000 ha of Lebowa would be added to Gazankulu and 3 800 ha from Gazankulu would be given to Lebowa. "But to the once peaceful villagers in the territories outside Tzaneen, the boundary dispute which sparked the faction fighting, was a crisis," the SACBC said.

Ms Sarah Crowe, information officer of the SACBC, who compiled the article said: "It was the first time in years, even decades that the tribes had clashed. For years they had lived side by side in virtual uninterrupted peace, until the Nationalist government's policy of divide and rule — the bantustans — put an end to that."

After the land consolidation proposal, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, accused the South African government of trying to create hostility among homeland leaders. He warned that it would lead to bloodshed and misery. It has finally happened...

The Lebowa Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Nelson Ramodike, is alleged to have told residents at a meeting in Lenyenye to cut down the border fence between Gazankulu and Lebowa.

The "war" did break out, men armed themselves with axes, stones and assegais. They burnt and stoned shops, cars and houses. There was general panic in the two areas and villagers were told to evacuate their homes, or else.

Gazankulu, Lebowa and South Africa police intervened. Teargas, live and rubber bullets and birdshot were fired. Many people — from both camps — were injured and a general stayaway followed.

The whole incident was described as a "black week" and the men as "war-chanting, assegai-wielding hordes of blacks" who took "the law into their own hands". When the fighting started newspapers said it was over a "Sotho cow which strayed into a Shangaan area and set the two tribes against each other, and of a border battle of fierce tribal war".

The description in the media naturally sent panic into the hearts of the conservative white Tzaneen residents. They feared they would fall prey to the marauding "mobs" once they had finished with each other. But, the SACBC said, to the "peace-loving" Sothos and Shangaans the fighting was a result of the government's policy of divide and rule.

# Govt blame tribal upheaval



CASUALTIES: Some of the many injured in the tribal fighting between...



RESULT: Many people like this one...



March 21, 1985

~~TOP SECRET~~

# Govt blamed for tribal upheavals



CASUALTIES: Some of the many injured in the tribal fighting between Sothos and Shangaans.





304A

The Natal ...

March 19, 1985



London—A petition supporting economic sanctions against South Africa is handed in at No 10 Downing Street yesterday by leaders of 42 councils in Britain. They are (from left): Councillors Mike Pyl, Phil Turner, Phyllis Smith, Paul Boateng and Hugh Bailey.

## 42 councils launch anti-apartheid week

### London Bureau

MORE than 40 local authorities throughout Britain yesterday launched a co-ordinated week of action against apartheid.

To mark the beginning of the week, which coincides with the 25th anniversary of Sharpeville on March 21, 1960, a delegation of local authority leaders presented a letter to No 10 Downing Street signed by 42 council leaders from England, Scotland and Wales.

The letter called on the British Government to re-examine the basis of its policy towards apartheid

and to support the United Nations resolution for mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

At a Press conference at the Greater London Council headquarters yesterday, the results of the first comprehensive United Nations survey on local authority action against apartheid was released.

The survey covers 121 councils in Britain, representing more than 36 million people, that are known to have taken some form of action or adopted policy against apartheid up to Decem-

ber last year.

The survey reveals the extent to which boycott-policies had been implemented by councils in Britain with regard to South African consumer goods.

It also details action the councils had taken to ban South African representatives, such as sportsmen and members of trade delegations, from using premises under their control.

The councils also undertook to withdraw their support from companies with links with South Africa.

The survey also shows

how many local authorities had taken steps to name buildings, parks and other council properties after political prisoners in South Africa.

At the Press conference, London barrister Mr Paul Boateng, a member of the Greater London Council's ethnic minorities committee, said local councils had a legal duty to improve race relations in their areas.

He hailed last week's court decision to uphold the Leicester council's one-year ban on rugby players who had played in South Africa from using council-owned training grounds.

### Boycott

The executive secretary of the Anti-apartheid Movement, Mr Mike Terry, said the action by local authorities against apartheid was 'the most exciting move and potentially the most influential stand against apartheid that has been taken in Britain.'

For example, Mr Terry said, if a local authority decided to boycott Barclays Bank because of its links with South Africa, it meant that the bank was losing a customer worth hundreds of millions of rands. It would have tremendous economic clout, he added.



## POLITICS

# The coming revolution

Changes are taking place in the National Party that may transform it into a barely recognisable political grouping in the next four years. The most intriguing thing about the process is that it seems ineluctable.

Prominent sources in the NP say the Political Interference Act — which is already ignored by the Labour Party (LP) and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) — could be scrapped as early as May this year. This could be the catalyst for many fundamental transformations, and leading Nationalists are already discussing the possibility of the party's ranks being bolstered by conservative coloureds and Indians by the next general election in 1989.

The process will release unpredictable and barely controllable forces as political groupings seek alliances of survival. Nationalist Afrikanerdom will undergo a profound change of identity in which large numbers of fundamentalists will be thrown together in a unified CP and HNP to preserve their notion of racial purity. Intriguingly, the less xenophobic elements of the Afrikaner tribe will be forced into unfamiliar alliances to maintain the power base. Unavoidably the NP may have to steal the clothes of the PFP and look for coloured and Indian allies of middle-class "moderate" bent.

Unavoidably, too, if such a non-racial alliance is to be strong enough to beat off the challenge of the white exclusivists, it may be necessary to consolidate the alliance by unifying the three chambers of the legislature.

Potchefstroom University political science professor Pieter Potgieter tells the *FM* that the NP stands to lose even more support when the conservative voters still in the party realise the full extent of what the NP leadership has in mind with the political rights of blacks.

Rand Afrikaans University political scientist Hennie Kotze agrees that there has been a sharp decline in NP support since the beginning of 1984, but does not believe the economic crisis will have a very strong effect. "People, including the NP leadership, are only now realising how strongly interdependent politics and the economy are." A CP government would be even more wasteful.

Kotze says the NP's problem is that it no longer has a clearcut ideology and that the CP has taken over its emotive and highly marketable slogans like *swart gevaar* and maintenance of Afrikaner self-determination.

Potgieter says the Political Interference Act makes little sense seen against the background of the reforms of the last months. When that has gone, the separate chambers of Parliament will also make little sense.



**President Botha . . . towards a multiracial regime?**

Two NP MPs the *FM* spoke to, agreed with this.

In this scenario, says Potgieter, there will almost definitely be a rearrangement of political groupings. The NP is already becoming more and more of a centrist party and with its strong base of power and Afrikaner support it could become the base for conservative coloured and Indian voters, especially if the blacks are brought into the central political system. "And I cannot see how the blacks can be kept out for more than twelve months or so."

Kotze says that the coloured and Indian voter who voted in the last Parliamentary elections would sooner vote NP than PFP. They will be the first to feel the pressure and perceive a threat from the black man when he has been given equal opportunities and political rights.

"The NP can only survive if they broaden their base — something like the DTA-option," says Kotze. And all indications are that the President and his men are quite determined to survive. ■



EUGENE TERRE'BLANCHE

# Waiting for Armageddon

304A

FACE TO FACE



Eugene Terre'Blanche leads the ultra-right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). He represents in extreme form the white backlash to the reforms of the P W Botha administration.

**FM:** How do you see the situation after recent changes in government policy?

**Terre'Blanche:** Botha has capitulated, like the white minorities in other African countries. Influx control is on its way out and so is the Immorality Act. This will lead to the Mixed Marriages Act and Group Areas Act going as well. All protection for minority groups will go and the three-chamber Parliament will become a one-chamber Parliament. In the present economic climate, you are courting revolution if you give an unhappy person political power without the ability to better his own economic position. I have a genuine fear that that will mean the end of the white man and the order that he has created here. Botha knows he will not be voted in again by whites only. The conservatives will take Transvaal and the Free State in the next election as sure as I am sitting here.

**So you still believe in Verwoerdian apartheid?**

I think apartheid is the most fair and just principle on earth. It does not ask of the black man what it does not ask of me. It is

the only way in which two clashing cultures can co-exist without friction and conflict. Do you anticipate a white backlash?

Government and government alone will be responsible for the bloodiest revolution Africa has ever seen because it forces people together who do not belong together. I have no control over it and I do not propagate it, but the Afrikaner is not going to accept it. He will assert himself in a counter offensive with all the power he can muster.

**How do you see the outcome of this war?**

I do think that in the end we will get the kind of white *volkstaat* that I want to achieve through peaceful means. If it does not mean the end of all civilisation and order, it will result in the separation of all the different peoples.

**What is your own position on political violence?**

I have said that if all law and order in SA disappears and we find ourselves in the position of the whites of Mozambique and Angola, where we must pay with our lives, we will violently resist with all the innate power in us. But until then we will use constitutional methods and fight from political platforms.

**What white *volkstaat* are you talking about?**

We are coming out with a new offensive, a new ideal. We are going to demand from Botha that the two republics which never got their sovereignty back — the Republic of the Orange Free State, and the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek (Transvaal) — be restored as one sovereign white Boer republic. We also want the old republics, the Republic of Vryheid in

northern Natal, and the northern Cape Republics of Stellaland and Goossen, to be part of this.

I think it is impossible and impractical to push the coloureds into a homeland of 1m ha in the Cape. Some 86% of them live in the Cape, with the rest scattered over the country. Botha must not make his problem ours. If the coloureds and whites of the Cape want to share power and have consensus rule, let them have it. The same goes for Natal, where the vast majority of Indians live. Let them and the English-speakers share power and make peace.

**People call you a Boere Hitler ...**

I am not a National Socialist. I am an Afrikaner nationalist. But I am also not narrow-minded: I will take from all systems of government if it can be used in safeguarding my people — certainly also from National Socialism.

**Are you fascinated by Hitler?**

Not really. I am more fascinated with my own heroes, like Christiaan de Wet. I have always thought more of Alexander the Great than of Hitler. Then there are great men like Nelson and Bonaparte and Marshall Ney. I also have admiration for great African leaders of the past like Chaka and Umzilikazi, and that wise old man Dingiswayo.

**Do you hate the Jews?**

No. I know about certain international conspiracies, but I prefer to think of those people as representative of the international money powers rather than Jews. I respect the Jews who fight in the kibbutzim. ■



# Killings unjustified, says SA ambassador

Room 23/3/85

3044 275

By JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON BUREAU.

THE South African Ambassador to Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, yesterday told the British Press after being summoned to Whitehall that the Uitenhage killings were "completely unjustified" and that they "could not be justified on any basis".

## Uitenhage follows E Cape shootings

Mail Reporter

CHAOS erupted yesterday as several townships throughout the country as youths went on the rampage, obstructing roads, attacking policemen, and setting fire to administration board offices, in the aftermath of the shootings in Uitenhage this week.

About 17 000 pupils fled away from 15 primary and two secondary schools in Uitenhage and riots continued in many other townships.

British outrage at the police action at Uitenhage was reflected by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who condemned the action as "indefensible".

Amid a growing consensus in Britain on the imposition of economic sanctions, Sir Geoffrey made his strongest condemnation yet against South Africa.

He said the Uitenhage shootings demonstrated yet again the "evil of apartheid" and said it was a "matter of the gravest concern" to the government.

The depth of anger in Britain was also reflected in a second day of almost unprecedented media attention to the aftermath.

Meetings banned  
— Page 2



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About 17 000 pupils stayed away from 15 primary and two secondary schools in Uitenhage and boycotts continued in many other townships.

Several policemen's homes in Kwanobuhle, near Uitenhage, were the targets of arson attacks and were completely destroyed. Police fired birdshot at stone-throwers who damaged one of their vehicles, a police spokesman said.

Just outside Parys, a man was seriously injured after he drove into a telephone pole in an attempt to avoid stone-throwing youths.

Police arriving at the scene were also stoned and fired rubber bullets to disperse the crowd.

Two handgrenades were yesterday hurled at the Jabavu Administration Board building in Soweto, causing slight damage, the spokesman said.

In Zamdela, near Sasolburg, youths obstructed the roads and hijacked a bus which they crashed into an administration board office. They then set fire to the offices which were gutted.

Four other buses were also extensively damaged. Police used tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse about 800 youths. A group which fled into a school were driven away by police using quirts.

Youths in Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, set fire to a police vehicle, totally destroying it. In another incident police fired tearsmoke at a group of about 1 000 youths in Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, who stoned a police vehicle.

In the Western Cape, police fired rubber bullets at a group of youths who were stoning a police vehicle.

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### Meetings banned — Page 2

In a day of high drama, Dr Worrall was summoned to the British Foreign Office to hear from the Minister of State, Mr Richard Luce, the British Government's condemnation of the "indefensible police action".

Dr Worrall said after the meeting that economic sanctions would not work and insisted that continued economic growth was "a major liberalising factor" in South Africa. He noted that 250 000 British jobs depend on trade with South Africa.

He told reporters that "we accept the necessity of fundamental reform. The killings, he said, were 'completely unjustified. It could not be justified on any basis,' but it needed to be seen in context. He contended that the context was South Africa's reforms, which had plunged the country into 'a stage of considerable fluidity and uncertainty'.

Mr Worrall likened the situation to the Deep South of the United States between 1955 and 1965, "which was a period of tremendous social reform characterised also by more civil unrest than at any time in modern America's history".

"That is the kind of thing that is going through the mind of a South African today," he said.

Interview

## Worrall: UK killings not justified

From Page 1

the Minister for African Affairs in the Foreign Office, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, expressed his "absolute horror" at the killings.

"Changes have been so modest and the time-scale so slow that one has to be extremely concerned as to whether it could meet even the minimum aspirations of those who demand fundamental change and the dismantling of apartheid," he said.

But leaders of the main opposition parties — the Labour and Social Democratic parties and the secretary-general of the Commonwealth — dismissed the Government's reaction as inadequate and said the time for economic sanctions against South Africa had arrived.

Dr David Owen, leader of the SDP and a former Foreign Secretary, called on the British Government for the first time to play a leading role in introducing mandatory economic sanctions at the United Nations. The shadow foreign sec-

retary, Mr Denis Healey, said the Uitenhage killings showed that the time for economic sanctions had arrived.

In a television interview Dr David Owen, SDP leader and former foreign secretary, dropped a bombshell with his call for economic sanctions. He said he had always regarded economic sanctions as "a last resort". "The time has now come for the West to get tough with South Africa," he said.

Meanwhile the Langa death toll rose to 18 yesterday, while 29 of the people wounded on Thursday morning were still in hospital last night, reports the Mail's Correspondent in Port Elizabeth.

These figures were given by a spokesman for the Directorate of Public Affairs at the South African Police headquarters in Pretoria.

A spokesman for the Uitenhage Fire Department said yesterday that the department had been called by the SAP to clear the road after the shooting at the intersection of Maduna Road and 14th Avenue at 9.15am.

## Township unrest spreads

From Page 1

rounded the home of a Dorington town councillor. One man was slightly wounded. A pastor's home was set alight, and gutted.

The Kimberley township of Galeshewe was the site of massive unrest yesterday. Black youths set fire to a headmaster's home, causing extensive damage. The home of a circuit inspector was also set alight and burnt to the ground.

Police fired rubber bullets and birdshot at about 400 pupils from the Tidi-male secondary school who stoned a police vehicle, extensively damaging it.

Another group of pupils from this school later stoned the school building, and then moved onto a shopping complex where they shattered windows and bent the burglar bars. Four administration

board vehicles were stoned and damaged. Two of the drivers fired shots at the youths but no injuries were reported, according to the spokesman.

In a further incident a petrol bomb was hurled at a police vehicle. Police fired birdshot, slightly injuring one man who was subsequently arrested. Rubber bullets were also fired.

A policeman guarding a shop in the township fired shots at a group approaching the area, slightly injuring one man.

The Department of Education and Training has suspended classes at all four secondary schools until April 10.

POLITICAL comment in this issue by R A Gibson, Benjamin Pogrand; newsbills by Patrick Carfax, headlines and sub-editing by Bryan Pearson; cartoons by David Anderson, all of 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.



# Dugard wants Le Grange fired

THERE was widespread condemnation yesterday of the shooting of 18 people in Uitenhage on Thursday with a call for the Minister of Law and Order to be fired.

● The director for the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of Witwatersrand and Professor of Law, Professor John Dugard called for the sacking of Mr Louis le Grange.

He said "those in authority must accept full responsibility for the shooting and only the sacking of Mr Le Grange will satisfy the local and international community which have condemned the police action".

Mr Le Grange had no right to remain in the cabinet if he was unwilling and could not control his police force, he said.

● The Lawyers for Human Rights said that authoritarian interference with a right as basic as burying one's dead was unacceptable in virtually any circumstances, and "when this interference is perpetrated in an atmosphere of on-going racial tension it can only, as has now been seen, lead to disaster".

● The South African Jewish Board of Deputies called on all concerned to exercise restraint and tolerance, and to "use their utmost endeavours" to find a so-

lution for the problems which had lead to the shooting.

● The South African Council of Churches could not accept the official version of Thursday's shooting in the Uitenhage township of Langa and called for a full, impartial inquiry, Dr Beyers Naude, the SACC general secretary, said yesterday.

● At special prayers in Durban yesterday conducted by Archbishop Denis Hurley, the Kwa-zulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, deplored the violence and warned that more incidents of this kind could be expected with the increasing poverty of the people and the downswing in the economy.

● The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, Bishop Stephen Naidoo, said the human rights to life and freedom had to be upheld.

● The convener of the National Forum, Mr Saths Cooper, asked when the international community would "wake up to this government's real intentions concerning the black people".

Other organizations which condemned the shootings included the Federation of Cape Civic Associations, Nusas and the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

— Sapa, Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent



homeless blacks

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# apartheid and the people houses!

with their families wherever they wanted, without any restrictions.

"Black people are, relatively powerless, politically and economically, to use the socio-political structure to improve the situation."

Most blacks, the report says, live in overcrowded conditions because there are simply not enough houses for them.

New black townships are often built at a distance from the places of employment of the residents, that black workers are forced to pay greater transport costs.

These townships often lack basic amenities such as tarred streets, adequate lighting, libraries, etc. Most of the residents are black workers who in any case cannot afford to pay the rents and additional municipal charges which should normally be borne by local authorities.

However, these bodies lack a commercial source of taxation which could finance the provision of essential services and the lack of infrastructure, roads and services and the patronage of the white central business districts by hundreds of thousands of black people, makes it unlikely that there will be a move by business into the townships.

As a consequence, black households are themselves expected to finance the cost of every service rendered.

The report says one approach to solving the critical housing problem, one of the causes of the current unrests in the country's black township, would be to drastically lower building standards for self-help projects. While this approach would enable the black people to afford to build their own houses it would maintain the difference in the quality of the black and the white housing.

It would not be advisable to look for a solution to the problem of black housing without looking at white housing at the same time.

"There are already large gaps in the quality of housing available to different groups and this creates a crisis of false expectations in both black and whites.

"There can be little argument with the need to make standards more realistic and to adopt anti-inflationary measures, but this should not be done on a racial basis. As the situation stands, the Government is subsidising unrealistic standards in white housing through allowing tax free investments through building societies and by providing housing subsidies to state employees."

The powers of bodies like community councils and management committees serving black South Africans are merely advisory and therefore of no consequence in the allocation of resources. The new tri-racial parliament, which confers limited powers to Indians and coloureds is unlikely to change the situation either.

"Black South Africans have no say in the formulation of policy with regard to housing. This will continue to be the situation for the Indian and coloured people despite the implementation of the new constitution, for this constitution does not give them more political power.

"By placing executive powers in the hands of the State President, who in turn is elected by the ruling white party (the National Party), the constitution gives no extra power to coloured and Indian voters.

"Where attempts have been made to create local bodies for black communities, these bodies have been sorely lacking in support from most township residents. Such large-scale apathy and resistance to the creation of these bodies renders them unrepresentative of the black communities."

Residents have as a result opted for social and economic organisations operating outside governmental institutional framework to extract concessions, using mass meetings, marches and petitions to back up their demands of accommodation and service charges which people can afford to pay.

The report says the private sector is reluctant to put its resources at the disposal of the large-scale provision of black housing because it cannot expect an adequate

return on its investment. The Government for its part, is facing a fiscal crisis.

"Overall Government policy dictates that the contributions to social security and housing should be cut back. Black communities form the bulk of the lowest paid workers in South Africa. For them, increases in basic rent and service charges are critical issues because they have to cut back on food consumption in order to secure their accommodation.

"Further, because of the absence of financially viable commercial interests in black townships, the rates per site are higher than they need be. This further exacerbates the already precarious situation of the average black household."

Most black workers' wages are set "well below" the calculated minimum subsistence levels but tenants are expected to cover the cost of their houses and a certain interest charge.

According to the report even the home ownership scheme of the Government is priced well beyond the reach of more than half of the country's black workers, as are the various self-help schemes.

The report says the housing crisis in black communities has elicited two types of responses: spontaneous responses like squatting, illegal occupation and directed urbanisation; and organised responses which includes actions by trade unions, political and community organisations.

"Thus, the lack of accommodation has led certain black people simply to move into accommodation in white areas. Central Johannesburg presents the best example of this.

"At the same time, political and economic organisations have applied pressure on employers and the state to improve their living conditions."

While drastically lowering the building standards for self-help projects would, as a short-term solution, enable black people to afford to erect their own dwellings, it would maintain and exacerbate the already alarming difference in the quality of black and white housing.

"The correction procedures which do exist can, at best, only ameliorate the problem in the short-term (eg a court-ordered stay of eviction or an order preventing shack demolition).

"In the long term the socio-political rules of our society do not provide the means for building more houses for the homeless."

24/3/85  
304A







This interest group was the dominant force, not only in Parliament but also in most other areas of society, such as communications (SABC), research, and education, advisory and control boards.

Already there is significant evidence of a move away from this position. The controlling bodies of a wide range of institutions from public corporations (Sasol) to university councils are beginning to reflect a diversity of interest groups on a language, race and functional basis (i.e. business, consumer and professional interests as well as political interests). This wider representation enables such bodies to become forums for public collective bargaining. This is the process of managing conflicting interests by the application of the dynamics of collective bargaining to social questions, such as:

- The articulation of conflict.

- Direct negotiation.

- Resolution (at least sometimes) through compromise by both/all interest groups involved.

However, at least as important as the "democratisation" of other centres of power, as described above, is the emergence of informal processes of public collective bargaining. At a time fundamental questions of citizenship and political participation remain unresolved, it is not possible to achieve comprehensively representative structures of decision-making in society. The experience of the potentially vital National Manpower Commission indicates this.

It is possible, where good will is present, to create ad hoc participation. Direct contact between the authorities and affected communities can produce public collective bargaining if such contact is reflected in the decisions eventually made. Here a sometimes clumsy triangle of indirect discussion has already emerged in several specific conflicts:

- Pension preservation

- Trade union detentions

- Rent/bus fare and education grievances in the Vaal Triangle leading to the massive two-day stayaway from work in November last year. As a result, the rent increases were withdrawn and educational grievances were investigated.

- Bus boycotts elsewhere, such as in Richards Bay, which have led to extensive negotiations between the bus company, the commuters and the Government.

It is a market start. Results are all important. However, its mere existence challenges the powerful myth that conflict is both omnipresent and unable to be resolved. These forms of public collective bargaining are clear indications that compromise and agreement based on practical interdependence are an available option in this divided society of ours.

**S**OUTH AFRICA in 1985 abounds in a pervasive sense of doom and gloom. Clearly many objective circumstances support this mood:

- Low (perhaps even negative) economic growth.

- High (and rising) unemployment.

- High (and rising) inflation.

- Apparently rising political polarisation.

However, these real and important problems conceal some significant shifts and remarkable progress. In essence, South Africa's industrial order is changing from a basically feudal order to a democratic order. All other market-oriented industrial societies have undergone this transition. In most cases, it has taken several decades, and has often been accompanied by significant violence. For example:

- The Peterloo Massacre in Britain in 1826, in which troops fired on a crowd of protesting workers, a British equivalent of Sharpeville.

- The Fisher Fleetwood sit-in in Detroit in 1934 in which workers took physical possession of their plant to press the demand, among other things, for the recognition of their union. This occupation required the intervention of both the County Sheriffs and US National Guard in several bloody battles. It is equivalent (on only slightly smaller scale) of South Africa's 1922 Rand Rebellion.

A major need and opportunity for yet further progress is to be found in the link between the workplace and wider society. What is the nature of this link in a modern industrial society?

It is commonly argued that labour is labour, politics are politics and never the twain shall meet. Yet the hallmark of a modern industrial society is precisely the interdependence of one area of society (labour) on another (education).

Bus boycotts and school boycotts do affect the workplace, but the challenge is to create structures and processes which can resolve conflicts in wider society so that these conflicts do not find their way on to the (labour relations) collective bargaining agenda.

How have other societies coped with the interaction of labour and social areas? Free enterprise societies have:

- Recognised that in a modern industrial society, no one authority (parliament, for example) or institution can resolve all conflicts. (The belief that Parliament is the ultimate source of political power is already demonstrably false in South Africa. The withdrawal of the proposed legislation to provide for the preservation pension savings in the face of resistance from voteless black workers well

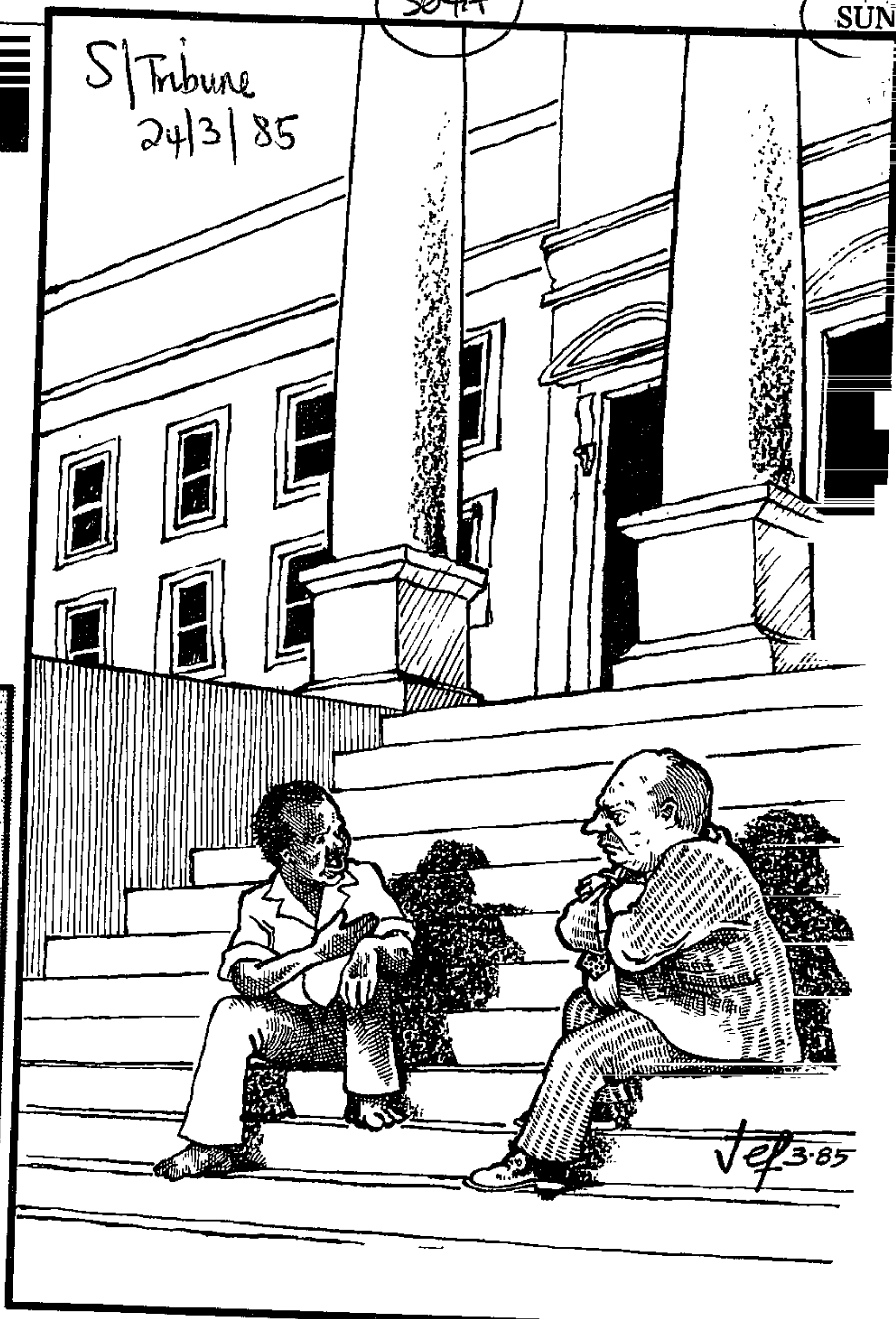


**South Africa '85:  
How the problems  
have masked some  
important shifts  
which have eaten  
away at the power  
base of Parliament**

The reality of present day South Africa is that Parliament is no longer the supreme source of power and authority.



**BOBBY GODSELL**, Group Industrial Relations Consultant for Anglo American, argues that change is in many instances being effected by a process of public collective bargaining between the authorities, employers, and employees.



# The bargaining alternative

illustrates this).

■ Second, they have created a variety of structures to resolve different types and levels of conflict. This has taken the form of a broad-based democratic type of society — democratic local government, democratic education authority (normally parent or tax-payer based rather than student based) and consumer

sensitive transport management, especially where transport systems are taxpayer subsidised.

■ Third, opportunities for both unions and employers to exercise constructive influence in social policy have been created through tripartite (state, unions, employer) bodies as well as union and

employer representation on social policy bodies in specific areas.

What of South Africa?

In our immediate past, a characteristic of our system of government was a very extensive concentration of power. Party politics was the dominant avenue of power and within this arena, the (Africaner) National Party reigned supreme.



# What the State President said

Cape Times 25/3/85 (20/11/85)

QUOTATIONS from the interview of the State President, Mr P W Botha, with ABC's Mr Ted Koppel, which was screened to South African audiences on Saturday.

On the pass laws: "I am also carrying an identity card, and I think all South Africans should carry one. I have one with me... I have to... I am forced to carry it. All South Africans are."

"You have too many elections. That is my complaint against your country. You can't lead the Western world with all the elections you have, you are weakening yourselves."

"Many white people in South Africa supported by non-Europeans fought in the Anglo-Boer War. Not only Afrikaners. I can mention prominent Jewish names who fought right through the Anglo-Boer War against British Imperialism."

"There are no super-powers as far as South Africa is concerned. We are equal to the rest of the world."

"I have the co-operation of the vast majority of black South Africans."

"Your Senator Kennedy came here to show his sympathy with the poor blacks, but what happened to him? The blacks in South Africa united with us to tell him to go back."

"I say many of the actions of the UDF are communist-inspired to overthrow the State, to overthrow the good order in this country."

"I am going to keep order in South Africa and nobody in the world is going to stop me from keeping order... I'm not going to allow people to burn down schools. I'm not going to allow people to burn down the houses of responsible black leaders who serve in the local community councils."

On whether white farmers would be prepared to exchange their land for that of the homelands: "Oh yes, certainly."

"Violence happens in every country I know, more or less. I don't know what is happening behind the Iron Curtain. I suppose there they have some violence too. But there they shoot people the moment they start with a protest meeting."

"South Africa is a tough country — we nearly brought the British Empire to its knees and I would advise some super-powers not to try and destroy us."

It is "totally wrong to create in the United States the idea that we are a bad lot of nazis denying other people their rights in South Africa. We are the hope of the sub-continent of Southern Africa."



# New regional service councils will include black members — P W

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha announced today that black communities in South Africa would be "given the opportunity" to express themselves above the local government level.

He made the announcement at the first meeting of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government, which was attended by black local government representatives officially for the first time.

The body advises the Government on changes to the local government structure.

Mr Botha said: "The question is not whether the black communities should be given political rights, but the question is how it should be done without one population group being placed in a position to permanently dominate the other."

## IMPORTANT COMPONENT

The official participation of blacks on the council was "a very important component in building acceptable constitutional structures to the satisfaction of moderate and reasonable people."

Mr Botha said that in spite of severe criticism, antagonism and even harassment of their persons and property, blacks serving on community councils were making a valuable contribution.

He warned that the Government would take appropriate steps against all elements who promoted violence and lawlessness.

But at the same time the Government would continue to take "positive steps to improve the quality of life of the urban

population and to provide participation in the political process."

The elimination of problems and frustrations in urban black communities "will to a large extent depend on the successful functioning of black local authorities, which in turn can be assisted by the establishment of the regional service councils."

Mr Botha said the Government intended re-introducing the Regional Service Council Bill after the Easter recess and to promulgate the legislation so that the first regional councils could be established immediately in the major metropolitan areas.

Blacks should be represented on the regional service councils, Mr Botha said.



# JS agog at SA's complexity

MAUS 26/3/85

SOCA 300

Americans have been fascinated by ABC's programme on South Africa reports NEIL LURSEN of the Argus Foreign Service in Washington

If there is one thing Americans learned from the unprecedented weeklong Nightline television broadcasts, it is that South Africa's problems are complex and bewildering.

Nightline showed them that instead of a simple black versus white situation, South Africa's race system pits whites against whites and blacks against blacks too.

The Republic's political turbulence came across most clearly in the final — and longest — edition last Friday night when some of the key players in the South African drama had their say.

## No simple solutions

The spectacle of Chief Gatscha crossing swords with Alan Boesak, and of Dr Mulder attacking the policies of President P W Botha's government, would have made it clear to the 10-

million to 12-million midnight viewers tuned into Nightline that simple solutions are not readily available.

And President Botha's confident and combative performance would have shown, too, that South Africa's leaders are determined to solve their problems on their own terms.

In that sense, this week's Nightline series may well have provided fuel for President Ronald Reagan's policy of constructive engagement which aims ultimately to help South Africans resolve their own differences rather than to force an outside solution on them.

In another sense, denied to South African television viewers, the final edition of Nightline may have indicated a way to a solution.

Americans saw Dr Mulder, spokesman for South Africa's rightwing, in polite debate with Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress.

The two men had nothing nice to say about each other's policies — but the very fact of their speaking and listening was a startling reminder that even arch foes can talk to each other.

## Even-handed conduct

Nightline is one of the most respected current affairs programmes on American television, and its anchorman, Mr Ted Koppel, is widely renowned for his even-handed conduct of the show and his sharp intellect.

Because it comes on late at night and because of its generally serious content, it does not have the mass appeal of prime-time comedies and dramas.

But it attracts an elite viewership of people who are curious about the world. World leaders appear on Nightline, sometimes when they are deeply involved in difficult and politically delicate situations.

Thus it is influential.

Last week's broadcasts are bound to have an effect on the debate in the US over what to do about South Africa.

American leaders have to do something because apartheid has been made a major issue by blacks and liberals. Even conservatives here feel the political need to declare their abhorrence at the system.

The choice for Americans boils down to sanctions and disinvestment on the one hand, and constructive engagement on the other. The proponents of both courses probably had their attitudes hardened by the broadcasts.

Certainly, the feeling here is that apartheid won few converts. The best the SA government can hope for is that there is now a clearer understanding of the difficulties it faces and that this could result in some reluctance about making things harder with sanctions.

At the same time, the programme's depiction of the anguish and despair of the country's blacks, and the impact of black leaders like Winnie Mandela — her participation made more dramatic by the fact that she is silenced at home — will have had an effect.

One thing that supporters of the SA government will not be able to claim any longer is that separate development is not understood in the US.

SA government officials had plenty of opportunities to explain it last week.

Some of it may have confused Americans, but President Botha's spirited presentation at the end of the series made the Government's position very clear.

The fact that ABC allowed the final programme to extend well past its allotted time into the late-night movies slot may have been a reflection of their feeling that this was valuable

and fascinating television at a time when Southern Africa is regarded as a world trouble spot.

It is difficult to tell what Americans thought of President Botha. But a subjective opinion is that they were probably fascinated by his directness, his willingness to exchange barbs with leaders like Secretary of State George Shultz, his fierce patriotism, and his determination to conduct his interview with Ted Koppel on his own terms.

They may have been less impressed by his claims that many of the actions of the United Democratic Front were communist-inspired, by his astonishing remark that the US has too many elections, and by his assertion that Mr Shultz is incapable of judging conditions inside South Africa.

But Americans like leaders to state their feelings with zest and clarity.



# Apartheid dying, PFP MP tells US financiers

ARGUS 27/3/85 304A

Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Progressive Federal Party MP Horace van Rensburg startled a group of conservative Wall Street bankers with a declaration that "apartheid is terminally ill and will soon pass from the scene".

He told them the PFP totally opposed apartheid, regarded it as unjust and indefensible and was working vigorously for its end.

Several of those present, said they were surprised but also impressed at the vigour with which Mr van Rensburg attacked "the heart" of the Government's racial policies.

Mr van Rensburg, speaking at a lunch at Manhattan's World Trade Centre given by the South African Consul-General in New York, Mr Abe Hop-

penstein, nonetheless praised the Government for its "good faith and courage" in trying to bring about reform.

"It has to be realised," he said, "that every step in this direction taken by President P W Botha threatens his Government from the die-hards on his right.

"But the tragedy is that at a time when liberal reform measures are being undertaken, often far ahead of those demanded by South Africa's critics, many countries abroad are turning the screws — demanding changes that are already in effect."

One example was the disinvestment movement in the United States.

"There is a large irony in the fact that for 35 years the South

African Government has steadfastly refused to change and now that it is starting to do just that, a disinvestment campaign has been launched in the United States that can only hurt black workers in South Africa and set back the substantial and real movement towards political and social reform in the country."

Mr Hoppenstein introduced Mr van Rensburg as a "violent opponent of apartheid".

Mr van Rensburg responded with a smile: "No, not violent. I prefer the description 'implacable' opponent of apartheid."

The audience, an influential segment of Wall Street bankers and investment brokers, listened attentively.



# PFP accuses Coetsee of 'trying to suppress debate'

## Parliamentary Staff

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, failed in an attempt to cut short a debate in the House of Assembly on the Uitenhage shootings.

Speaking for more than 10 minutes on a point of order, Mr Coetsee interrupted Mr Errol Moorcroft (PFP Albany), to ask whether Mr Moorcroft was entitled to give "his own version" of events surrounding the Uitenhage violence when a judicial commission had been appointed to investigate the matter.

Mr Coetsee asked whether PFP members were aware of the "sub judice" regulations, which disallowed statements that might influence the findings of the commission.

PFP members accused Mr Coetsee across the floor of trying to "suppress" the debate.

The Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, said a commission of inquiry did not need the same

protection as an inquest or a court of law.

The sub judice rule did not apply in respect of judicial commissions and no offence was committed by saying something about a matter which fell within a commission's terms of reference.

Continuing with his speech, Mr Moorcroft, who was one of the six PFP MPs to visit Uitenhage after the police shootings, said that by defending the police action, the Minister of Law

and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, was "trying to defend the indefensible".

The most significant finding was that "this whole tragic occurrence, with its devastating consequences, need not have occurred," Mr Moorcroft said.

## Forced to walk

Mr Moorcroft asked Mr le Grange why the magistrate had interfered with the date of the funeral and why people had been forced to walk.

The most crucial question was why the police did not disperse the crowd with teargas, rubber bullets or birdshot.

Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said the unrest would not have occurred had there been a stable government which was willing to apply law and order.

The CP had the "greatest appreciation" of black policemen who were trying to maintain law and order, he said.

## Indian House adjourns in protest against arrests

### Parliamentary Staff

THE House of Delegates adjourned in protest against the arrest of 239 people by the police in Cape Town.

Interrupting the debate on the own affairs budget yesterday, Mr Mamoo Rajab (S Springfield) moved an unopposed motion calling on the House to adjourn in protest.

Mr Rajab said later that

when they heard about the arrests his party members were shocked and outraged.

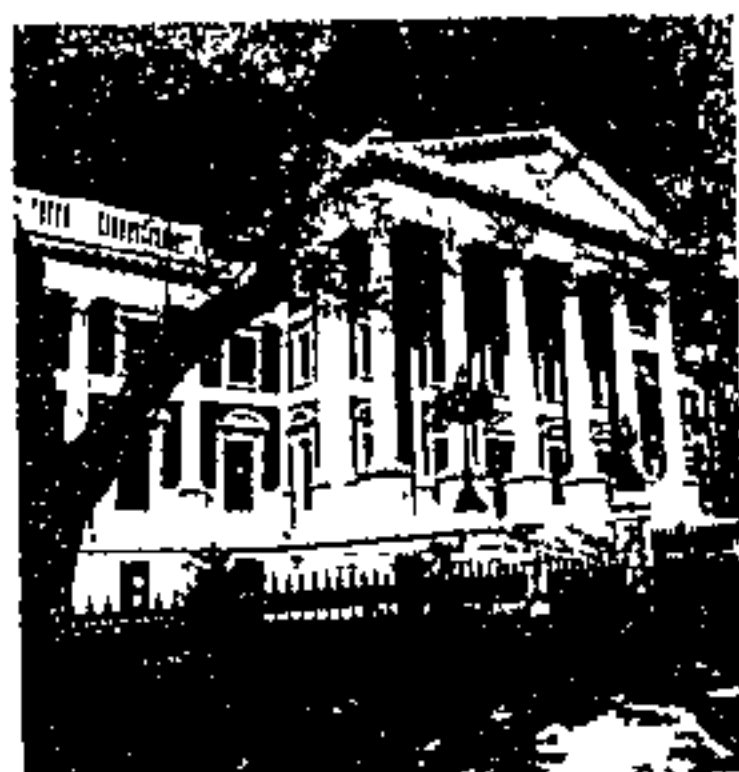
Solidarity, he said, believed people had the right to demonstrate peacefully and make known to the authorities their grievances.

It was shocking that the police should have felt it necessary to arrest people under such circumstances.

"We are also shocked that the people were denied the right to present a list of demands to the Government."

The National People's Party spokesman for law and order, Mr Salaam Abram-Mayet, said the right to protest peacefully was part of the democratic process.

It was deplorable that the police saw fit to arrest peaceful Christian protesters.



## In brief . . .

### Parliamentary Staff

A TOTAL of R74,3-million was spent on development of the first phase of Khayelitsha, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said.

Replying to a question by Mr P C Cronje (PFP Greytown), Dr Viljoen said R80,5-million was the revised estimate for the first phase of development.

By February 28, 1985, R74,3-million had been spent.

IF sufficient funds were not available to pay equal pensions to all race groups, white pensions should be pegged at their present level un-

til parity had been reached, Mr A E Lam-bat (Ind, Actonville) said in the House of Delegates.

SERVICES, particularly health and education, should be paid for by the State and be available to all on the same level, "irrespective of the means of the user or his or her parents," — Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP chief spokesman on finance, said in the House of Assembly during the "own affairs" budget debate.

"OWN affairs" was in its "child's shoes" and it still had to grow, said Mr K D Swanepoel (NP, Gezina), during the "own affairs" budget debate.

THERE was a "massive surplus" of white teachers in South Africa who could not find jobs, whereas in the black communities there was a shortage of skilled teachers, said Mr Derrick Watterson (NRP, Umbilo) during the "own affairs" budget debate.





Mr A Sparks  
Cape Times 27/3/85  
Speaker  
cites  
Sparks  
case

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— A celebrated legal case involving the Rand Daily Mail and its former editor, Mr Allister Sparks, was quoted by the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, in Parliament yesterday to open debate on the Uitenhage shootings.

Mr Greeff quoted the case during a ruling to counter a submission by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, that the PFP should not be allowed to refer to certain aspects of the shooting because the matter was being investigated by a judicial commission and was sub judice.

Mr Coetsee submitted that the commission should have the same protection from prejudice as an inquest and referred to previous rulings by the Speaker in which he had disallowed debate on matters being considered by inquests.

Mr Greeff, however, said a commission was not the same as an inquest. He could not see anything wrong with debating matters being investigated by the commission.

He quoted the Sparks case relating to publication of information connected to the Erasmus Commission.

A full Bench of the Transvaal Provincial Division ruled that the sub judice rule did not apply to commissions.



17, 1985

KDM 27/3/85 304A

## Laws on hotels scrapped

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN. — The Government has quietly scrapped the restrictions on mixed dancing and mixed swimming at "international" hotels.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Koble Coetsee, said yesterday on behalf of the Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, that the only restriction on international hotels was that "no men's bar with an entrance from outside is allowed".

He said "all restrictions, except the restriction concerning the men's bar, have been removed", as from April 1, 1982.

In the past, local black people were not permitted to use dancing facilities and swimming pools at international hotels.

Dr De Villiers revealed the removal of the restrictions when he replied to a question which had been tabled by Mr David Dalling, the PFP MP for Sandton.

Mr Dalling said he was delighted that "all racial restrictions on dancing, swimming and even the quotas on blacks allowed into hotels have been removed", adding it was strange the decision had been kept a secret.



Delight

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# CP stands for 'firm action against rioters'

CAM-Trip 27/3/81

30411

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.  
— The Conservative Party stood for the maintenance of discipline and for firm action against rioters and protection of the peaceful community against intimidation, the deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said

yesterday. "The government totally lost control the day it abandoned the policy of separate development and adopted a policy of integration," he said during debate on the own-affairs budget for whites in the House.

The government itself

was for making the country ungovernable, he said, referring to a statement by the State President, Mr P W Botha, that certain elements in the country were trying to make it ungovernable.

Dr Hartzenberg said the Progressive Federal Party continually criticised the police but a PFP delegation to the riot-torn Eastern Cape last week had required police protection to make their investigation of the incident in Uitenhage's Langa township in which 19 people were killed.

He was ordered by the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, to withdraw a remark that Mrs Helen Suzman, who led the PFP delegation, never made patriotic statements and actually sought the kind of unrest that was occurring.

"She's extremely happy with the situation," the CP member said after withdrawing the earlier remark.

"She has never done anything positive to try to prevent events such as this. She is not even disturbed. It's part of her campaign against South Africa."

Dr Hartzenberg said Mrs Suzman had always campaigned against the government and the police.

"The only thing that's changed is that she now has to do with a government that can't take strong action to maintain law and order."

He said that when schools had been burned down last year the then Minister of Education and Training, Mr Barend du Plessis, had "invited the ringleaders to tea and sandwiches at his home".

Dr Hartzenberg said he wanted to warn the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that he would probably soon lose his Cabinet job.

"He tried his best to maintain law and order but the poor man's time seems to have come."

● Action should be taken by the government to stop intimidation of policemen, Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said during the debate.

He said black policemen in particular had been intimidated during the violence at Uitenhage.

It was a pity that Mr Le Grange had not visited the scene of the violence earlier so that he could hear at first hand what had happened in acts of reprisal against black policemen.

The names of black policemen were on "a list" and the minister should realize that they were loyal supporters of law and order.

It was time he did something to protect them from intimidation.

Mr Hoon said that neither Mrs Molly Blackburn, a PFP provincial councillor, nor Mrs Helen Suzman, who had both visited Uitenhage, had decried the acts of violence against the police. — Sapa



# Assurance on black rights

CAPE TIMES  
27/3/85  
174 3040  
Municipal Reporter

THE government is committed to giving blacks political rights "beyond the local government level" as long as this does not result in the domination of one population group by another, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Mr Botha was addressing the first meeting of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs at which members of black local authorities were officially represented for the first time, in the Provincial Council Chamber in the City.

He said the participation of blacks on the co-ordinating council, in local authorities and on the Regional Services Councils was a "key component" but did not provide the whole solution to the question of black political rights.

"The question is not *whether* the black communities should be given political rights but *how* it should be done without the one population group being placed in a position to permanently dominate the other," he said.

Mr Botha said the devolution of authority to the local government institutions of various population groups was "a constitutional mechanism which would protect the interests of minority groups within a heterogeneous society".

## Causes of unrest in black areas

He said the elimination of the problems experienced by black urban communities "will to a large extent depend on the successful functioning of the black local authorities".

He said the co-ordinating council, which is concerned primarily with urban affairs, would also be investigating the causes of the unrest in black urban areas.

The government would continue to take steps against elements promoting violence but would also continue to improve the quality of life of the urban population and provide participation in the political process, he said.

● Elections are to be held over the next two years in the Cape for city councillors, as well as Indian and coloured management committees, in spite of an earlier government directive that all elections would be suspended until 1988.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said at a press conference yesterday that the co-ordinating council had called for certain elections to be held before 1988.

## Candidates to serve until 1988

Although some elections will also be held in the Natal and Transvaal, the Cape is the only province which will hold elections for white, coloured and Indian local authorities within the next three years.

Elections for coloured and Indian management committees will be held this year and for half the white city council next year.

Candidates elected during this time will, however, serve only until 1988 when the new uniform election system comes into force.

Mr Heunis was not able to give any clear indication of the future of provincial councils.

He said he hoped the first Regional Services Councils would be established early in the second half of the year.



In an unprecedented live radio and TV statement, Mr Botha simultaneously briefed both Parliament and the nation on the country's deepening security crisis in the wake of the Uitenhage shootings.

In a day of high drama in Parliament, President Botha:

● Lashed out at "people of ill-intent" who he claimed were responsible for "fomenting disobedience, violence and destruction".

### 'Diabolical'

● Vowed that groups wanting to "see the country go up in flames" would not be allowed to achieve their "diabolical aims".

● In a thinly-veiled threat, noted that he had already given instructions for "appropriate steps to be taken to restore and maintain law and order".

● Appealed to parliamentarians to refrain from discussing the Uitenhage shootings in spite of a ruling on Tuesday by the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, that the issue could not be regarded as *sub judice* even though it was currently being investigated by a judicial commission.

However, the PFP dismissed Mr Botha's appeal and MPs Mrs Helen

Suzman, Mr Ray Swart and Mr Andrew Savage continued to drive home discrepancies between official accounts of the shooting and those given by witnesses.

Amid loud cries of "skande" from Nationalist benches, Mrs Suzman said the PFP believed Parliament could not "abdicate its responsibility" by ignoring the grave situation in Langa, Uitenhage.

She blamed the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, of being "responsible for the breakdown of law and order" and added that all Mr Botha's new initiatives had been "nullified by recent tragic events like that at Uitenhage".

Both the Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, appealed to the Speaker to rule Mrs Suzman out of order, but Mr Greeff allowed the veteran MP to continue.

Yesterday's events helped to forge an uncharacteristic unity between the Conservative Party and its arch foe, the National Party. During the debate both parties joined forces with the New Republic PFP in attacking the

Earlier, Mr Botha told

the joint sitting of Parliament that it was "ironic" that at exactly the time the government had taken new initiatives aimed at improving co-operation, "people of ill-intent" instigate demonstrations and marches which result in arson, violence and death".

In what some saw as a reference to Tuesday's protest march in the City, he said:

### 'Saddened'

"It saddens me also that certain people under the guise of moral and religious conviction should take the lead on fomenting disobedience, violence and destruction."

Mr Botha said these people clearly did not want peace and stability but rather wished to see the country go up in flames.

"They want to bring South Africa to its knees. They want to advance South Africa's isolation. They solicit outside support for South Africa's destruction. They want chaos to reign in order that the international community and the United Nations can condemn South Africa as a threat to world peace."

● Mr Botha's speech, page 4

16

● Leading article, page

# Botha warns of tougher security

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENTARIANS were expecting a heavy security crackdown amid growing countrywide unrest after President P W Botha appeared before a special joint sitting of Parliament yesterday.

3044

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304A

# PFP, CP ignore call not to debate Uitenhage shooting

## Parliamentary Staff

BOTH the official Opposition and the Conservative Party in the Assembly ignored a call by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to refrain from debating the Uitenhage shooting until the judicial commission of inquiry into the incident had reported.

After the joint sitting in the "own affairs" Budget debate Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) said the PFP could not accede to the request because the debate on the shooting would "continue to rage outside the House" and the matter was not sub judice.

Attacking the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mrs Suzman said he had accepted without question the police version of events.

## AFFIDAVITS

There were also signed affidavits from residents of Langa township in Uitenhage which said the crowd was peaceful and began to walk only after police had told them to get out of vehicles which were to take



Mrs Helen Suzman

them to three funerals.

Mrs Suzman said the practice of arresting people admitted to hospital probably resulted in more lasting injuries and "more deaths than necessary".

Appealing for the police to be kept away from funerals — especially those of people who had died at the hands of the police — she said their presence was like "a red rag to a bull".

Calling for the resignation of Mr le Grange, she said he had failed to carry out his responsibilities.

At one stage there were an-

gry interjections from Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman), who asked Mrs Suzman whether she had spoken to the police, and later, when she was referring to affidavits from township residents, he asked: "And you believe the blacks?"

Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan) said his party would not abide by Mr Botha's appeal.

"We support the Minister of Law and Order in his attempt to maintain law and order in South Africa. We reject the behaviour of the PFP and of the South African Ambassador to Britain, who said the behaviour of the police was unjustified."

"He was misquoted," said Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, across the floor.

## LIBERAL

"It is impossible that such a mistake could have been made, knowing what a liberal he (Mr Dennis Worrall) is and knowing what a great friend he is of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Mr Pik Botha).

National Party members criticised both the PFP and the

CP for ignoring Mr Botha's appeal, and said they were prepared to stick by the request.

NP member Mr A Fourie said it was "regrettable" that the PFP had not acceded to the President's request, and accused them of being "the Arthur Goldbergs of South Africa".

## CONDEMNED

He later withdrew the remark, but there was laughter on PFP benches when Mrs Suzman said: "The trouble is his name wasn't Arthur."

Mr Fourie condemned PFP tactics as not being in the interests of a peaceful South Africa.

Mr le Grange was hardly present during the debate. Noting his absence Mr Ray Swart (PFP Berea), said the Minister was "obviously in a difficult position" as he had been "muzzled" by Mr Botha's statement.

Mr Vause Raw of the NRP said his party was prepared to accede to Mr Botha's request to await the outcome of the report.



## Parliament and Politics

# Botha: Sincerity is not weakness

PARLIAMENT. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, has appealed to MPs to refrain from discussing the Uitenhage shootings until the Judicial Commission of Inquiry has submitted its report.

Addressing all three Houses of Parliament in a special joint sitting, Mr Botha said once the commission's report was received members would be afforded ample opportunity to discuss the matter.

"Since prior discussion undoubtedly brings the risk of wandering into the area of the commission's investigations and otherwise aggravate rather than contain and improve the security situation, I wish to suggest to Parliament not to address this matter in any fashion until we have at our disposal the commission's report."

### 'Ironie'

Mr Botha began by referring to his speech at the opening of Parliament to which responsible leaders in Africa had responded by accepting his sincerity, he said.

"It is ironic that now, at exactly the time that we have taken new initiatives which encompass co-operation on so many levels, and in so many spheres, peoples of ill-intent instigate demonstrations and marches which result in arson, violence and death.

"Innocent women and children have been among the victims.

### Flames

"This does not surprise me. It saddens me. It saddens me also that certain people under the guise of moral and religious conviction should take the lead in fomenting disobedience, violence and destruction.

"They want to see the country go up in flames. They want to bring the country to its knees," President Botha said.

laws, whether of the common or statutory law variety, which he considers to be just and equitable.

"Laws which at any given point in time are considered as being not in harmony with society's concept of fairness and justice can be amended or abolished only by the appropriate legislative authority established by rules of law and in accordance with the rules of law which define it and its powers."

Mr Botha quoted a Supreme Court judge on the fairness of the courts and the fact that no other



country surpassed them in this respect.

The highest legislative and executive authority in the country should, as subscribers to the rule of law, be a shining and visible example of respect for the sanctity of law.

### Spirit

"This means we must be seen to respect not only the letter of the law but also the spirit thereof."

It was against this background that he wanted to refer to the recent tragic incidents at Uitenhage and the related subsequent occurrences.

"I will do so, Mr Speaker, with all the restraint, compassion, forbearance, and sincerity at my command. I pray that

commission's investigation in a manner that may prejudice, influence or anticipate the proceedings or findings of the commission

"I now consider it to be in the best interest of our country that we respect not only the letter of your ruling, but also the spirit thereof," Mr Botha said.

President Botha then turned to another matter and said there were laws on the statute books designed to ensure that society at large experienced peace and that people could go about their daily business unmolested.

"There is also a law which is designed to protect not only the premises, but also the persons of Members of Parliament, and its dignity."

There was an urgent need for him to request MPs to insist that these laws be respected by all.

### Democracy

"Whether I agree with the political demands that are being made by various interest groups, is not the issue.

"I am committed to a programme of reform designed to broaden democracy and improve the living conditions of all South Africans regardless of race, colour or creed."

If he and his government and Parliament were to succeed in making the country a better place to live in, it was of paramount importance that all laws be obeyed.

It was the responsibility of MPs to afford South Africa the opportunity to succeed.

### Free

The government accepted that there was room for a very wide range of political viewpoint in South Africa.

One of the country's fine traditions — many of them unique in Africa — was that all people, regardless of race, colour or creed, were free to hold, pursue and pro-



portunity to discuss the matter.

"Since prior discussion undoubtedly brings the risk of wandering into the area of the commission's investigations and otherwise aggravate rather than contain and improve the security situation, I wish to suggest to Parliament not to address this matter in any fashion until we have at our disposal the commission's report."

### 'Ironie'

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"They want to see the country go up in flames. They want to bring the country to its knees," President Botha said.

These people also wanted to increase South Africa's isolation, to solicit outside support for South Africa's destruction and wanted chaos to reign so that the international community and the United Nations could condemn South Africa as a threat to world peace.

### Facts

"Mr Speaker, I want to state clearly and categorically here today that they will not succeed."

There were certain fundamental truths in South African society which were not matters for debate, but facts.

"Firstly, no person or institution is above the law or may act as if this were the case and go unpunished in accordance with the due process of law.

"The law is also indivisible. In essence, this means no more and no less than that no-one may choose to obey only those

line it and its powers.

Mr Botha quoted a Supreme Court judge on the fairness of the courts and the fact that no other



country surpassed them in this respect.

The highest legislative and executive authority in the country should, as subscribers to the rule of law, be a shining and visible example of respect for the sanctity of law.

### Spirit

"This means we must be seen to respect not only the letter of the law but also the spirit thereof."

It was against this background that he wanted to refer to the recent tragic incidents at Uitenhage and the related subsequent occurrences.

"I will do so, Mr Speaker, with all the restraint, compassion, forbearance, and sincerity at my command. I pray that they will not be interpreted as weakness.

"I have appointed a respected judge of the Supreme Court as a commission of inquiry to investigate and report on the factual circumstance of the incident itself as a matter of urgency.

### Wisdom

"I have no doubt that he will do so in the tradition of impartiality and objectivity to which I have referred.

"You have, Mr Speaker, given a ruling, in your wisdom, to the effect that the subject matter of that inquiry may be discussed subject however to certain limitations.

"I understood your ruling to be that in compliance with the Commissions Act and the regulations which were published in the Government Gazette, no member is to debate the subject matter of a judicial

signed to ensure that society at large experienced peace and that people could go about their daily business unmolested.

"There is also a law which is designed to protect not only the premises, but also the persons of Members of Parliament, and its dignity."

There was an urgent need for him to request MPs to insist that these laws be respected by all.

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If he and his government and Parliament were to succeed in making the country a better place to live in, it was of paramount importance that all laws be obeyed.

It was the responsibility of MPs to afford South Africa the opportunity to succeed.

### Free

The government accepted that there was room for a very wide range of political viewpoint in South Africa.

One of the country's fine traditions — many of them unique in Africa — was that all people, regardless of race, colour or creed, were free to hold, pursue and promote their diverse political views without any interference from the government.

"The only condition, and I do not think that any reasonable person can argue with this, is that the pursuit of political objectives should be done in a peaceful and civilized way.

### Good hope

"The maintenance of law, order and stability are crucial to the attainment of these objectives.

"With the necessary goodwill and determination this country will continue to be the land of good hope," he said.

He appealed to all South Africans, of whatever political persuasion, who believed in South Africa's future to work together for a peaceful resolution of differences so that justice and fairness triumphed. — Sapa



COPY-Link 28/3/81

# Suzman slams 'show who's boss' attitude

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Progressive Federal Party could not accede to the request of the State President, Mr P W Botha, that parliamentarians refrain from discussing last week's unrest at Uitenhage, the party spokesman on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said yesterday.

She also said that it could be concluded from events at Uitenhage and elsewhere that the police had developed a "we'll show them who's boss" attitude.

"We believe Parliament cannot abdicate its responsibility," she said in debate on the Assembly's own-affairs budget which resumed soon after Mr Botha made his request in an address on the country's security situation at a joint session of the Houses of Parliament.

"I have no doubt debate on the events at Uitenhage is going to rage outside this House for weeks, no matter what is said here," Mrs Suzman said.

"The matter is not sub-judice in Parliament either, according to the Speaker's ruling yesterday and I will try to uphold the ruling and the traditions of this House."

"I would like to have told the State President all his new initiatives have been totally nullified by recent tragic events like that at Uitenhage on March 21."

"Initiatives like acceptance of urbanization and stopping removals are forgotten when dramatic and tragic events like Uitenhage take place."

Mrs Suzman said the Minister of Law and

Order, Mr Louis le Grange, was responsible for the breakdown of law and order and should resign.

She said he should not have committed himself without proper investigation to the police version of events at the Langa township in which 19 people were shot by police.

Mrs Suzman asked whether, when Mr Le Grange had visited Uitenhage on Tuesday,



he had bothered to talk to any blacks other than policemen who had been present at the shootings.

"Had he done so, he would have found, as we did when we visited Uitenhage last week, that black witnesses gave a very different version indeed to the police version."

The initial police versions had not mentioned that the police at the scene had been in a Caspir riot vehicle which was not vulnerable to "stones, sticks, bricks and even petrol bombs" the police claimed the crowd had hurled at them.

Most witnesses interviewed by PFP members who visited the scene said the crowd had been peacefully on the way to funerals and had been

fired on without warning or being told to disperse.

Even if there had been a riotous situation, the carnage would not have occurred had the police acted strictly in terms of their riot-control training and the "adamant" statement by the Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, that fire power was to be resorted to only after the failure of sneeze gas, teargas, rubber bullets, birdshot and buckshot.

"By the police's own version, fire power was used as a first resort," Mrs Suzman said.

The lack of communication between the community and Uitenhage magistrate, "who played ducks and drakes" with the dates of proposed funerals of victims of previous unrest, had been a major factor in the tragic sequence of events.

Police presence at funerals of people who had died in unrest in which police had been involved always provoked incidents, she said, adding that there had been no incidents at very large funerals she had attended — those of Steve Biko, Robert Sobukwe and Neil Aggett — because police had kept a low profile.

"I hope we can learn from the tragic events of March 21."

One of the conclusions which could be drawn was that the police had developed a "we'll show them who's boss" attitude, which was condoned from the top.

"The man responsible for law and order has failed to carry out his duties and should resign."

— Sapa



# Protest march disgusts Mr Raw

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The New Republic Party condemned Tuesday's march on Parliament, "even if it was led by churchmen", the NRP spokesman on law and order, Mr Vause Raw, said yesterday.

Speaking in the second reading debate on the town-affairs budget, he said that bodies of victims of "barbaric murders" had been burned in the townships of Uitenhage.

People had been "acting like savages in their brutality towards these bodies".

At a time like this it was totally irresponsible to demand, as the marchers had done, that police refrain from entering townships while funerals or vigils were taking place.

The march was a deliberate challenge to Parliament and the State and an incitement to others to disregard authority and bring about chaos.

It was in keeping with the traditions of democracy that marches on Parliament be prohibited.

"I'm disgusted at this travesty — of Christians calling themselves churchmen trying to whip up Christian sympathy while deliberately breaking the law," he said.

Mr Raw said the police usually acted with restraint but recently some had obviously broken under pressure.

Sad as that might be, such people had to face the consequences and be punished if they had exceeded their authority and power.

Discipline had to be maintained so that the police could continue to be held in the esteem they deserved.

There was a heavy responsibility on the media to report accurately and on politicians to take steps to ensure that the situation did not deteriorate further. — Sapa



# Botha orders probes

NRGUS

28/3/85

30KA

## Political Correspondent

THE President's Council has been instructed by President P W Botha to start four major investigations — including one into urbanisation, which has been labelled as a prime cause of the current unrest in black townships.

The urbanisation investigation has been given top priority by Mr Botha, who wants a report by July next year.

Announcing the investigations today, the chairman of the council, Dr Piet Koornhof, said they should be seen as part of the President's reform initiatives.

The other investigations are into:

- All aspects of the Immorality Act, except Section 16, which deals with sexual relations across the colour line.

- Red tape that hampers economic development in general and the small business sector in particular.

- The changing age composition of the various race groups and the resulting socio-economic implications.

Dr Koornhof said at a Press conference today that the President's Council was giving priority to the investigations, which would contribute to an improvement of the standards of living of all South Africans as well as contributing to improved relations between the various groups.

This was in accordance with the State President reform measures.

## Promiscuity

Dr Koornhof denied that the investigation into the Immorality Act was a political sop in reaction to the mounting criticism from the Conservative Party on the possibility that Section 16 may be scrapped.

The investigation followed a motion in the President's Council earlier this year in which concern was expressed about the quality of life in South Africa, including the high divorce rate, promiscuity, drug abuse, gambling and the number of road accidents.

The committee investigating the Immorality Act would also investigate these aspects.

Priority would be given to the Immorality Act, with the other aspects of the motion being looked into over a number of years.

The investigation into red tape obstructing the economy would include laws such as influx control, which have been labelled by businessmen as one of the obstructions to a free market system.

The committee on urbanisation would be headed by Dr A Oosthuizen, chairman of the Council's committee for Constitutional Affairs.

The committee would be able to use experts from the CSIR and from the various universities, such as Durban sociologist Professor Lawrie Schlemmer.

Dr Koornhof said the committee would look at the best way to "counter the present social, economic and physical problems resulting from rapid urbanisation".

All nine political parties on the President's Council would be represented on the committees. Dr Koornhof said consideration would be given to co-opting blacks.



Many 28/3/85 (304A)

# Chief in call for Mandela release without conditions

African Affairs Correspondent

**ULUNDI**—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has appealed to the South African Government to release Nelson Mandela, jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, without any conditions.

In his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, he said it was a pity the State President had not released Mandela earlier this year.

It would have been a statesmanlike step towards normalising politics in South Africa, he said.

He certainly would not be party to any attempts to prescribe what Mandela should or should not do as a condition of his release, the Chief Minister said.

Chief Buthelezi said he 'yearned' for the freedom of Nelson Mandela and those who were incarcerated with him.

## Strength

He did not feel threatened by Mandela who was an 'ordinary person' and his 'brother'.

'Inkatha's strength will grow in normalised politics and the life-long bond I have with Nelson Mandela will not leave me shaking in my boots,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He said he had great respect for what Mr Botha had done in going much further than any of his predecessors in removing some of the utterly impossible conditions on Mandela. One of these had been that he had to agree to go to Transkei.

## Tragedy

Chief Buthelezi said members of the ANC in exile ought to come to terms with reality.

In the post-Nkomati Accord era, there were no prospects of the ANC establishing springboards for military attacks from neighbouring states. Logistics militated against a successful armed struggle

inside South Africa.

'We sincerely hope that they will find their way back from the distant places in which they have located themselves,' he said.

It would be a tragedy if the 'brothers and sisters in exile' could not return to South Africa to play a

meaningful role in the struggle to liberate the country and in the task of reconstructing society.

Chief Buthelezi said the Inkatha central committee had recognised that the diversity of black political views could not be expressed in any one liberation movement.

# Members to decide on cuts to their wages

African Affairs  
Correspondent

**ULUNDI**—One hundred and forty-one members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly are to be asked to decide the extent to which they will accept salary cuts.

This was announced yesterday by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said he hoped members would respond positively to his appeal.

He said he and his Cabinet colleagues had already accepted a cut of 36 percent in their income by foregoing the increase due to them in October last year.

But, he emphasised, he realised salaries of members of the assembly were very meagre, compared with those of other race groups.

Chief Buthelezi said KwaZulu was hoping to achieve an 8 percent cut in staff salaries as a tem-

porary measure.

Vacant posts in the civil service were not being filled and junior staff were doing more senior staff work without being rewarded at senior staff levels.

'We hope that our civil servants will accept a cut in this year's 13th cheque. We will do our best to regard this as a temporary measure and reimburse civil servants for the losses they will suffer this year whenever economic circumstances permit.'



Sowetan 28/3/85 304A

# Govt must talk - Boya

THE vice-president of the Urban Council Association of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, has called on the Government to talk to black leaders in a bid to solve the country's problems and avoid the spilling of blood.

Mr Boya, who is also the chairman of the East Rand Urban Council Association (Enruca) and the mayor of Daveyton, near Benoni was interviewed by The SOWETAN yesterday following last week's unrest in the Eastern Cape which cost 19 lives.

Boya also welcomed the Government's decision to set up a commission of inquiry into the violence in Uitenhage last Thursday. Premier Court judge, Mr Justice Donald D Kannemeyer has been appointed chairman of the one-man commission.

"The shooting and killing of blacks by the police will not solve the problems of South Africa. The fighting and killing of blacks against blacks will also not solve the problems of South Africa. The only solution is for the Government to talk to leaders of organisations like the ANC, Par-Africanist Congress (PAC), Azania People's Organisation (Azapo), United Democratic Front (UDF) and the local authorities," Mr Boya said.

Blacks in this country, Mr Boya said, are demanding equal rights, full citizenship for all the people of South Africa, and equal participation of all in the central government including political rights.

He said: "To avoid further bloodshed, the Government must give the people what they want and stop ruling by force. The time is long overdue for the Government to give blacks their rights and to start talking to black leaders."

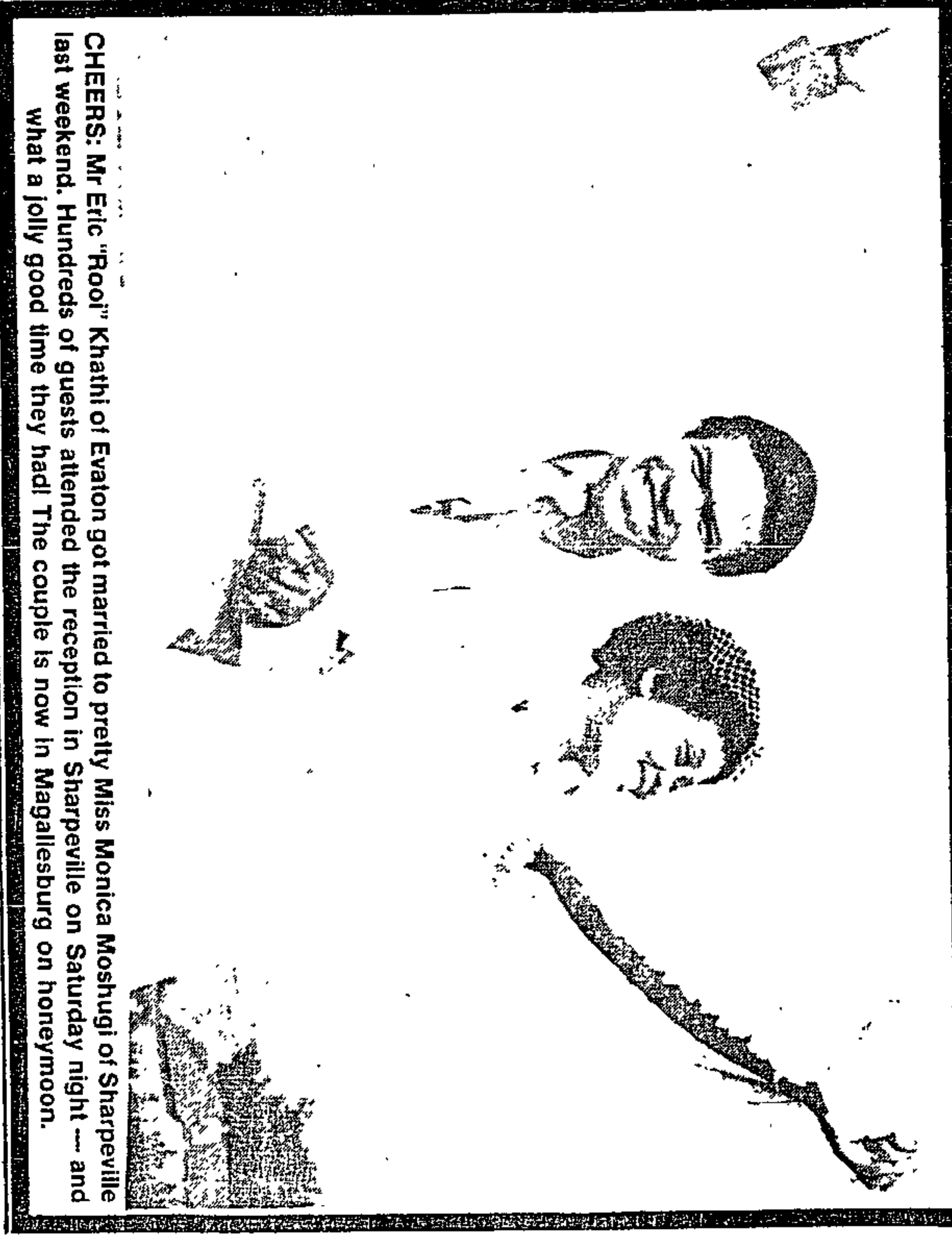
**BY  
MZIKAYISE  
EDOM**

happened and caused the police to shoot the people who were marching in Uitenhage last Thursday.

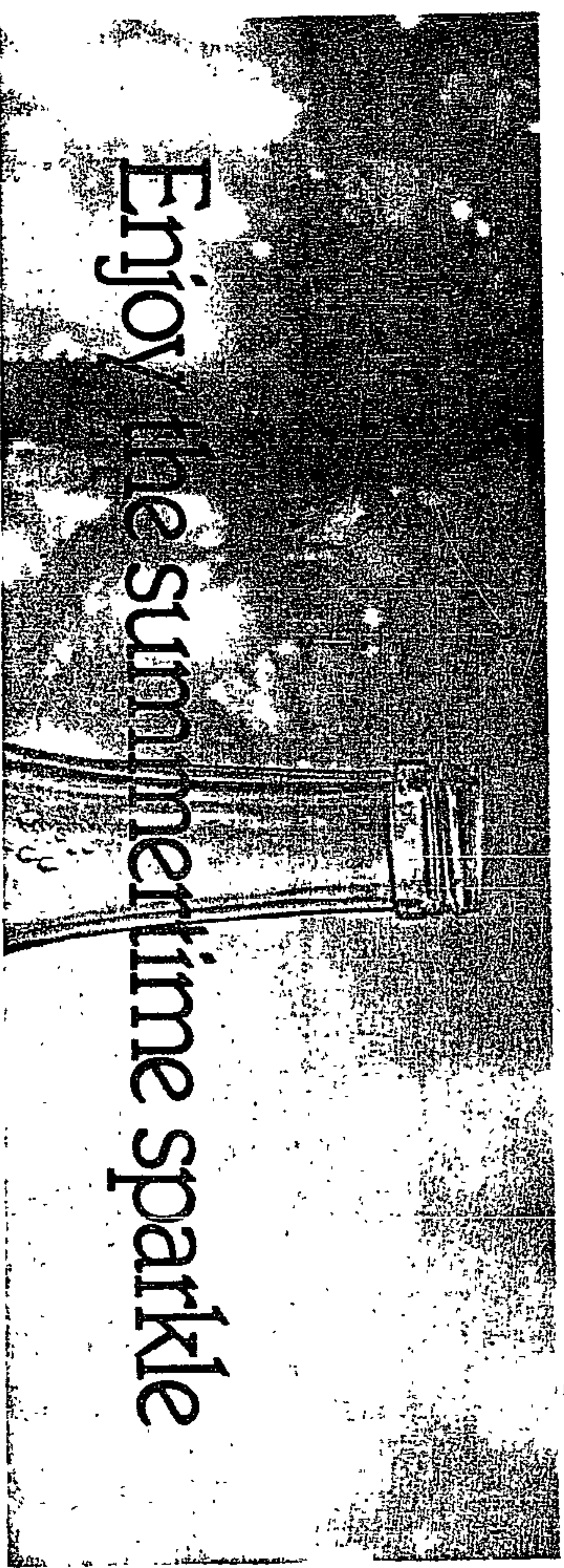
He also expressed condolence to families of all victims of unrest in the Eastern Cape and also in Ekangala in the Eastern Transvaal.

## Inquiry

Mr Boya said he was sure the commission of inquiry will come out with the truth of what



**CHEERS:** Mr Eric "Rooi" Khathi of Evaon got married to pretty Miss Monica Moshugi of Sharpeville last weekend. Hundreds of guests attended the reception in Sharpeville on Saturday night — and what a jolly good time they had! The couple is now in Magaliesburg on honeymoon.



# Enjoy the summertime sparkle



# Bosses demand reform

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

SIX major employer groups have urged the South African Government to make meaningful policy changes, especially widening labour relations, relaxing restrictions on small businesses, revising education and opening home ownership to blacks.

The organisations believe that without a stable, secure and prosperous workforce the country's economic potential and political stability cannot be ensured in future.

In its latest newsletter the Chamber of Mines says the private sector is using its own resources to integrate facilities and to remove discrimination in the work place.

The groups — Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Chamber of Mines of SA, The SA Federated Chamber of Industries, National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and the Steel Engineering Industries Federation — represents more than 80 per cent of the employment strength of the country.

The organisations are strongly committed to furthering an on-going process of economic and political reform in the country.

"The business community is in the frontline in developing and maintaining harmonious relations between black and white, especially on the shop floor

## Goals

They believe in the following goals:

- Meaningful political participation by blacks
- Full participation in private enterprise economy for all South Africans regardless of race, colour, sex or creed
- Common loyalty to the country in all South Africans through a universal citizenship.
- The development of a free and independent trade union movement
- The administration of justice as safeguarded by the courts.
- An end to the forced removal of people.

These goals, the chamber says, will only be attained in the context of strong economic growth. The employers are therefore opposed to a ban on US investment in South Africa; trade restrictions affecting US and South African products; prohibition of bank loans for South Africa and procurement boycotts against corporations doing business in South Africa.



y, March 29, 1985

nd Politics

# Govt mouthpiece 'muzzle of a gun'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The mouthpiece of the government had been the muzzle of a gun too often, Mr Colin Eglin (PFP Sea Point) said in the second reading debate on the Own Affairs Budget yesterday.

There had been a tragic breakdown in communication between government and governed.

Too often, communication had not been between government leaders and leaders of the black communities but by police who had to resolve the mess created by the government, and who at times did so with devastating consequences for the future of all South Africans.

## 'Shipwrecked'

While the debate about the real South Africa had been raging inside and outside the House, the five ministers of the white Ministers Council had sat like "five pathetic shipwrecked sailors stranded on a small white ethnic island defined for them by the Constitution".

They had tried to regulate education, health, social welfare, local government, housing and agriculture on the basis of apartheid and white exclusiveness, while the waves of a turbulent real South Africa were washing over them and making their whites-only ministries irrelevant.

"In truth, in South Africa all affairs are South African affairs."

The State President's intervention on Wednesday had highlighted the "farce which we are enacting by conducting the debate on the critical situation facing all of us in



Mr Colin Eglin ... the waves of a turbulent real South Africa are washing over the white Ministers Council.

separate Houses and without the presence of a single representative of the black communities of South Africa," he said.

"The farce of separate debates, as well as the danger of black exclusion, must be brought to an end without any delay.

"If the government does not do so, the unseemly and embarrassing rearranging of chairs in this House every time this Parliament listens to the State President or a Cabinet Minister will achieve no more for South Africa than the rearranging of the chairs on the deck of the Titanic did for the ill-fated pas-

sengers of that so-called unsinkable ship."

The reality was that there would not be stability in South Africa unless there was fundamental and urgent reform.

● At a report-back meeting to his constituency yesterday, Mr Eglin said that unless the government closed the gap between its words and actions, the State President had no hope of solving either South Africa's internal or its external problems.

He said there was a yawning gap between declared intentions and actions and they were becoming increasingly difficult to reconcile.

One reality was the government's commitment to black home-ownership, orderly urbanization and moves away from the negative aspects of influx control.

## 'Huge task'

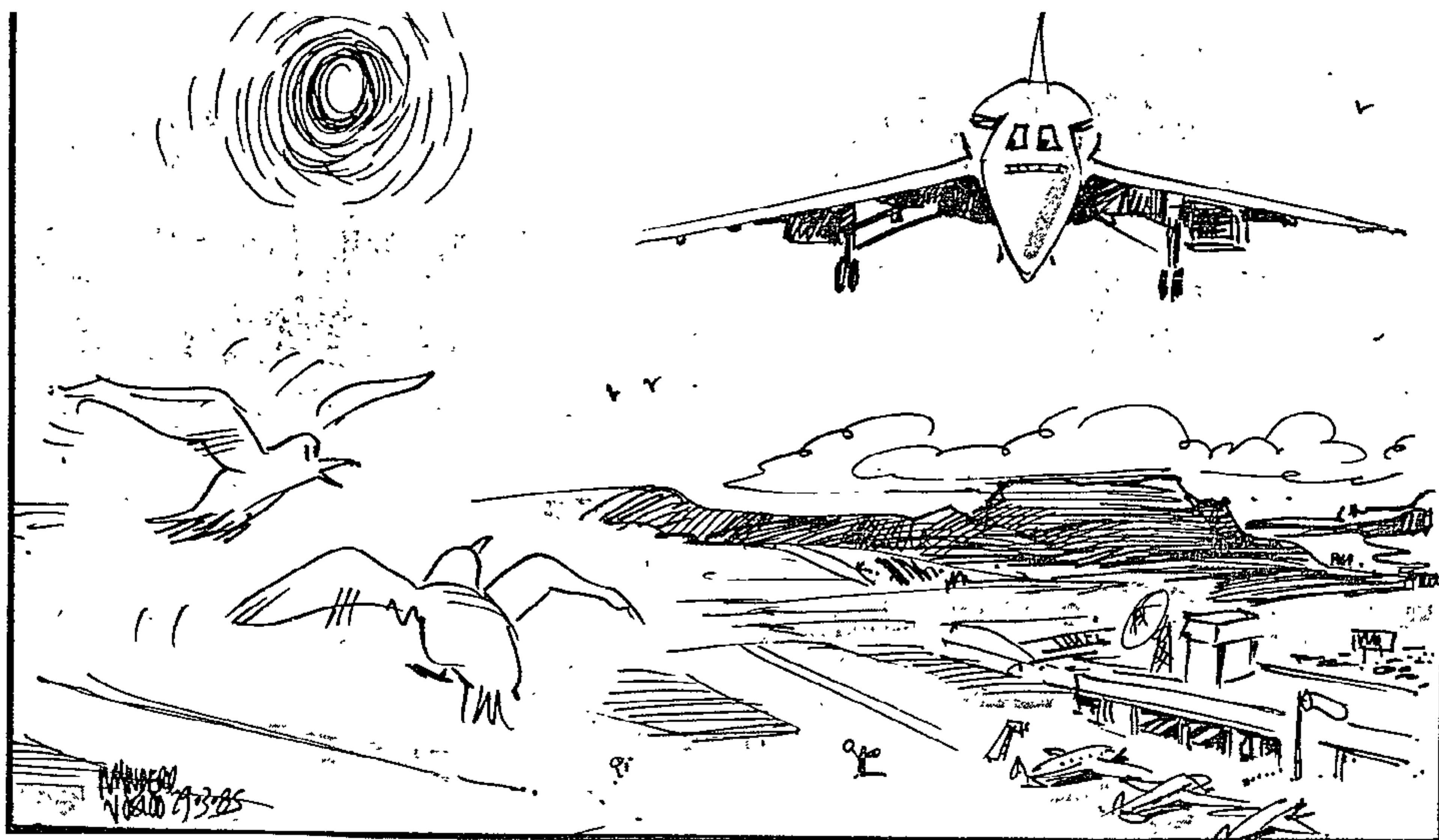
Against this were the 18 deaths at Crossroads.

Similarly, the State President's stated intention of improving the everyday lot of black communities had to be weighed against the insensitive way the government had handled the Eastern Cape crisis.

There was a tragic legacy of misdirected policies and wasted years and it would be a huge task to get South Africa out of its present mess, Mr Eglin said.

"Unless the government opens up direct communication with the acknowledged leaders of black communities in South Africa, it will stumble on, taking the country from one crisis to another." — Sapa





"Eat up your worm, or you won't grow up into a big bird like that!"



**THE  
PRESIDENCY**

17/6/85  
29/3/85

By **TOS WENTZEL**

Political Correspondent



# Black political rights are now a PW priority

PRESIDENT P W Botha this week again dealt with what he clearly regards as one of his top priorities — opportunities for blacks outside the homelands to express themselves above local government level.

He continued with a theme he started when he opened this year's session of Parliament.

This week he was speaking at the first meeting of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government to be attended by blacks.

He was also speaking against the background of the tragic events in the Langa township at Uitenhage and continuing unrest in black townships in various parts of the country.

He reiterated that the Government was fully aware of and acknowledged that there were certain problems which led to frustration in the black communities.

Local government rights would not be enough.

In the key speech of his address Mr Botha

"The question is not whether the black communities should be given political rights, but the question is how it should be done without the one population group being placed in a position to permanently dominate the other."

In his opening address to Parliament he finally dismissed the idea that blacks should only find political expression through ties with the homelands. He also announced that the question of black citizenship outside the homelands was being investigated.

The special Cabinet committee on black constitutional development is doing the exploratory work on these issues for the President.

The committee recently met with some leaders of the non-independent, self-governing states.

At its 18th meeting since it started in 1983 the committee

non-independent but self-governing "national states"

There it was decided that another special meeting on aspects of the President's constitutional ideas for blacks should be held.

As the chairman, Mr J C Heunis put it, the committee is looking for "umbrella structures of co-operation for the various constitutional entities within the South African context."

The Government is steering away from the idea of a fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks but the idea of some black council, mooted earlier on, to liaise with Parliament or the Government may well be dusted off again.

At least three more meetings with the leaders of the self-governing states are envisaged for the rest of the year and the next one is scheduled for May 24.

While Mr Botha has again

tion in the black communities the judicial commission on the Uitenhage events has been limited to investigating the "factual circumstances" regarding the incident at Uitenhage.

Such a commission could have been the ideal vehicle for a broader investigation into the whole background to the continuing unrest, especially in the Eastern Cape.

One objection to such an investigation is that it would take so long.

This could be overcome by asking the judge to produce an interim report, just on the events at Uitenhage on March 21, and then to continue with a broader investigation.

Mr Botha clearly does not have such a more general inquiry in mind. Instead, he asked even Parliament not to discuss the Uitenhage events while the commission was investigating — in spite of the fact that the Speaker had ruled that the matter was not admissible.



MGUS 29/3/85

(304A)

PARLI

# Nats slam Opposition on Uitenhage speeches

## Parliamentary Staff

THE debate on the Uitenhage shootings continued to rage in the House of Assembly, although Government members refused to address the matter following an appeal by President P W Botha.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, was not present in the House during yesterday's debate and did not answer arguments on the Uitenhage situation presented by either the PFP or the CP.

National Party members slammed both opposition parties for failing to address "own affairs" issues in the "own affairs" budget debate.

Mr J W Meiring (NP Paarl) said neither opposition party had said "anything about own affairs".

## Patriotism

Mr G J van der Merwe (NP Springs) said the PFP, by raising the Uitenhage shooting incident, had not thrown water on the fire, but had fuelled it.

He later withdrew the remark after the PFP objected, but added that both opposition parties had behaved with "so little patriotism" he had been ashamed.

PFP speakers, Mr Colin Eglin and Dr Alex Boraine, however, addressed their entire speeches to the Uitenhage incident and the nationwide unrest, as did their colleagues on Wednesday.

Referring to the appeal by Mr Botha to Parliament not to dis-



Mr Colin Eglin

cuss the matter until the Kanne-meyer Commission of Inquiry had reported, Mr Eglin said the intervention was "dramatic and unprecedented".

It had "shattered the illusion" that there was such a thing in South Africa as "own affairs".

"While the debate in the real South Africa has been raging inside and outside this House, the Ministers of the white Ministers' Council have sat like five pathetic shipwrecked sailors stranded on a small white ethnic island created by the constitution."

The intervention had also highlighted "the farce" of conducting a debate on such a critical situation in separate Houses and without black representatives present, Mr Eglin said.

President Botha had also highlighted the crisis of "political management".

Reform and law and order were not two separate issues, but "totally inter-related".

"We will have no stability in South Africa unless there is fundamental and urgent reform away from apartheid."

Dr Boraine (PFP Pinelands) said Mr Botha's "message of reform" had not reached the vast majority of black people.

Almost 300 black people had died during township unrest in the past six months and "that figure grows every day and every hour".

"Has the Government learnt anything at all since Sharpeville 25 years ago? In the past, they sought convenient scapegoats and it would appear they are attempting to do the same now."

"The State President, for example, adopts a tough posture and then has the audacity to talk about the need for every white to carry an identity document. Has he forgotten that the central issue that led to the massacre at Sharpeville was the pass laws?"

Referring to the deep dissatisfaction in Uitenhage townships over community councils, Dr Boraine said it was "unfair" of the Government to place community councillors in positions where they were not wanted.

In Uitenhage, community councils had six percent of the vote, and there was evidence that the council had appointed "vigilante bands" of municipal police.

"A reign of terror exists in many townships throughout the land and violence begets violence."



W. 20/11/85  
S.A.P.  
MPs buy 304A  
R1 000 000  
building

CAPE TOWN—A group of 18 Indian MPs have formed a business consortium to buy a large block of flats and offices in the city's Woodstock suburb for more than a R1 000 000, a member of the House of Delegates said yesterday.

The 18 shareholding MPs, mostly from Durban, plan to contribute R60 000 each towards the company's capital fund at the rate of R1 000 a month each during their five-year term of parliamentary office, he said.

The consortium plans to use the fully-let building for investment purposes. —(Sapa)



304A

4 Cape Times, Sat  
30/3/85



Denis Goldberg

## Political role for Goldberg in struggle

LUSAKA. — Former South African political prisoner Mr Denis Goldberg said yesterday he still supported armed struggle against apartheid although he had pledged not to take part in violence himself.

Mr Goldberg said his undertaking to renounce violence in exchange for his release last month after 21 years in jail was personal and did not imply criticism of the ANC.

Up to his arrest in 1963, Mr Goldberg was one of the leaders of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

Mr Goldberg said his decision had not caused any friction of which he was aware between himself and ANC leaders.

### Tears

He had tears in his eyes when he described the "overwhelming and very moving" reception he was given by ANC officials in Lusaka.

Mr Goldberg said he had agreed to renounce violence because "quite simply after that length of time in prison, the thought of facing more time was just more than I could bear".

He would now be involved in "the political aspect of what is a politico-military struggle".

"Until they talk about political rights at central government level, there can be no peace and the armed struggle will continue and I believe must continue," he said.



# The two sides of the man in the hottest seat



Mr Louis le Grange

He's been called foolish — an unmitigated embarrassment who has this country's critics drooling with anticipation every time he opens his mouth. Incompetent. Insensitive.

But the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has never had to contend with such cries of outrage as those heard recently. This week he heard demands for his head because of the continuing unrest and the police role in it.

He is the man whose thin blue line of policemen is stretched taut as it tries to cope with the spiral of violence.

Who is he, what sort of a job is he doing, and what makes him tick?

## Le Grange's 'enlightened' views forgotten in aftermath of riots

By John MacLennan

LOUIS le Grange still walks tall. In fact, he towers over everybody in Parliament and resembles nobody so much as a retired guards colonel who has popped into his favourite club.

But the urbane figure in the well-tailored brown suit no longer exudes that swashbuckling aura which enabled you to spot him a block away.

This week I could have sworn he had shed weight and a couple of centimetres in height. In the House he looked grey and grim-faced as he contemplated a newspaper headline telling of the latest death toll in Uitenhage.

All the seats immediately around him were empty, as if Nationalist members wanted to distance themselves from the man who is now in the eye of the storm.

His main critic, Mrs Helen Suzman, Opposition spokesman on law and order, provided Parliament with a typical and tough indictment.

**"Law unto themselves"**

It seemed to her, she said, that the "police have become a law unto themselves. We know that the reckless use of firepower occurred not only at

support through telephone calls and telegrams from individuals, organisations and groups of all races.

Because of the criticism traditionally levelled at whoever holds this sensitive and tough portfolio, Mr le Grange is anything but an easy subject to define.

So critics tend to overlook his human side, his published, enlightened statements, the fact that he is highly regarded as a hard worker with an intense interest in his field.

Behind the portfolio there is also a man who enjoys dancing, for example, and target shooting. He is a family man who regrets his political life robbed him of much of the company of his children while they were growing up.

### Weekend Argus Special Report

He was born in the Free State town of Ladybrand 56 years ago and matriculated at Potchefstroom's Volkskool, became a clerk at the local magistrate's court and subsequently prosecutor while he studied for the law degree which enabled him to go into private practice.

He played an active role in Afrikaner cultural affairs —

He caused a fuss with his statement at a meeting of the Newspaper Press Union that freedom of the Press was not a civil liberty and the public did not have the right to be informed. In this case he was even denounced by Government-supporting newspapers, and issued a qualification.

Years later he would admit his mistake.

Then he had a go at the Anglican Church because the hierarchy had allegedly decided no Security Branch policemen could be appointed to church posts. This was, said the church, absolute rubbish and why had the Minister not checked his facts first?

He was described as "incredibly foolish" after suggesting curbs on information about people in terms of the Terrorism Act.

### Argument abandoned

Critics wanted to know how could you have legislation which would allow police to drag people off in the middle of the night and keep the very fact of their detention a secret. Mr le Grange abandoned this one.

There are other gems:

● "You won't get much information if you keep a detainee in a five-star hotel." This statement was



death toll in Uitenhage.

All the seats immediately around him were empty, as if Nationalist members wanted to distance themselves from the man who is now in the eye of the storm.

His main critic, Mrs Helen Suzman, Opposition spokesman on law and order, provided Parliament with a typical and tough indictment.

### "Law unto themselves"

It seemed to her, she said, that the "police have become a law unto themselves. We know that the reckless use of firepower occurred not only at Langa (Uitenhage) and Cookhouse — practically across the map of South Africa.

"It is high time that somebody did something. The Minister responsible has failed to carry out his responsibilities and he must resign his post."

Earlier he also faced resignation calls from a spokesman of the ruling National People's Party in the Indian House of Delegates (subsequently withdrawn) and the ruling Labour Party in the House of Representatives, which still stands.

He has not had to respond to any of these calls or the swinging criticism because his political bacon has been saved for the moment through the intervention of President Botha, who appealed to members not to discuss the unrest before the Kanne-meyer Commission completes its findings.

Informed police sources, on the other hand, claim the criticism of Mr Le Grange has led to a flood of

him of much of the company of his children while they were growing up.

### Weekend Argus Special Report

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He played an active role in Afrikaner cultural affairs — he was a founder member of the Rapportryers — and became MP for Potchefstroom in 1966.

In 1975 he became Deputy Minister of Information and the Interior and from then his rise was rapid: 1978 — Deputy Minister of the Interior, Immigration and Public Works, 1979 — Minister of Police, 1982 — Minister of Law and Order.

Within months of gaining ministerial status he caused a ruckus over the issue of a Chinese girl who wanted to be classified white so that she could live in South Africa legally with her husband. He was angry, he said, that the matter had been raised with the Opposition instead of through official departmental channels.

Then it was pointed out to him that the unfortunate woman had exhausted every option available to her before making the appeal to the Opposition.

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### Argument abandoned

Critics wanted to know how could you have legislation which would allow police to drag people off in the middle of the night and keep the very fact of their detention a secret. Mr le Grange abandoned this one.

There are other gems:

● "You won't get much information if you keep a detainee in a five-star hotel." This statement was made after a detainee died.

● Only hours before the death of Dr Neil Aggett while in Security Branch custody he said deaths in detention no longer occurred.

● After the attempted mercenary takeover in the Seychelles, he said: "You tell me what laws they broke. They only ran around in the bush and shot out a few windows."

● "It is of course the Member for Greytown who alleged earlier that a person is only a criminal after he has been found guilty in a court. This is now the sort of foolishness one gets from a civil engineer who knows nothing about the law."

● He took it on the chin for his handling of the Durban consulate sit-in with Mr Pat Poovlingham (Solidarity Chairman) saying of him: "The leaders of the NIC (Natal Indian Congress) have out-thought, outwitted and out-manoeuvred Mr le Grange and his minions."

### Verligte noises

How he manages to make these blunders is difficult to understand because he is on record as saying he writes his speeches himself, and does so with care.

Yet one has to balance his worst utterances against the fact that he was making verligte noises long before it became fashionable.

In the yellowed cuttings of the '70s you will find him saying the Government will have to get rid of the hurtful aspects of apartheid, appealing for communication and understanding across the colour line and warning that a man's future can no longer be determined by his skin colour.

Norms such as education, civility, hard work and good manners would also have to count.

This week Mr le Grange was again in Uitenhage as he sought to deal with a problem which is already considered by some to have eclipsed President Botha's impetus for reform.

Unlike the reaction of a predecessor faced with a similar political hot potato, it is a safe bet that it does not leave him cold.



Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK, Weekend Argus

Shacks burn fiercely in the Port Elizabeth township yesterday.



mission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, No 59 of 1972, are informed of their right to appeal in terms of section 6 of the said Act; if not, (a) why not and (b) in what manner can they learn of this right of appeal; if so, (i) when are they informed, (ii) who informs them and (iii) in what manner are they informed;

- (2) whether these persons are provided with legal assistance for the purposes of this appeal; if not, why not; if so, (a) in what manner do they qualify for such legal assistance and (b) what is the nature of this assistance?

#### THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes.

- (a) and (b) Fall away.

- (i) When the notices that they have been declared prohibited persons, are served on them.

- (ii) The immigration officers who issue the said notices.

- (iii) In writing as required by Act 59 of 1972.

- (2) No, because Act 59 of 1972 does not make provision for such assistance.

- (a) and (b) Fall away.

1047A  
789. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many voters were registered in (a)

each constituency, (b) each province and (c) the Republic as at 31 December 1984?

#### THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (a), (b) and (c) See annexures A, B and C.

#### ANNEXURE A

#### WHITES

#### PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

| Constituency        | Number of voters |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Albany              | 15 828           |
| Algoa               | 18 309           |
| Alwal               | 11 187           |
| Beaufort West       | 9 967            |
| Belville            | 15 425           |
| Caledon             | 13 271           |
| Ceres               | 10 641           |
| Claremont           | 16 949           |
| Constantia          | 18 822           |
| Craddock            | 10 844           |
| De Aar              | 10 575           |
| De Kuilen           | 18 593           |
| Durbanville         | 19 634           |
| George              | 17 258           |
| Gordonia            | 11 086           |
| Graaff-Reinet       | 10 111           |
| Green Point         | 14 040           |
| Groote Schuur       | 16 239           |
| Heidelberg          | 18 998           |
| Humansdorp          | 15 070           |
| Cape Town Gardens   | 17 002           |
| Kimberley North     | 15 207           |
| Kimberley South     | 15 864           |
| King William's Town | 16 502           |
| Kuruman             | 10 772           |
| Maitland            | 18 741           |
| Malmesbury          | 17 295           |
| Mosselbay           | 13 248           |
| Namakwaaland        | 10 574           |
| Newton Park         | 17 494           |
| East London North   | 16 827           |
| East London City    | 17 150           |

Constituency

Number of voters

Constituency

Number of voters

|                        |         |                    |                  |
|------------------------|---------|--------------------|------------------|
| Oudtshoorn             | 12 910  | Umbilo             | 17 218           |
| Paarl                  | 16 030  | Umfolozi           | 13 573           |
| Parow                  | 17 213  | Umlanga            | 15 982           |
| Piketberg              | 14 895  | Umlatuzana         | 18 447           |
| Pinelands              | 16 617  | Umlazi             | 19 526           |
| Port Elizabeth North   | 16 268  | Vryheid            | 15 186           |
| Port Elizabeth Central | 15 606  |                    |                  |
| Prieska                | 9 804   | Province: Total    | 341 297          |
| Queenstown             | 12 564  |                    |                  |
| Sea Point              | 17 143  |                    |                  |
| Simonstown             | 19 060  |                    |                  |
| Sundays River          | 13 068  |                    |                  |
| Stellenbosch           | 14 736  |                    |                  |
| Swellendam             | 11 978  |                    |                  |
| Tygervallei            | 18 034  |                    |                  |
| Uitenhage              | 15 801  | House of Assembly  | Number of voters |
| False Bay              | 16 992  | Bethlehem          | 15 066           |
| Vasco                  | 16 422  | Bloemfontein North | 17 761           |
| Vryburg                | 10 604  | Bloemfontein East  | 19 217           |
| Walmer                 | 16 978  | Bloemfontein West  | 17 355           |
| Walvis Bay             | 4 603   | Fauresmith         | 10 294           |
| Wellington             | 17 357  | Heilbron           | 14 143           |
| Worcester              | 14 745  | Kroonstad          | 16 203           |
| Wynberg                | 16 895  | Ladybrand          | 14 322           |
|                        |         | Parys              | 17 673           |
| Province: Total        | 835 846 | Sasolburg          | 19 238           |
|                        |         | Smithfield         | 13 643           |
|                        |         | Virginia           | 19 019           |
|                        |         | Welkom             | 21 697           |
|                        |         | Winburg            | 14 600           |

#### ORANGE FREE STATE

#### NATAL

|                        |                  |                        |                  |
|------------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| Constituency           | Number of voters | Province: Total        | 230 231          |
| Amazimtoti             | 17 320           |                        |                  |
| Berea                  | 16 741           | Provincial Council     | Number of voters |
| Durban North           | 18 223           | Harrismith             | 7 524            |
| Durban Point           | 17 716           | Witteberge             | 7 542            |
| Durban Central         | 17 416           | Signal Hill            | 9 040            |
| Greytown               | 18 428           | Waverley               | 8 721            |
| Klip River             | 15 064           | Brandkop               | 11 344           |
| Mooi River             | 15 660           | Raadzaal               | 7 873            |
| Newcastle              | 17 702           | Pietermaritzburg North | 8 055            |
| Pietermaritzburg North | 17 817           | Wijelhof               | 9 300            |
| Pietermaritzburg South | 17 976           | Boshof                 | 5 235            |
| Pinetown               | 18 190           | Jagersfontein          | 5 059            |
| Port Natal             | 18 450           | Frankfort              | 7 397            |
| South Coast            | 14 662           |                        |                  |







## ORANGE FREE STATE

| Constituency              | Number of voters |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Heidedal .....            | 3 615            |
| Eastern Free State .....  | 3 902            |
| Opkoms .....              | 3 857            |
| Southern Free State ..... | 4 911            |
| Western Free State .....  | 3 951            |
| Province: Total .....     | 20 236           |

## TRANSVAAL

| Constituency             | Number of voters |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| Alrapark .....           | 6 264            |
| Bosmont .....            | 5 228            |
| Eerstens .....           | 11 362           |
| Eldorado Park .....      | 12 797           |
| Klipspruit West .....    | 10 066           |
| Newclare .....           | 9 578            |
| Northern Transvaal ..... | 1 259            |
| Reigerpark .....         | 9 139            |
| Rust Ter Vaal .....      | 6 927            |
| Toekomrus .....          | 9 105            |
| Province: Total .....    | 81 725           |
| Republic: Total .....    | 910 856          |

## ANNEXURE C

## INDIANS

Province: Total .....

349 371

## PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

## HOPE

| Constituency | Number of voters |
|--------------|------------------|
|--------------|------------------|

|                          |        |
|--------------------------|--------|
| Malabar .....            | 4 301  |
| North Western Cape ..... | 2 596  |
| Rylands .....            | 4 220  |
| Province: Total .....    | 11 117 |

## NATAL

| Constituency    | Number of voters |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Allandale ..... | 11 976           |

| Constituency | Number of voters |
|--------------|------------------|
|--------------|------------------|

|                          |         |
|--------------------------|---------|
| Arena Park .....         | 10 681  |
| Bayview .....            | 10 296  |
| Brickfield .....         | 12 329  |
| Camperdown .....         | 9 517   |
| Cavendish .....          | 13 446  |
| Chatsworth Central ..... | 11 380  |
| Clare Estate .....       | 11 798  |
| Durban Bay .....         | 7 819   |
| Glenview .....           | 11 819  |
| Havenside .....          | 10 119  |
| Isipingo .....           | 10 766  |
| Mariannhill .....        | 9 028   |
| Merebank .....           | 13 433  |
| Montford .....           | 11 157  |
| Moorcross .....          | 11 468  |
| Natal Midlands .....     | 12 907  |
| Newholme .....           | 15 826  |
| North Coast .....        | 11 793  |
| Northern Natal .....     | 12 719  |
| Phoenix .....            | 24 520  |
| Red Hill .....           | 12 020  |
| Reservoir Hills .....    | 11 012  |
| Springfield .....        | 12 797  |
| Stanger .....            | 12 043  |
| Southern Natal .....     | 10 478  |
| Tongaat .....            | 10 706  |
| Umlizinto .....          | 11 753  |
| Verulam .....            | 13 766  |
| Province: Total .....    | 349 371 |

## TRANSVAAL

| Constituency | Number of voters |
|--------------|------------------|
|--------------|------------------|

|                               |         |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| Actonville .....              | 7 804   |
| Laudium .....                 | 9 960   |
| Lenasia East .....            | 5 772   |
| Lenasia Central .....         | 5 613   |
| Lenasia West .....            | 5 964   |
| North Western Transvaal ..... | 10 134  |
| Eastern Transvaal .....       | 6 993   |
| Central Rand .....            | 9 003   |
| Province: Total .....         | 61 243  |
| Republic: Total .....         | 421 731 |

## Own Affairs:

## White/Coloured/Indian/Black officials

59. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of the Budget:

How many (a) White, (b) Coloured, (c) Indian and (d) Black persons are employed as officials in his Department on a (i) permanent and (ii) temporary basis?

## THE MINISTER OF THE BUDGET:

(i) (a) 394.

(b), (c) and (d) None.

(ii) (a) 95.

(b) and (c) None.

(d) 20.

available. The technicians are still compiling the 1984 statistics. It is anticipated that these statistics will be available in June 1985.

## Technikons: students

68. Mr H E J VAN RENSBURG asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

How many students were enrolled in 1984 for courses in each specified department at each technikon falling under the control of his Department?

## THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

The information requested is not yet available. The technikons are still compiling the 1984 statistics. It is anticipated that these statistics will be available in June 1985.

FRIDAY, 12 APRIL 1985

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

## General Affairs:

## Technikons: academic staff

## Rail passengers: subsidized fares

67. Mr H E J VAN RENSBURG asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

How many (a) White, (b) Coloured, (c) Asian, (d) Black and (e) other members of the academic staff were there in 1984 at each specified technikon falling under the control of his Department?

## THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

## THE MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

The information requested is not yet

(a) and (b) During November 1984,



(b) R915 971.57 in respect of leave gratuities.

The attention of the hon Member is drawn to the fact that payment of service gratuities resorts under the functions of the Department of Health and Welfare. Questions relating to service gratuities should, consequently, be directed to the Minister of Health and Welfare.

TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1985

+Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 11 June 1985:

~~Handwritten:~~ Certain persons: investigation  
\*21. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any branch of the South African Police has carried out an investigation into any matters involving certain persons, whose names have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) when, (b) why and (c) what are the names of these persons;
- (2) whether the investigation has been completed; if not, when is it anticipated that it will be completed; if so, when;
- (3) whether these persons were suspected of any offences; if so, what is the nature of the suspected offences;
- (4) whether these persons have been charged; if so, (a) in terms of what statutory provision and (b) what are the charges?

+The MINISTER OF JUSTICE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

- (1) Yes.
  - (a) Since September 1983.
  - (b) To investigate possible violations of the law.
  - (c) Messrs F P van R Whelpton and J P D Blaauw.
- (2) No, further investigations are being conducted. It is not possible at this stage to indicate when the investigations will be completed as new information continuously comes to light.
- (3) and (4) Yes, the persons concerned have already appeared in court for alleged fraud, theft, extortion, contraventions of the Nuclear Energy Act, No 92 of 1982, the Protection of Information Act, No 84 of 1982 and the Precious Stones Act, No 73 of 1964. The case has been remanded to 15 October 1985.

Offences allegedly committed by certain persons: investigation

\*22. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Whether the findings of an investigation by the South African Police into offences allegedly committed by certain persons, whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, have been or will be referred to an Attorney-General for a decision on possible prosecutions; if so, (a) when and (b) what are the names of these persons;
- (2) whether the Attorney-General has reached a decision on this case; if not, when is it anticipated that a decision will be reached; if so,
- (3) whether any charges are to be preferred against these persons; if so, what charges.

(4) whether he has issued a direction in terms of section 111 of the Criminal Procedure Act, No 51 of 1977, as amended, in respect of this case; if so, (a) why, (b) when, (c) what were the terms of the direction and (d) where were these offences alleged to have been committed;

- (5) whether a copy of this direction has been served on the persons concerned; if not, why not; if so, (a) where and (b) when;
- (6) whether these persons are to be tried in a court of law; if so, (a) where and (b) when is the trial to take place;
- (7) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE (Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

- (1) Yes.
- (a) During April 1985 police dockets were submitted to the Attorney-General, Cape Town.
- (b) Johann Philipp Derek Blaauw and Francis Pieter van Ravenswaay Whelpton.

- (2) Yes, but quite a lot of further information has since come to light with necessitates further extensive investigation and which may result in further decisions.
- (3) yes, the charges mentioned in the direction. In view of the aforementioned further charges are not excluded.
- (4) Yes. Separate directions were issued for Blaauw and Whelpton.

- (a) Certain acts, omissions or events with regard to the offences of which Blaauw and Whelpton are to be tried, occurred in the areas of jurisdiction of several Attorneys-General. It is in the interest of the administration of justice

that Blaauw and Whelpton be tried together in one trial.

- (b) 26 April 1985 and 30 April 1985 respectively.
- (c) In both directions it is ordered that the criminal proceedings of the offences which were allegedly committed by Blaauw and Whelpton in the areas of jurisdiction of several Attorneys-General commence in the Supreme Court, Cape Town.
- (d) It is alleged that the offences were committed in the areas of jurisdiction of the Attorneys-General Pretoria, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Windhoek and Cape Town.

- (5) Yes.
  - (a) The Magistrate's Court, Pretoria.
  - (b) 30 April 1985.
- (6) Yes.
  - (a) The Supreme Court, Cape Town.
  - (b) The case is at present remanded until 15 October 1985, but whether the trial will take place on that date will depend on the course of the further investigation.
- (7) No statement is called for.

New Questions:

Members: political support  
\*22. Maj R SIVE asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) With reference to his reply to Question No 13 on 4 June 1985, what is the policy of the South African Defence Force regarding members of the Defence Force who, as political



supporters of the (a) majority party and (b) opposition parties in the House of Assembly, stand for election to (i) local authorities, (ii) provincial councils and (iii) Parliament;

(2) whether members of the Defence Force wishing to stand for election to any of these bodies are required to resign; if so;

(3) whether such members are required to resign (a) prior or (b) subsequent to being so elected;

(4) whether any persons who are supporters of (a) the majority party and (b) any opposition party in this House and who wish to join the Defence Force are required to resign as members of the political parties concerned; if so, why;

(5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CO-OPERATION: Mr Chairman, I reply to this question on behalf of my hon colleague and in view of the long list of details involved here I shall with leave lay it upon the Table.

Maj R SIVE: Mr Chairman, there are a number of questions here which affect members of the Opposition to a very great extent as well as the governing party. Although it may be long, we should like to hear the answer of the hon the Minister in this regard.

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Does any other hon member wish to ask anything in this regard?

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I would like to associate myself with what the hon member for Bezuidehoof has said. Certain matters touched upon by the hon the Minister, served as prelude to this question. What has been said has a very

negative influence on the position of opposition members in the Defence Force. The CP felt so strongly about the matter that we in fact went to the Speaker and asked for the matter to be debated openly. It was suggested to us that we could ask the necessary questions arising from the hon the Minister's reply.

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The situation is as follows: It is customary for a Minister to lay a reply upon the Table with leave of the House. If there is an objection the hon the Minister must read it out. The hon the Deputy Minister will read the hon the Minister's reply.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, as you wish. The reply is as follows:

(1) (a) and (b), (2) and (3) In terms of section 14 of the Defence Act, 1957 (Act 44 of 1957) read with paragraph 15 of chapter II of the General Regulations for the South African Defence Force and the Reserve, no member of the SA Defence Force, irrespective of the political party he supports, may accept nomination for election as a member of the Provincial Council or Parliament and shall be deemed to have resigned from the SA Defence Force on the date of acceptance of such nomination. In this regard the hon member is also referred to the reply to question number 6 on 6 May 1975. With regard to nomination to a local authority the position is as follows:

Permanent Force members may not accept nomination without prior permission of the Chief of the SA Defence Force. A member who is elected may not participate in the discussion or ballot relating to a matter at issue between the local authority in which he serves and the Government or the Provincial Administration.

There are no restrictions in law or regulations governing the acceptance of nomination by members of the Citizen Force and the commandos for election to local

authorities. It is, however, expected of members who are elected to local authorities on a party political basis, not to jeopardize the principle of the SA Defence Force's elevation above party politics in the execution of their duties.

(4) The hon member is referred to the reply to the honourable member for Jeppe's question number 4 on 11 February 1983 which was replied to on 16 February 1983.

(5) No.

†Dr F HARTZENBERG: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I should like to enquire from him whether those rules and regulations were applied to an officer commanding of the Defence Force of a commando in the vicinity of Letsele during the by-election which took place last year. That officer was nominated as the candidate for the governing party. The same officer then forced a member of the CP who was nominated for a municipal election, to withdraw. I want to know why those rules were not applied to the officer when he himself accepted nomination.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am replying to this question on behalf of my colleague and I therefore have no personal knowledge of the events out of which this question arises but I can assure the hon member for Lichtenburg that I will undertake to convey this question to my hon colleague and request him to furnish the hon member with a written reply.

Maj R SIVE: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is it necessary that this Force order which came into being in 1936 whereby a person on being elected or nominated for either the provincial council or Parliament has to be transferred to the reserve of officers is still necessary in these modern times? Having had personal experience of this I think it is quite unnecessary and I want to ask the hon the Deputy Minister whether he does not think that it should be done away with.

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon Deputy Minister will evidently do the same as indicated in the previous reply that he furnished?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I have taken note of the hon member's request.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I want to ask the hon the Deputy Minister, who is now deputising for the hon the Minister who is not here, whether the hon the Minister is also of the opinion that the members of the HNP in the Defence Force are also politically contentious like the members of the CP according to his point of view?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, from the answer it seems clear to me that the rules and regulations laid down apply to all members of all political parties.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I should like to know whether officers of the Commando's and Citizen Force are allowed to hold executive positions in a political party at the same time.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I request the hon member to place the question on the Question Paper.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I would like to ask whether the hon the Deputy Minister, in view of the very serious implications of this question, can give any explanation as to why the hon the Minister of Defence as well as the hon the Deputy Minister of Defence are not present here today while Parliament, adjourns tomorrow and we can call them to account in eight months' time only.

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I do not regard that as a supplementary question.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: He was just afraid again.



# Suzman outlines plan for change

By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman today outlined a three-point plan by which the European Community could help bring about change in South Africa without disinvesting.

Addressing the European Democratic Group in Luxembourg, Mrs Suzman spoke out strongly against disinvestment.

According to the text of Mrs Suzman's speech,

3044 8/10/10/7/85  
which was released in Johannesburg yesterday, she suggested the following measures would be more effective.

- For Western interests to remain in South Africa and use their influence to bring about change.

- For European firms to accelerate their efforts to uplift black participation in the economy.

"But all European-based firms not adhering to the European Community Code (employment

practices similar to the American Sullivan Code), should have penalties imposed on them".

- For all Europeans to raise their voices against apartheid. "In particular, against any outrageous actions by the South African Government."

"The South African Government ... would like to be welcomed back into the Western community of nations," said Mrs Suzman, "but not at any cost".



# Nat shock as Stofberg lucky seventh time

**TOS WENTZEL, *Acus***  
**Political**  
**Correspondent 31/10/81**

THE National Party has won four of the five parliamentary by-elections but it has had a shock defeat at the hands of the ultra-right-wing Herstigte Nasionale Party in the Sasolburg seat in the Free State.

The HNP has been trying since 1970 for representation in Parliament and it was the seventh attempt that its winning candidate, Mr Louis Stofberg, has made to get to Parliament in elections since then.

The main features of the election results were:

- The HNP win in Sasolburg, where it turned a 2 619 National Party majority in the 1981 general election into a 367 win for itself this time.
- Greatly reduced majorities for the National Party in three

of the four constituencies — Bethlehem, Springs and Vryburg, but a greatly increased majority in the Port Natal seat.

● A disastrous result for the New Republic Party in Port Natal, where it came bottom of the poll in a five-cornered contest, losing its deposit, while in 1981 it came within 685 of winning the seat from the National Party. The result is likely to speed up the final demise of the NRP as a viable political party.

● A good showing for the Progressive Federal Party in Port Natal, where it stood for the first time, attracting 2 102 votes and beating the Conservative Party to come second.

● A disappointing showing for the PFP in Springs, where its vote dropped to 1 716 from 3 209 in 1981.

President P W Botha said today that, considering economic

conditions due to the recession, as well as factors such as the drought and unrest in certain parts of the country, the Government could express its satisfaction with the results.

The National Party had been in power since 1948 and still enjoyed much positive support from a stable corps of voters searching for solutions to South Africa's unresolved problems.

Support for left-radical political groups had shown itself to be "fundamentally of little importance" The PFP's attitude with regard to the vital importance of security in South Africa was rejected, as was outside interference.

He conceded that a large number of more conservative-minded South Africans hesitated to go along with the National Party on

the road of realism and level-headedness

They would have to be convinced that a policy of stagnation could not be followed.

The Nationalist Press conceded today that the result had come as a shock.

The results showed a sharp swing to the right in some parts of the Free State, the Transvaal and the Cape platteland.

In Sasolburg the HNP fought an out-and-out racist campaign against the National Party's reform approach. The big issues there were the abolition of the sexual apartheid legislation, the decision to lift the ban on Indians in the Free State and what the HNP presented as Nationalist plans to have blacks in Parliament.

(Turn to Page 3, col 7)

Mr Louis Stofberg



## Nats make it four out of five

(Cont from Page 1)

The HNP benefited considerably from the fact that it had the support of CP voters in terms of an election agreement, but the result has nevertheless come as a badly-needed boost for a party that has been outside the parliamentary scene for so long.

Its leader, Mr Jaap Marais, said today the results had shown a dramatic swing to the right and President P W Botha would have to take account of this. And the fact that it was the HNP which beat the National Party was "adding insult to injury".

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the PFP, said today that the results should serve as a warning to the Government that if it did not act clearly and resolutely in trying to bring about reform it would lose to the right and the left.

Dr Slabbert dismissed the notion that the results meant that the PFP had lost the claim to be the official Opposition in the Assembly.

He said the general political and economic climate as well as the constituencies in which the by-elections were fought tended to favour the right-wing parties.

In spite of this the victory for the HNP in Sasolburg had come as a surprise.

"As far as the PFP is concerned we had no illusions but that it would be an uphill battle in Port Natal and Springs."

Dr Slabbert said he found the result in Port Natal encouraging as the PFP had not contested it before.

The Labour Party today advised Mr Botha to forget about the right-wing because he had lost it.

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JOHN YELD, Municipal Reporter

CAPE Town City Council today decided to call a peace conference in an attempt to halt "escalating violence and the alarming deterioration of race relations" in the Peninsula.

The council passed, with one abstention, a motion calling on leaders of all sections of the community to meet and seek solutions to these problems.

The motion calls for the peace conference to "draw up a manifesto for non-racial democratic local government and to use all means at its disposal to propagate and seek the implementation of that manifesto".

### Betrayed

Proposer Mr Clive Keegan said Cape Town's long-standing claim to liberal traditions lies in tatters.

He said: "The liberal tradition of this city has been killed and our political heritage betrayed.

"The city has been dragged, bleeding and mourning, into the gutters of international contempt.

"I believe every Capetonian should bow his head in deep shame. We must say again today: 'We have had enough — all of us'."

### Leadership

Mr Keegan said the conference should not just be talk but would have to get down to the "hard, sweaty job" of constructing a charter for the future.

He said: "This city is crying passionately for leadership and direction from somebody. I believe we are, as a council, uniquely placed by history and by convention to give that leadership."

Mr Norman Osburn, who seconded the motion, said he believed the term "peace conference" was apt because there was a "de facto state of civil war".

Former mayor Mr Kosie van Zyl was the only councillor to vote against the motion, although Mrs Bronnie Harding left the chamber when a division was called.



Mr Clive Keegan ... city's liberal tradition lies in tatters.

# Conference bid to halt violence and repair race relations

# City peace talks

AKUS 31/10/85

(30 K1)



# NCM will not back new Govt initiative

30/1/85  
2/2/85

The National Convention Movement (NCM) said today it would not support the Government's constitutional negotiations which are apparently moving into a new phase.

"A new constitution for South Africa must be designed by the people for the people, otherwise the solution would not be a democratic and then we would have failed," Mr Jules Browde, chairman of the NCM's management committee, told *The Star*.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, implied at a meeting of Cabinet Ministers and five homeland leaders in Pretoria on Friday that it was now possible to draft common principles for further constitutional negotiations.

The NCM's aim is to drum up countrywide support for a national convention at which a new constitution could be negotiated.

This weekend, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, warned that people who were trying to "play negotiators" could damage the process of negotiation.

Mr Heunis was critical of "the new fashion in the country that every Tom, Dick and Harry, all of a sudden wants to hold his own little convention".

## ENCOURAGEMENT

Mr Browde said Mr Heunis's remarks were not an encouraging signal on the part of the Government.

"But we will get our encouragement elsewhere. We will go to the people. Eventually, we hope, we will have enough general support to force the Government to listen.

"It is true that we are experiencing the same problems as the Government, namely that only moderate black leaders are interested in supporting the convention movement. However, we are aiming for grass-root support.

"If we do not succeed in getting everybody involved, we will have failed," Mr Browde said.

The NCM has so far met with strong resistance from more radical organisations.



# Slabbert and Heunis clash before debate

5791 2/12/85 Political Staff 304A

CAPE TOWN — The Government was warned today that no credible black leadership would negotiate with it on constitutional development within the apartheid structure.

The warning came from Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, who clashed with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, shortly before they were due to meet in Pretoria today to discuss constitutional matters.

Mr Heunis challenged Dr Slabbert on an earlier statement that any efforts to have a new constitutional system must not exclude "vital political actors with credibility".

He said South Africa had been involved in a dynamic process of confidential negotiation and the implementation of policy adaptations.

## CHALLENGED TO GIVE DETAILS

He challenged Dr Slabbert to give him exact details of the people he proposed should take part in negotiations.

"Mr Heunis and the Government should realise no credible black leadership is going to negotiate until people can freely support organisations and choose leaders they want to represent their interests.

"Until the Government repeals legislation preventing this it is pointless to declare that it wants to negotiate," he said.

Dr Slabbert said he was happy to provide Mr Heunis with the names and addresses of people who said they would be prepared to talk under different circumstances.



# Suzman speaks on 'Winds of Change' — 24 years later

3/12/85 STAR

304A

Political Correspondent

Veteran liberal MP and civil rights campaigner Mrs Helen Suzman is to deliver this year's Macmillan Lecture to the Young Conservatives Association in London on Thursday.

The annual lecture commemorates former British prime minister Mr Harold Macmillan, now Lord Stockton.

Mrs Suzman will be drawing parallels between Mr Macmillan's celebrated "Winds of change" speech in the House of Assembly in Cape Town in 1960 and the South African situation today.

She will also be dealing with the questions of disinvestment and sanctions, and will examine the prospects for South Africa.



# MPs slam ban on kwaNdebele merger talks

STAR 4/12/85  
304A

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Members of Parliament for Moutse — the Pedi area accommodating some 120 000 people, which is about to be ceded to kwaNdebele — are outraged that they have been prohibited from discussing the controversial incorporation with their constituency.

A meeting scheduled to be held at the kraal of Chief T G Mathebe was banned at the weekend, the MPs said.

When people gathered in defiance of the magistrate's banning order, police dispersed the crowd.

"Chief Mathebe, who is chairman of the Moutse tribal authority, regards the teargas episode at his kraal as an insult to him and his people — especially as the meeting held was most orderly," reads a joint statement by MPs Chief T G Mathebe, Mr M G Mathebe and Mr M Chueu.

They warned that "no

amount of intimidation will have any effect in daunting the will of the people in their struggle to survive the incorporation effort by kwaNdebele and Pretoria".

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, is said to have told Moutse representatives about two weeks ago that their incorporation into kwaNdebele would go ahead in January and the matter was final.

The MPs said the weekend meeting had been intended as a report back to the community following the meeting with Mr Heunis.

The Moutse area was excised from Lebowa in 1980 in preparation for its incorporation into kwaNdebele.

But it still has two elected members and several chiefs sitting in the Lebowa Legislative Assembly.



... for alarm...

304 4 5 12/85

# CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, had acted on "valid and responsible" information in promulgating the state of emergency, and the court did not have the power to question whether the regulations were necessary.

This was the submission in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, by Mr M C de Klerk SC for the State President.

Mr de Klerk told a Full Bench yesterday that President Botha's promulgation had the

## Emergency: PW defended in court

same power as a Member of Parliament.

He was empowered to act in a way he thought advisable to maintain public order and safety, and the court had no say over the circumstances under which he could invoke these powers.

Mr de Klerk was presenting argument in an application for the release of six emergency detainees — including Cape Town

advocate Mr Dulla Omar — from Victor Verster Prison.

The other applicants are the Reverend Howard Marawu, Mr Marcus Solomon, Mr Leslie Andrews, Mr Derrick Naidoo and Mr Neville Naidoo.

At issue is section 3 (iii) of the emergency regulations which allows detainees access to lawyers only with the permission of the prison head in conjunction

with the Commissioner of Police.

The applicants argue that legal access is their right and President Botha had not acted within his legal jurisdiction by instituting the emergency laws.

The respondents are the State President, the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Justice, the Commissioner of Police and the officer commanding

Victor Verster Prison.

Mr de Klerk said the only people who had to be told when a person was detained under the emergency powers was the head of the prison and the person concerned.

He said the basic rights under "normal law", such as right of access to lawyers and the right to make representations, had to be seen differently under the state of emergency.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.



# Wits' call for repeal of apartheid legislation

Education Reporter

A document calling for the repeal for all apartheid legislation was passed by 10 faculties at a Wits University Senate meeting this week and will be heard by the university council tomorrow. If passed, it will become university policy.

The original document was compiled by the arts, education and science faculties at an October meeting which called for an end to the state of emergency, the release of all political detainees, negotiation with the ANC and Swapo and an end to the border war.

Controversy arose on campus this year after the Wits Black Students' Society accused the university of being out of touch with the "sentiments of anti-apartheid forces" on campus.

It also said the university was unprincipled and inconsistent because of its failure to condemn the state of emergency.

Other student groups, including the National Union of South African Students, also want the university to take a clear stand.

The university has also been criticised by civil rights lawyer Mrs Priscilla Jana, who said at the Richard Feetham Memorial Lecture at Wits in September that academics should address themselves to the pressing issues affecting South Africa.

Mrs Jana said the university, despite its tradition of opposing oppressive laws, had aligned itself with the Government.



# Suzman speaks out against punitive actions

6/12/85

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On May 31 1961, just over a year after Mr Macmillan spoke in Cape Town, South Africa became a Republic outside the Commonwealth.

She did this because had she remained inside, Dr Verwoerd told Parliament, "South Africa would have had to concede that she would start making certain policy changes as a result of intervention by other Commonwealth countries in her affairs".

No wonder I had a distinct feeling of *deja vu* when I read a Press report of Mr P W Botha's reaction to the recent Commonwealth conference in Nassau.

He said: "I never considered my political actions to be influenced by what other people say or do — our policies are directed by South Africa itself."

## Conference

Yet, despite the fact that South Africa ended her membership of the Commonwealth almost 25 years ago, the Republic was the main preoccupation of the recent Commonwealth conference in the Bahamas.

What Mr Macmillan said in Cape Town in 1960 — his contention that in the modern world no country can live for itself alone — has been proved only too true. He said: "Isolationism is out of date, and more than that, offers no assurance of security."

The fact of the matter is that South Africa's policies for the handling of its subject peoples are so out of kilter with what the rest of the world regards as acceptable, and its methods of dealing with the civil unrest which these policies provoke, are so offensive that South Africa has shot right to the top of those crucial issues that are presently engaging the attention of nations and peoples everywhere.

In South Africa, until the last five or six years, the wind of change has been blowing in the opposite direction. From the '60s until the late '70s, under the malevolent influence of Dr Verwoerd and then the baleful authority of Mr Vorster, law after law was placed on the statute book, denying equality of opportunity and spurning the concept of individual merit as the criterion for a man's economic or political advancement.

As was to be expected, synchronised with such measures, came the abrogation of the rule of law and the

Just over a quarter of a century ago, on February 3 1960, Harold Macmillan, then Prime Minister of Britain, addressed a Joint Sitting of the two Houses of the South African Parliament in Cape Town. That speech became famous as the "Wind of Change" speech. Its theme was the awakening of national consciousness among subject peoples and the emergence everywhere of new independent nation states as an inescapable process of human development. Last night, nearly 26 years on, HELEN SUZMAN, who has been a member of the South African Parliament since 1953, delivered the 1985 Macmillan Lecture to the National Young Conservatives in London. This is an abridged version of her text.

undermining of habeas corpus.

Changes for the better are, indeed, taking place in many different aspects of life, but alas, as so often happens with good intentions, if they are implemented hesitantly, clumsily, reluctantly and without the necessary generosity of spirit to give them a sense of actuality, their impact on those affected is minimal.

Nevertheless over the past few years there have been reforms, not all of them cosmetic.

But because progress towards fundamental change is so slow, the outside world remains highly sceptical and the clamour today is for more effective means of bringing pressure to bear on South Africa, including boycotts, economic sanctions and other measures designed to hurt South Africa sufficiently to make her change her ways.

If I believed that such punitive actions would lead to the rapid demise of apartheid, the downfall of the present regime in Pretoria, and its replacement by a non-racial democratic government, I would be wholeheartedly in favour of them. I have, after all, spent my entire political life working for these objectives. But I do not believe this would be the case.

All meaningful changes have been initiated by economic pressures within the country, by the expansion of the

economy. This, in turn, has resulted in blacks moving up the economic ladder, thus acquiring the economic muscle which enables them to make demands to redress imbalances in wealth and privilege and, ultimately, power.

Punitive measures will not lead to instant capitulation by the Pretoria regime. Much more likely is the development of a siege mentality. The message or signal that the West has sent to Pretoria has been received with a laconic "Roger and over" response.

What is the answer to South Africa's problems?

I am inclined to believe that there are somewhat more factors favouring peaceful or semi-peaceful change — not least the total economic interdependence of the various population groups — than there are those promoting violent upheaval.

There should be no doubt which of the two possible outcomes for South Africa the outside world should support. And that means devoting a lot more careful thought to the likely effects of recommended strategies towards South Africa than I suspect has been the case up till now.

## Negotiation

If the Commonwealth group could persuade the Government to create the climate for negotiation by announcing its intention to repeal those laws which most oppress blacks — such as the Group Areas Act and the pass laws; if the Group could persuade the Government to free Mandela and his fellow long-term prisoners, to release detainees and lift the state of emergency, and to unban the ANC and other black political organisations — that is, bring black politics in from the cold — a giant step would have been taken towards creating a forum for negotiation concerning the crucial issue of black participation in the political power structure in South Africa.

The Western nations cannot prescribe final solutions for South Africa. In the end the problem of South Africa will have to be solved by the people of South Africa themselves — all the people.

South Africa is a country of simply tremendous human and economic potential. The saving of it is well worth an equally tremendous effort.



# Joint rule move by Natal and kwaZulu

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Significant new moves towards joint control of Natal and kwaZulu have been announced by representatives of the Provincial Executive and the kwaZulu Cabinet.

The central Government will be asked to approve the establishment of a joint executive authority for the two regions, to deal with matters of common interest at an executive level.

And next year talks will take place on the proposal for a single, elected legislative authority for the two regions.

All shades of political opinion — including the ANC — will be invited to "make an input".

Yesterday's announcement — by Natal's senior MEC, Mr Frank Martin, and kwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, Dr Oscar Dhlomo — is the latest development in lengthy talks which have been taking place between the province and kwaZulu.

Mr Martin and Dr Dhlomo said there was already informal co-operation between the two regions, with heads of departments meeting and discussing matters of common concern and reporting to a strategic policy group consisting of kwaZulu Ministers and Natal MECs.

They said considerable savings in taxpayers' money as well as greater efficiency would result from this co-operation.

No time would be wasted in pushing ahead with the latest proposals, they indicated.

## Disagreement

Dr Dhlomo said the proposed joint executive authority would have representation from Natal and kwaZulu, and decisions would be by consensus.

The Administrator of Natal and the kwaZulu Chief Minister would not be part of it but would act as final arbiters in cases of disagreement.

The central Government would have to pass legislation enabling the proposed structure to be created.

"That is the reason we will be going to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Heunis ... to tell him this is the type of structure we want," said Dr Dhlomo.

Regarding the proposed elect-

## Even ANC welcome to make input, says Martin

ed legislative body, he said:

"This must be tackled by all groups, political and otherwise. We will have to work out a mechanism whereby they will be involved.

"Some people have speculated on an indaba as one of the possible mechanisms."

He said this matter would have to get under way as soon as possible, with definite progress being made by April next year.

Mr Martin said the Natal Indian Congress, the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress would be welcome to "make an input" on this issue.

On the matter of the joint executive authority, he said he hoped a meeting could be arranged with Mr Heunis before Christmas to set out the proposal.

After Mr Martin had given examples of how co-operation between Natal and kwaZulu would effect considerable savings and improved efficiency, Dr Dhlomo said this illustrated that such co-operation should have existed long ago.

He said there were many departments where co-operation was taking place or was being planned.



# Suzman rapped for funeral address

STAR 9/12/85  
304/14

I refer to a report in *The Star* of December 3 on the funeral in Mamelodi and, in particular, on Mrs Helen Suzman's address to the "crowd" of 50 000.

I say "crowd" because only the naïve would be prepared to call them all mourners.

Shame on Mrs Suzman for helping to turn a solemn funeral occasion into an opportunity for making political capital. She certainly has lost a lot of credibility by doing this.

One would also think that with her experience in matters political, she would have enough sense to refrain from parroting the "demands" which have been made by subversive radical/anarchistic individuals and bodies, ie withdrawal of police and troops from townships, ending the state of emergency, release of detainees.

But no, she had to jump on the bandwagon to try to milk some publicity from a tragic event.

It was made all the more tragic by the fact that young hooligans — who in their turn are being used by unscrupulous perpetrators of violence and disorder — were responsible in the first place for these elderly people being where they were and being killed.

The blame for this unhappy chain of events lies with those self-appointed "leaders" of the black community who, if it really came to the push, are only seeking to entrench themselves in power positions with the help of their communist masters.

These people should now be warned that their Red masters will find them to be just as expendable as those whom they now have rendered expendable — those who were buried last week.

E C Stephan  
Roodepoort.



# PFP trust fund heads towards R8-m mark

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party is nearing its target of R10 million for its Van Zyl Slabbert Trust Fund and is also having considerable success with a membership drive. The fund has passed the R7 million mark and should stand at R8 million in pledges over three years and cash before Christmas. A quarter of this has already been collected in cash.

Mr Robin Carlisle, a President's Councillor and national director of the trust, said that a secondary phase of the fund-raising campaign would now be launched to cover mainly the Transvaal but to include the Port Elizabeth and East London areas. The Australian firm of fund-raising consultants, Compton Associates, had been contracted to advise the party in this phase. Mr Carlisle said the final figure for the trust could be between R12 million and R15 million.

## OPERATION OUTREACH

The purpose of the fund is to assist the PFP to promote the policy of negotiation and to help it prepare for the next general election. The party is registering 300 to 400 new members a month in its "Operation Outreach" drive. This follows the recent scrapping of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act which made it possible for the party to make its membership non-racial. The party's national director, Mr Neil Ross, said today that the membership drive had been remarkably successful despite the fact that it was severely hampered in some areas, especially Cape Town and the Southern Transvaal region which included Johannesburg, by the state of emergency.

In spite of this many new members were joining and were in turn recruiting other members. A number of new branches had been started.

Mr Ross said that, while the party did not categorise its membership according to race it was at this stage already more non-racial than the old Progressive Party.



# Wits takes moral stand with new policy statement

By Susan Fleming, Education Reporter

The Council of the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday issued a statement calling for the end of all apartheid legislation and South Africa's security laws, and for the negotiation of a new "just" constitution.

The statement will now become university policy.

The backbone of the new policy comes from a confidential document compiled by the faculties of arts, education and science at a special meeting in October.

The two-page statement issued by Wits Council said South Africa was now witnessing the consequences of apartheid — a policy which had brought about the forced removal of people, the banning of books, organisations and people, detention without trial and the denial of political liberties.

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"The outcome is the current tragedy — burnings and lynchings, intimidation, looting, the boycott and destruction of schools, the consequences of the cry 'liberation before education', the shooting of men, women and even children, the use of excessive force by those seeking to maintain order, indemnity for agents of the State who do wrong and further restrictions on rights and liberties," the statement said.

## EDUCATION

There was a need for "rapid and sweeping change". Wits University was morally obliged to protest the "gross injustices" in South Africa.

The aims of a university, which included the pursuit of truth and academic advancement, could not be attained where discriminatory practices prevailed, the policy document said.

The statement said Wits University rejected rac-

ism and racial segregation and was committed to non-discrimination in the selection and promotion of its staff and in its administration.

The policy document pointed out that black education was a symbol and a cause of the present national crisis.

"There is a need for the reconstruction of the entire education system. Particular attention will have to be paid to those whose education over the years has been neglected or disrupted."

"We commit ourselves to re-examine all policies and practices in the universities, including teaching and research."

"We commit ourselves to the cause of equal educational facilities and prospects for all," and the repeal of legislation requiring separate facilities in education, health and welfare on racial grounds.



# Nusas plans to become more active in politics

STAR 12/12/85

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By Susan Fleming, Education Reporter

"Action for Democracy" will be the 1986 theme of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

Nusas will also strive to achieve greater student involvement in university affairs and in the wider South African political context next year.

This was decided at the 63rd annual Nusas congress attended by about 200 students at the University of Natal in Durban last week.

The congress was meant to be held in Cape Town but this venue was banned under the emergency regulations by the divisional commissioner of police for the Western Cape, Brigadier C A Swart.

Mr Brendan Barry, who was re-elected for a second term as Nusas president, described the banning of the Cape Town congress as "yet another desperate act by the Government in a state of panic".

"Nonetheless this act is symptomatic of a Government which has lost control over its people and which has no credibility in the eyes of South Africans or the international world and which seeks to exert the power at its disposal in order to silence any opposition, even that voice from within the white community," Mr Barry said.



# **Nusas misread convention movement's aims**

Nusas's refusal to join the National Convention Movement (NCM) was due to a misunderstanding, Mr Roelf Meyer, liaison officer of the NCM, said yesterday.

"They have the wrong impression of the NCM. I don't think there's any real disagreement between us," Mr Meyer told *The Star*.

He was reacting to a motion adopted at the student organisa-

tion's annual meeting in Durban at the weekend which rejected an invitation to join the NCM.

The president of Nusas, Mr Brendan Barry, said the NCM did not have the support of the majority of South Africans. Meaningful change could only be realised if it had this support, he said.

Mr Meyer and Mr Jules Browde, chairman of the NCM's

management committee, said the Nusas motion showed the student body "did not grasp the aims of the NCM".

"It is fundamental to the whole NCM project that the climate be created in which negotiation can take place. Banned organisations must be unbanned, political prisoners set free and apartheid completely dismantled.

30 41 It's obvious from the terms of Nusas's motion that no attention could have been paid to the terms of the NCM's manifesto which expressly set out most of the points which the students state to be necessary for meaningful negotiation.

"If they take a close look at the facts, it will become clear to them that there is no real disagreement between us," Mr Meyer said.



plans to become  
more active  
in politics

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The move to Durban resulted in a drop in attendance, but the same issues planned for Cape Town

Homes plan  
for blacks  
in OES

BLOEMFONTEIN — The private sector's biggest development project in a black township in the Free State is to go ahead at Mangaung outside Bloemfontein.

The project, by the Blamonda Housing Company, entails the provision of services for 1200 erven (housing sites). The company is negotiating with the Urban Foundation for R8 million for the project.

It is hoped houses on these sites will be built by private developers, employers and owner-builders on a freehold or 99-year lease basis.

The Mangaung Town Council has received approval for a loan of R1.3 million for external services to Kagisanong Extension.

Call for  
tax relief

About 6 percent of one-star and two-star hotels in South Africa have gone out of business in the past five years, says Fedhasa.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, Fedhasa (Federated Hotel, Liquor and Catering Association) said it had asked

were discussed. These included the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, talks with the African National Congress, Inkatha and the expansion of Nusas to Afrikaans campuses.

The UDF was a central point of discussion and the congress passed a resolution condemning the State's "attempt to outlaw" the UDF and its affiliates. Nusas also reaffirmed its commitment to the UDF.

On the subject of talks with the ANC, Nusas expressed support for the initiatives of those who had met or attempted to meet with the outlawed group. It was also decided to investigate legal means of providing students with information on the nature and aims of the ANC.

EXPANSION

The expansion of Nusas to Afrikaans campuses was debated at length and representatives from the newly-formed Stellenbosch University branch were represented.

It was decided Nusas should broaden its structure and should facilitate involvement from Afrikaans campuses. It was pointed out that opposition to Nusas would be strong because it presented a "crack in a well-functioning machine".

The students also examined the formation of the National Convention Movement and decided not to join this group. In a motion passed on the NCM, Nusas said none of the organisations or individual constitutions of this group had mass support for any of their campaigns which opposed apartheid.

"The call for a National Convention by the National Convention Movement is prescriptive of people who should themselves determine the process towards a democratic future in South Africa."



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# 'There will be no talks with ANC'

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By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

The South African Government intends to ignore the African National Congress in any future negotiations on the constitutional development of the country, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in a live interview with SABC-TV on Sunday night.

During the interview, conducted by Dr Willem de Klerk on TV's *Network* programme, Mr Botha said the Government could not negotiate with an organisation which refused to renounce violence.

"You cannot negotiate with the ANC.

"It is not because they are black. There are also some white leaders — those on our right who want to destroy the country — that I cannot negotiate with either," he said.

"You cannot negotiate with people like the ANC."

Questioned on the likely extent of ANC support in the country, in other words, could South Africa afford to ignore the ANC, Mr Botha said: "I am the last person who will say that the ANC does not have any support in South Africa — they probably have very large support — but how is it to be measured?"

"Is their support freely given or based on intimidation and

fear?" he asked.

The television interview — one of the rare occasions that a South African Cabinet Minister has agreed to such an appearance — may have been live but was, however, anything but lively.

At one point the credibility of the South African Government was raised in the discussion and Dr de Klerk asked Mr Botha why even the Western world appeared reluctant to admit progress was being made.

"They don't believe us," Mr Botha said.

"They just think that this is one or another schlenker we are busy pulling," he added.

Mr Botha went into a lengthy explanation of what could be done to improve the Government's credibility.

## Reform process

"Within South Africa we have to systematically proceed with the implementation of the reform process.

"In this way the black leaders can see that they are really a part of the new deal."

He said he was not downhearted or pessimistic about the prospect of getting negotiations with black leaders under way.

Mr Chris Heunis and his Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, as

well as other Cabinet Ministers, were working day and night to get meaningful negotiations under way and that they were bound to succeed in the long run, Mr Botha said.

"We are always meeting with black leaders, often behind the scenes, in an attempt to determine their minimum demands," he said.

But, according to Mr Botha, the enemy (ANC) South Africa had to deal with was a formidable one.

"This enemy that we have to deal with has differing facets, different heads and feelers. He does not stand still, he does not want the reforms (past and future) to be marketed in the outside world.

"I am convinced, especially as regards the State President's announcements in January, that the ANC and its assistants in South Africa — and there are many, even in the churches and on the newspapers and other places — decided that it was an opportunity to destabilise the country," Mr Botha added.

He was not challenged on his statements that the church and Press in South Africa contained ANC elements.

Mr Botha said the ANC was bent on making the country ungovernable and that the organisation was not interested in sharing power but wanted it all.

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The Government has recently indicated that it is ready to move into a next phase in finding a constitution acceptable to all South Africans. This has intensified the debate on what such a constitution should look like. TODAY: In this article — the first in a series of three — Professor Albert P Blaustein of the Rutgers University Law School in the United States emphasises that a new consti-

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tution should not be prescribed from outside but should be devised by South Africans. TOMORROW: Professor Dion Basson of the University of Pretoria looks at the possibility of a consociational democracy for South Africa.

THURSDAY: The third article will be devoted to the Azanian People's Organisation's view of the South Africa of the future.

# An OWN constitution needed

South Africa needs a new constitution. It needs a formalised codification of political arrangements delineating power-sharing with the black majority population. The survival of the South African nation requires this. On that there is agreement.

But agreement is absent on the specifics of that constitution and the methods to achieve it.

Of course there is no one simple solution which will resolve such disagreements. But there are many avenues of approach, gleaned from the 200 years of constitutional history that began with the world's first national constitution, the 1787 Constitution of the United States.

These then are the immutable truths of constitution-making:

- A constitution must be autochthonous. It must be home-grown; it must spring from the soil. It must be bespoke, custom-made to meet the needs, wants and aspirations of the peoples for whom it is written. It cannot be assembled like some prefabricated hen house from standardised excerpts taken from portions of the other 162 national constitutions of the world; a chapter here, an article there, a section or clause from someplace else.

- The government does not create the constitution; the constitution creates the government. The autochthonous constitution must be the product of its beneficiaries. Just as it cannot be dictated from abroad, so it cannot be dictated by any one population group. It cannot be handed down as the beneficence of the rulers that be; it cannot be imposed by an opposition clique or faction. All of the successful constitutions of the past have resulted from shared participation in the constitution-making process. That is

The writer of this article, Professor Albert P Blaustein, is a member of the Rutgers University Law School faculty in the United States where he teaches Constitution Writing and Analysis. He is the co-editor of the 19-volume "Constitutions of the Countries of the World" and has served as counsel, consultant and sometime draftsman of the constitutions of Liberia, Bangladesh, Peru and Zimbabwe. He is vice-president and chairman of the foreign advisory committee of the Athens-based International Centre for Constitutional Studies. Professor Blaustein has made eight trips to South Africa during which he has lectured at six South African universities.

the defect (and failure) of the current South Africa constitution, initiated unilaterally by the government.

- The constitution-making process is as important as the constitution which results. The procedures and methods for reaching constitutional solutions may be even more significant than the mechanics of the constitutional solutions which emerge.

The South African constitution must be discussed, analysed, written and promulgated by South Africans for South Africans to meet the unique/peculiar circumstances of South Africa. This means:

- The South African constitution cannot be imposed from the outside — neither by well-meaning foreign liberals in America and Europe, properly opposed to apartheid, nor by the Marxist ideologues of refugee liberation groups.

- The South African constitution must be the product of all South Africans not just those in the white, dominant community nor blacks who are in opposition to the present power structure. It cannot be the constitution of President Botha or Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi or Bishop Desmond Tutu. It must be the

joint effort of these three and of the millions of others for whom the new political dispensation will be written.

- South Africa must become (as soon as possible) a land of constitutional ferment — like today's Brazil. The constitution-making process must involve everyone. This is the time for surveys, studies, seminars, conferences, etc. etc. by government, universities, foundations, business and unions to promote and foster total participation.

- South Africa must make a special effort to encourage the talents and the participation of the total legal community. The Rev Martin Luther Kings of the world — including South Africa — have been heard on the moral issues and the philosophical issues. It is now the time for the lawyers to draft the constitution and legislation and plead the power-sharing cause in the courts and to the black community.

For it is ever the lawyer's task to translate theories and philosophies into practical, working legal instruments. Constitution-making is lawyer business. It is lawyer business of the highest order and has been so since the days of Jefferson and

Madison. South Africa has an excellent Bar which includes an active Black Lawyers' Association. If these lawyers need more support, more resources, more available time to pursue constitutional studies and prepare constitutional proposals.

- South Africa must have the help of the international community. It must be the kind of aid that South Africa needs and wants — and all use. Of course South Africa needs ideas, suggestions and recommendations — and it needs information — but it certainly doesn't need official intermeddlers.

South Africa needs and wants changes of constitutional information. Its scholars, particularly legal scholars, black and white, need freedom now denied to them to travel to international conference.

The participation of foreign scholars within South Africa is desirable, not to tell South Africans what to do but to furnish background information and objective, impartial ideas — and to help frame the issues that must be decided by South African policy-makers and South African policy-makers alone.

South Africa needs more constitutional law books. It needs more funding for seminars and studies, needs more scholarships, especially for the graduate training of South Africa's black lawyers, both in South Africa and abroad.

It also needs consultations with sociologists trained in survey methods, and public information specialists who can help raise both black and white consciousness about constitution-making.

The people of South Africa do not need terrorism and riots. They



STAR 18/12/85 304

# Tricameral system is 'just empty promises'

By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

The tricameral system was fast showing itself to be no more effective than the old South African Indian Council and election promises were starting to sound hollow, a National People's Party official said yesterday.

Mr Kassim Isman, a member of the NPP's local executive in Germiston, said in an interview more and more people were becoming disenchanted with the tricameral system.

"If the elections were held again tomorrow I believe the percentage poll would be less than half of what we got last time. The people are starting to believe they were misled," Mr Isman said.

"I think too many people went into the system to look after themselves only. Not enough is

being done for the people and promises won't help any more — we need action

"I am not a radical person. I am not about to go off and join the United Democratic Front, but I can say many people who voted last August have done just that already," he added.

"I will stay in the party because we have worked hard to make the system work, and I will continue to try and make it work, but something must be done soon to make something real of all the promises," Mr Isman said.

## Not listening

He said that especially at local level the tricameral system of consensus politics was not working.

"The ministers and MPs are all hiding behind the fact that they have only had one year, but they are not working; they are

not delivering the goods.

"The tricameral system is giving us the same problems as the old South African Indian Council (SAIC); they are just not listening to us," he added.

"We who serve on the advisory committees are finding the power still firmly in the hands of white city councillors and white Government departments.

"For example, take the new township at Palmridge being built for the Indians of Germiston. There is no school, no shopping facilities, there are no medical facilities — they have just started putting up a clinic but at night there is no-one, the place has nothing," Mr Isman said.

"In addition, the rentals are much higher than we are paying now. We did not expect to pay only R10, as we do now, but what happened to all the promises at election time that rents would be pegged at 25 percent of

income?

"There are families there now who pay almost all their wages in rent, excluding lights and water.

"We have asked the ministers and MPs to look at rents, at medical facilities and sporting facilities with a view to helping the people, but nothing happens.

"Those of us acting as an advisory committee on the allocation of houses in the new township, suddenly found the Germiston City Council had formed its own housing committee," he said.

"Where is the consensus in that? We are back to whites telling us what to do.

## Back to baasskap

"If this is going to be the attitude, whether in the first year of the tricameral system or after five years, the system is never going to work. We are right back to baasskap.

"We are dismayed. What happened to all the promises we heard at the time of the elections? Now many people are very unhappy," Mr Isman said.

"We worked hard during the elections last year to convince people to give the system a chance. We convinced many people to vote on the strength of the new deal we had been promised. It has all come to nothing — nothing but empty promises."



# Consociational democracy

Are you dreaming about a South Africa in which the following characteristics are a reality?

- A government where everyone is represented equally and every group is represented proportionally.
- Free and fair elections where spontaneous support for any political party of a voter's own choice is possible.
- The possibility for every group to decide independently on matters which are of exclusive interest to that group.
- Incentives for group participation and co-operation instead of domination on affairs of mutual interest.
- A free and open society where every individual can decide voluntarily with which group he wants to associate.
- The rule of law where the constitutional law through comprehensive guarantees secures the rights and freedom of every individual.

A South Africa in which all these desirable objectives are a reality does not have to remain a vague wish. Professor Basson believes that he could make the dream come true.

"And it's relatively simple," he says. His solution is a consociational democracy with certain confederal elements.

"No system is completely perfect," he says, "but a consociational democracy offers all of the abovementioned objectives."

"I can really think of no other single system which can do the same and solve the problems of a deeply divided society in a just way."

"Every person — whether as an individual or as a group member — will be guaranteed a place in the sun," Professor Basson says.

What is a consociational democracy?

The first step in defining the concept is to analyse the meaning of the word "democracy", says Professor Basson.

"Democracy requires a system with a representative government where all the peoples are equally represented. It also requires that human rights be sufficiently protected, in other words the rule of law."

A professor in Constitutional

Law at the University of

Pretoria, Professor Dion Basson

(below), believes that he can

provide the constitution which

would solve South Africa's

problems. Professor Basson, the

only South African with two

doctorates in Constitutional

Law, recently addressed a

private gathering in Pretoria on

his solution. The audience

included members of the United

Democratic Front as well as the

Government. In a follow-up

interview Professor Basson













explained to HANNES DE WET

how this constitution will work.



be own affairs and what will be general affairs.

Professor Basson mentions only a few specific structures for a consociational democracy — "which have essentially addressed to me the

| BALLOT PAPER   |                 |                          |  | Vote here |
|--|-----------------|--------------------------|--|-----------|
| Group Represented  | Political Party | Party list of Candidates |  |           |
|  WHITE  | A               | 1.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 2.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 3.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 4.                       |  |           |
|  BLACK   | B               | 1.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 2.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 3.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 4.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 5.                       |  |           |
|  COLOURED | C               | 1.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 2.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 3.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 4.                       |  |           |
|  INDIAN   | D               | 1.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 2.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 3.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 4.                       |  |           |
|  INDIAN   | E               | 1.                       |  |           |
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|  |                 | 3.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 4.                       |  |           |
|  COLOURED | F               | 1.                       |  |           |
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|  |                 | 4.                       |  |           |
|  COLOURED | G               | 1.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 2.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 3.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 4.                       |  |           |
|  INDIAN   | H               | 1.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 2.                       |  |           |
|  |                 | 3.                       |  |           |
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|  INDIAN   | I               | 1.                       |  |           |
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|  INDIAN   | J               | 1.                       |  |           |
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|  INDIAN   | K               | 1.                       |  |           |
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reflect the total electoral support for every group.

"The total electoral support of all the political parties representing a certain group gives the total support for the whole group. In the

But the system of a State President and a Prime Minister seems to be working well in France, says Professor Basson.

According to him the electoral system has been successful all over the

"It must however be emphasised that this is to be considered only as a last resort. Various prescribed procedures for facilitating the reaching of consensus must first be completely exhausted before the majority decision can become operative."

Although the consociational system allows for majority decisions in extreme cases, it provides for a fool-proof system of mutual veto at the same time.

The mutual veto can be activated by any particular group if its interests are adversely affected by a majority decision on the level of general affairs.

This can be used in especially two instances: to protect the important consociational principle of group autonomy and to ensure that the consociational constitution or system itself cannot be changed without the consent of every participating group.

The next structure Professor Basson deals with is crucial for a successful consociation, namely a constitutional court.

The judiciary, he says, is the only branch of government which is really suited to act as the protector of group interests and of the consociational constitution itself.

The constitution must expressly enable this court to invalidate any government act which infringes upon the autonomy of any group. This court must also have a constitutional mandate to thwart any government act which attempts to change the consociational structure without the consent of every single participating group.

The same constitutional court will protect individual rights and freedoms such as the right to ownership, the right to free speech, freedom of thought and religion, freedom from arbitrary arrest, the right to a free and fair trial and freedom for detention without trial.

Prohibits



## Director

The "consociational" part of the concept implies that it is a system which is especially devised to cope with the root problem of a divided society such as South Africa, namely group conflict.

A consociation is NOT government based on domination by one of the opposing groups but is government based on participation — where the key word is co-operation between all the different groups. In South Africa this means race groups.

The four basic principles of a consociational democracy, says Professor Basson, all minimise the potential for group conflict:

### 1) Power sharing on general affairs.

Sharing of power instead of domination by one group induces moderation. It requires the participation — through consensus — of all groups exercising power on general affairs.

### 2) Proportionality.

Proportionality simply means that the groups must share in the power according to their electoral support.

This equitable treatment of every group ensures that no group will be in an inferior position and that the potential for group conflict is accordingly minimised.

### 3) Group autonomy on own affairs.

Any group which knows that it will be able to exercise the power on its exclusive own affairs without any interference, will feel less threatened. The result is again a diminishing of tensions between the different groups.

### 4) A mutual veto.

A mutual veto strengthens group autonomy, making it impossible for a group's interests to be adversely affected by a majority decision. A mutual veto built into the constitution will give any group the right to veto adverse majority decisions.

Now that the advantages of the four principles are clear, how will a consociational system look in practice?

"It is important to note," says Professor Basson, "that there are various constitutional structures available. The extract structures should be decided upon during the negotiations preceding the implementation of a consociational constitution."

It is also during these preceding negotiations that the various groups should determine and define what will

because they have to be so simple to understand".

His starting point is a change to the electoral system.

"This is the most important constitutional structural change which I can recommend. The electoral system is the most important part of the sub-structure of a consociational democracy and which ensures that the system works properly."

Professor Basson proposes that the present system of electoral divisions be replaced by a list system of proportional representation.

Instead of voting for a candidate for a specific area, people will vote for a list of candidates named by every political party in a nomination court before the election.

## Categories

The ballot paper consists of a list of all the political parties, classified in group categories — with a list of, say, the four key figures in each party. Every political party decides for itself which race group or groups it wants to represent.

A few examples: the Progressive Federal Party can, for example, represent all the groups — white, black, coloured and Indian.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party will probably want to represent only one group, namely the whites.

The National Party might decide it wants to represent three groups, the whites, the coloureds and the Indians.

An ANC party might declare that it is going to represent only one group, namely the blacks.

The voter makes only one cross on the ballot paper — next to the political party which he supports within the group with which he associates (that vote counts for both general and own affairs).

In this way every single voter who takes part in the election, expresses his association with or support for a particular group.

"Individuals are thus in a position to decide for themselves with which group they want to associate. At the same time they are able to vote for any political party which represents the interest of this particular group."

"The electoral result will exactly

every group is easily determined.

## Structure

"One can, for example, get 55 percent support for group A, 25 percent for group B, five percent for group D and 15 percent for group E."

"This electoral result will then determine the proportional share of every group in the structure for general affairs."

"The result is an equitable system where the groups share power on general affairs in exact proportion to their electoral support or strength."

The top candidates of the majority political party will become the representatives of that particular group in the structures for general affairs.

They should therefore take part in the structures created for a leaders' coalition consisting of the leaders of the different groups to exercise the power on general affairs.

Professor Basson says the list electoral system will probably run along racial lines in its early stages in South Africa. The party that decides to represent all racial groups in the election will probably find that this fact erodes its chances of getting the majority support in any group.

"Our society is perhaps still too deeply divided for a political party to be successful across racial bars."

Who will be State President?

It will be the leader of the majority political party within the group that received the highest proportional support.

But the top executive power will not be in his hands alone. He will share that with a Prime Minister who will be the leader of the majority party in the group that received the second highest proportional support.

This is not only the only alternative to assure a system of checks and balances, says Professor Basson. One could also consider a rotating system where the main leaders in the strongest and the second strongest group take turns to be State President, say, about every two years.

Even the Prime Minister could be rotated between leader of the majority party in in second strongest group and the leader of the majority party in the third strongest group.

ernments.

"Good government is judged on the degree to which is representative of all the people."

"In South Africa the largest group is entirely excluded from representation at a national level, resulting in an unrepresentative government."

Determining who will exercise the power on own affairs is an easy one to answer.

Every political party will get a number of seats within the group or groups which it represented in the election — relative to the number of votes it had received in each group.

Every group will have an own affairs parliament of a sort. As in the present tricameral system the majority party will probably exercise the power with the minority parties as its opposition.

## Preference

The individuals filling the seats will come from the list which every party has nominated before the election — usually in the order of preference to which they appear on the list.

Because South Africa is still such a divided society, says Professor Basson, the political picture regarding own affairs will probably stay the same. The National Party will probably exercise the power on white affairs, the Labour Party will control coloured affairs and so on.

It is highly unlikely that an Inkatha party will be in the majority in the white group or that the National Party will be in majority in the black group.

The legislature for general affairs will, in the same way as the leaders' coalition, operate on the basis of power sharing. The consent or consensus of all participating groups will thus be a prerequisite to enact any Bill pertaining to general affairs.

The obvious problem is that agreement between the groups will not always be obtained. This calls for a mechanism, such as the present President's Council, to defuse stalemate situations.

It seems inevitable that in the end the majority decision will have to be decisive. Otherwise it may become impossible to exercise the power, either in the executive or in the legislature, says Professor Basson.

A Bill of Rights will necessarily also contain a so-called equal treatment clause which prohibits discrimination by the government.

Professor Basson says this system of a constitutionally protected Bill of Rights has been successful all over the world in protecting so-called human rights against arbitrary infringements.

"The best example remains West Germany where the most atrocious violations of human rights took place during World War 2. Today human rights are completely protected by these constitutional structures."

"It is unfortunately true that South Africa doesn't measure up to the requirements for the rule of law. In fact human rights in this country are infringed upon by omnipotent parliamentary acts, providing for widespread executive powers."

The consociational model outlined above, says Professor Basson, does not provide for the given reality of the four independent black states.

"One could expect that they would want to remain separate states. With a view to that, elements of a geographical confederation could be built into the consociation model."

"The leader of every separate state could be his own people's representative in the leaders' coalition. Own affairs would simply be the domestic affairs of each state."

"This principle of a selective loose confederation would, for example, mean that citizens of Transkei would also have a vote regarding the top structure of the South African government. And they could all be full South African citizens."

Constitutional structures, says Professor Basson, can, of course, always be overthrown by extra-constitutional means.

"It is my belief, however, that the people will not overthrow a constitutional system which offers them all of the above objectives."

"A constitutional system will be accepted only if it guarantees participation and a life of quality for everyone."

"The people will not want the demise of a system which is eminently acceptable to them all."

"Only undesirable systems are overthrown."



Situation in unrest areas 'close to normal'

# Nel tells BBC of SA emergency

304A STAR 20/12/85

**The Star Bureau**  
LONDON — The banning of television crews from trouble spots in South Africa in no way implied that cameramen were acting improperly.

But their mere presence had acted as a catalyst for further violence, South Africa's Deputy Information Minister, Mr Louis Nel, said yesterday.

In a lengthy interview with Michael Buerk on BBC Television's Newsnight programme, Mr Nel asserted that since the state of emergency had been imposed, unrest in those areas had declined.

"The situation is now very close to normal in the emergency areas. The number of incidents has decreased dramatically in the Western Cape since the emergency was extended to

cover that part of the country," Mr Nel said.

He added: "We have achieved relative stability in the emergency areas."

He said that the violence had not been a "natural uprising" of the black people against apartheid. It had been "instigated violence, instigated by the ANC."

## Intimidation

Mr Nel said the Government was saddened by the loss of life. It was a "tragic occurrence".

But, he claimed, intimidation was continuing in some areas and those behind the violence wanted people to die to "give the impression that the country is not under control".

He said the Government was committed to a process of mea-

sured reform that would include universal franchise.

"But the radical elements are becoming desperate. The ANC does not want reform, it wants to stop reform."

Questioned on the possible release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Mr Nel said the Cabinet was united in wanting his release provided he renounced violence.

"To ask a man to renounce violence is to ask him to conform to ordinary civilised norms. That's all we ask of him."

Mr Nel said the imposition of sanctions on South Africa would be "immoral" and would hit the black people hardest.

"It is all very well Bishop Tutu supporting sanctions. He won't lose his job, he'll still be paid if sanctions are imposed."



# Powers of PW under query

21/12/85

STAR

By Jenni Tennant

304A

President Botha acted beyond his powers in providing for extended detention of people under the emergency regulations without giving them a hearing, it was claimed in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

This was submitted to the Full Bench of the Rand Supreme Court by Mr S W Kentridge, SC.

"It is beyond the powers of the State President, under the Public Safety Act, to exclude the principles of natural justice," he said.

Two urgent applications were brought before the court for the release of 13 detainees. They are against the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Justice, the officers commanding the Johannesburg and Modderbee prisons.

At issue was whether the further detention of people held in terms of Regulation 3(3) which extended the initial 14 day period of detention — was unlawful because they were not given the opportunity to make representations.

Mr Kentridge said the regulation in its present form, where it allowed the Minister to act without notice to the detainee or without hearing the detainee, was invalid and excluded the principles of natural justice.

## REPRESENTATION

The position of a detainee differed from someone who was arrested in an emergency situation. There was no reason why a detainee should not be allowed to make representation before his further detention was ordered, he said.

"Parliament could not have contemplated that once a person was detained he had no recourse to natural justice and fairness, while being held indefinitely."

Mr Kentridge asked for the release of the detainees; an order declaring the notice issued by the Minister of Law and Order extending the detention of the 13 detainees invalid; and costs.

Mr J H Coetzee, SC, for the respondents, argued that in terms of the Public Safety Act the President was authorised by the Act to make any regulations for the safety of the public when the ordinary law of the land was inadequate.

The detainees are: Mr Ismail Momoniat; Mr Parmanathan Naidoo; Mr Mosheen Moosa; Mr Feizel Mamdoo; Mr Laloo Chiba; Mr Patrick Lephunya; Mr Paul Maseko; Mr Obo Bethwell Phakathi; Mr John Radebe; Mr Barnabas Chete; Mr Samuel Ntuli; Mr Yousuf Areff; and Mr Justice Mazibuko.

Judgment was reserved.



# MP initiates defamation claim against Le Grange

By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, has instituted proceedings to claim defamation damages amounting to a total of R65 000 from Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange, the South African Broadcasting Corporation and Die Volksblad newspaper.

The individual claims are for R25 000 against the SABC, and R20 000 each against Mr le Grange and Die Volksblad.

According to papers served on all three parties this week, the suit arises out of remarks allegedly made by Mr le Grange — and reported by the other two parties — after the recent incident at Mamelodi in which 13 people died.

In papers, Mr Soal undertakes to withdraw the suit if unqualified apologies and retractions of the remarks are forthcoming from the parties.

The claim, according to papers, arises from the Minister's accusations that Mr Soal:

- Deliberately and knowingly issued

false statements concerning the events in Mamelodi to the Press.

- Deliberately spread false allegations concerning the conduct of the South African Police worldwide with the intention of damaging their reputation.

Other allegations made by the Minister are also listed.

In the papers served on the SABC and Die Volksblad, Mr Soal's attorneys said the defamation suit is based on their respective news reports and commentary on Mr le Grange's remarks.

## REASONABLE READER

According to papers, the ordinary reasonable reader or listener would conclude that Mr Soal was a liar and had lied to the Press.

Mr le Grange's office has acknowledged receipt of a transmission from Mr Soal's attorneys and advised that the matter would have to stand over until the Minister's return to office on January 6.

All parties have the option to apologise and retract their statements, if they would wish to do so.



# Cleric meets Matie students

STAR 23/12/85

Education Reporter

A group of University of Stellenbosch students met the Rev Nico Smith in Pretoria at the weekend.

The students and Dr Smith discussed, among other subjects, talks with the African National Congress (ANC). No decisions were taken about further meetings with the outlawed group.

In October the group of Matie students, and Dr Smith and church leaders, planned to speak to the ANC in Lusaka. The students' trip was thwarted when the Government withdrew their passports and Dr Smith was dissuaded by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

## SHY ABOUT PUBLICITY

Dr Smith said the students had instructed him not to release any information to the Press about their meeting at the weekend. "The students are rather shy about any publicity and they are afraid to talk to the Press," Dr Smith said.

The eight students, who met Dr Smith under the leadership of Mr Hennie Bester — the original leader of the planned talks with the ANC — also spoke to several community leaders while in Johannesburg. The students have returned to Stellenbosch.



'We're disillusioned by failure to reform'

# Business again appeals to P W

STAR 23/2/85 3041A

By Michael Chester

Big business today renewed its appeals to the State President, Mr P W Botha, to draw black leaders into the dialogue on reform and ignore right-wing extremists in Afrikanerdom and the National Party.

The latest call came from Sir Albert Robinson (70), executive director of the Anglo American Corporation and former chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, who will retire at the end of the year.

He said the English-speaking business community was totally disillusioned by the failure of Mr Botha to fulfil the promises of real reform and an interracial sharing of power that were raised by the Carlton and Good Hope conferences.

## Political veteran

Sir Albert is a veteran of black African as well as South African politics. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for his work as a main architect of the old Central African Federation-

and was MP for Langlaagte from 1947 to 1953.

He said big business was dismayed by signs that the NP leaders were prepared to introduce changes only on condition that they continued to hold total domination in the political arena.

But Government action had now become vital in pressing ahead with a precise timetable for the elimination of institutionalised discrimination — such as that in the Group Areas Act and the pass laws — to prepare a better climate in which to negotiate a new constitution.

## Arbiter

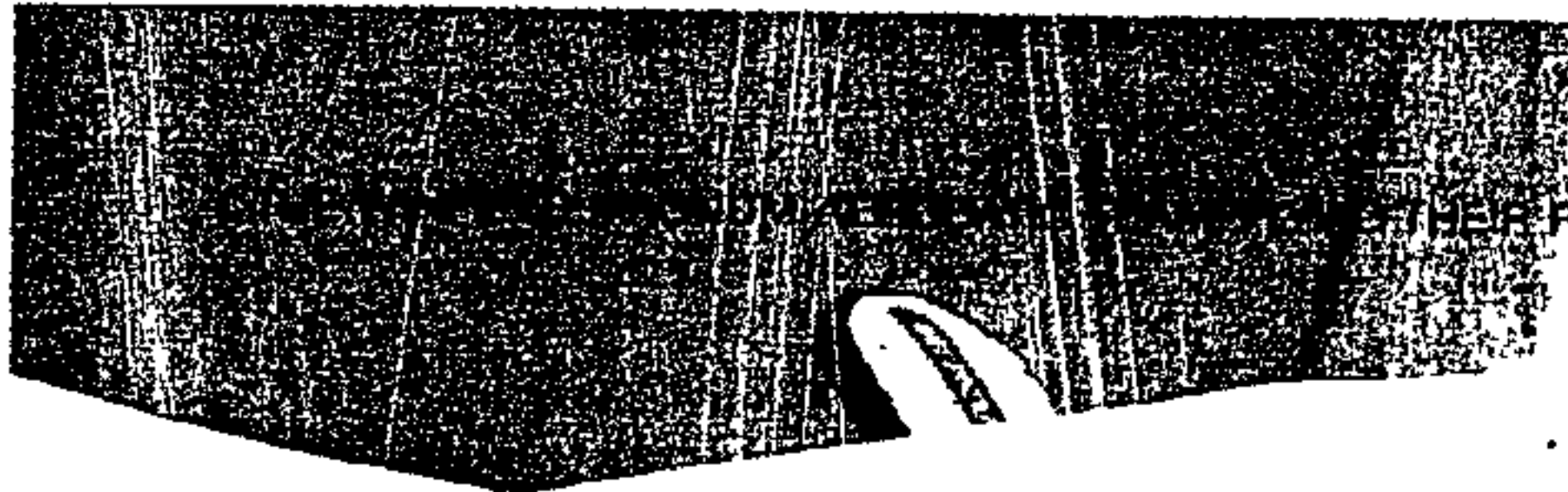
Sir Albert said: "The NP cannot transform the political atmosphere in isolation. Mr Botha should invite business leaders and a number of homeland and urban black leaders to help form a new non-racial coalition government committed to reform."

"The NP can no longer be the sole arbiter of South Africa's affairs and, if it refuses to recognise this fact, there is bound to be an escalation of internal re-

sistance and external pressure.

"South Africa solved its crisis in the 1930s by burying political hatchets and forming a coalition government — when General J B M Hertzog and General Jan Smuts made a peace pact, with enormous benefits for the whole country.

"Today, the nature of the crisis is different — but the route to solutions may be almost identical."





# Violence not the answer to SA problems

Buthelezi

24/12/85  
30414  
DUNDI-- Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, has expressed sympathy with those who suffered as a result of acts of violence in Amanzimtoti, Durban, Messina and Maseru.

In a statement yesterday, the chief said: "When the Durban explosion took place on Saturday, my wife and two of my children were shopping just opposite the bomb blast. I was also in Durban at the time.

"It, and today's explosion, are shocking even if they are not unexpected at this time.

"I pray for a formula to be found as soon as possible, around the conference table.

"Whenever I have alerted the population of South Africa about these gruesome plans which the External Mission of the ANC has as a strategy for resolving the country's problems, the media have tried to play me and Inkatha off against the External Mission of the ANC.

## GOODWILL

"Violence cannot solve South Africa's problems, and if one side escalates violence then the opposite side must be expected also to escalate violence.

"At this rate we will soon be faced with a Beirut-type situation in this country. It is sad that at this time, when we commemorate the message of 'Goodwill towards all men,' there should be people who have their loved ones maimed or brutally killed through these bombings and AK rifles.

"I express my sympathy to those who have been bereaved as a result of these acts of escalating violence in Messina, Maseru, Durban and Amanzimtoti. My sympathies and prayers also go out to those injured," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa.



# Tragedy places onus on West

STW 24/12/85  
3044

Yesterday's bomb attack in Ammanzimtoti and similar recent incidents placed a serious moral responsibility on civilised Western governments to not only condemn the terrorism, but also those responsible, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, said last night.

In a statement issued in Pretoria, he said the latest bomb attack was reprehensible "in accordance with the declared policy of the African National Congress to attack soft targets, in this case innocent women and children".

The Minister said the "terrorists responsible" for these deeds were cowardly murderers and that the police would work day and night to apprehend those responsible and

then let the law take its course. The State President's Office has expressed its sympathy with the victims of blast.

In reaction from the Right, Mr Koos van der Merwe, the Conservative Party's chief spokesman on defence matters, said the Government should instruct the Defence Force to wipe out all terrorist bases in neighbouring states.

## Threat to life

The PFP MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg, called on all South Africans to unite against what he called mindless terrorist attacks.

"We cannot afford to be seen to be divided or uncertain in the face of this threat to life and stability in this country.

"The perpetrators must be hunted down. Persons or organisations who knowingly and willingly give support, sustenance or encouragement to violent revolutionary elements in our society must be brought to justice and punished.

"The Government and all moderate persons and organisations in South Africa must now bury their differences and establish a just, stable and satisfied society that will not tolerate revolutionary violence," he said. — Sapa.



An injured woman is wheeled to an ambulance after the shopping centre bomb blast in Ammanzimtoti.

- (6) How high can Constraints:
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NUM\_Seminar\_No.2

- (1) Inflation
- (2) Cost of Living
- (3) The Union's demands
- (4)

|                                    |                                    |                       |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Gold<br>Excellent                  | Coal<br>Good                       | Diamonds<br>Very Good |
| (1) Profits                        | (1) Profits                        | (1) Wage History      |
| (2) Wage History<br>300% real rise | (2) Wage History<br>300% real rise | (2) Profits           |





Detectives sift through the debris after the bomb detonated in the Sanlam Park shopping centre in Amanzimtoti. The arcade floor is stained with blood.



Molly Blackburn and Brian Bishop 'fought to the end' for a democratic South Africa

# They died on an errand of mercy

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Human rights activists Mrs Molly Blackburn and Mr Brian Bishop died after a trip to Outshoorn to investigate claims that children had been taken into detention.

Mrs Blackburn, Mr Bishop and two companions were involved in a head-on collision. The Port Elizabeth MPC and the Civil Rights League vice-chairman were killed. They were returning to Port Elizabeth from Outshoorn on Saturday evening.

It was typical that the four — Mrs Blackburn, her sister and Black Sash Eastern Cape chairman Mrs Judy Chalmers, Mr Bishop and his wife, Cape Town MPC Mrs Di Bishop — would be on a mission of this kind "on the slackest weekend of the year, while the rest of white South Africa was relaxing", commented Black Sash president Mrs Sheena Duncan. "One can't pinpoint any one outstanding action of Molly's



Mrs Molly Blackburn

and say, 'that was what made her great'. It was just her way of coping with the daily grind of fighting apartheid that made her special." Mrs Duncan said in her tailored attire, her greying hair well-groomed, Mrs Molly Blackburn (54) might have seemed an unlikely ally to the T-shirted activists of the townships. She explained her outspoken attacks on

'Hardest role was that of bridge-builder'

PORT ELIZABETH — Mrs Molly Blackburn, MPC for Walmer and a prominent PFP activist in the Eastern Cape, died at the weekend in a motor car accident.

Mrs Blackburn (55) attended Collegiate High School in Port Elizabeth and afterwards majored in psychology and geography at Rhodes University in Grahamstown.

In 1954 she married Mr Geoff Fletcher, a shipping lawyer. They parted in 1963 and she returned to Port Elizabeth with her children, Mark, Judy and Gillian.

In April 1967 she married Dr Gavin Blackburn, who had been a childhood friend and a groomsmen at her first wedding, and had four children, Simon, Andrew, Josephine and Fenella.

Mrs Blackburn was elected to the Provincial Council for the

apartheid in terms as traditional as the pearls around her neck. Things like "little people being pushed around" enraged her, she said.

But the overall political aim of the leading Eastern Cape civic associations was the goal with which she unequivocally associated herself: a single democratic South Africa. She was referred to scath-

ingly as "Comrade Molly" in slur pamphlets designed by pro-apartheid forces to further inflame feelings between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation in July this year.

It was a title (unique in its South African usage — neither narrowly leftist nor sloppily old boys' club) which some township activists used sin-

cerely when referring to the Progressive Federal Party member who had stepped well beyond the confines of her white constituency and become committed to the destruction of apartheid.

Taken to court time and again — on charges of entering townships illegally, attending an illegal gathering, slandering a policeman (a charge which did not stick) — Mrs Blackburn said it was her anger at injustice which kept her going. Death threats had become a part of life to her — as they had become to the Bishops in their Cape Town home. In two recent incidents Mrs Bishop's car was set alight and their home was teargassed.

During an interview in May this year, Mrs Blackburn said: "I believe in building bridges and the hardest thing in my political life has been to play the role of bridge-builder."

"Being concerned and involved has set me up as a person to be discredited. Anonymous threats are made on my life on the telephone, my car tyres are slashed. I can only regard this as harassment." — Sapa.

work and it is important for me to use my time to bring about a better South Africa."

Ironically, it was this social commitment, shared with her husband, which set in motion the chain of events which ended their marriage this weekend. The couple have five children and Mrs Bishop (38), lying with both legs in plaster casts in the Port Elizabeth Provincial Hospital, is said to be anxious to get home to Cape Town and her family.

Mrs Blackburn leaves her husband, Gavin, and seven children, ranging in age from 14 to 27 years.

The loss of Mrs Molly Blackburn would be mourned by everyone who was privileged to know her as a friend, black and white alike, Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, said in a statement to Sapa today.

## Parallel

The public lives of the Bishops ran independent but parallel courses — hers on the party political circuit and within the Black Sash, his in the extra-parliamentary Civil Rights League.

Mrs Bishop told *The Star* in an interview earlier this year: "I feel I have so much by way of security and a happy marriage. I am in the fortunate situation where I don't have to

"Molly built up a remarkable relationship with the black communities with whom she worked and her passing is something which will be deeply felt by millions of people."

"Nor will Brian Bishop's work be soon forgotten."

"This tragic accident is indeed a sad end to this year for South Africa," Mrs Suzman added.



Mrs Di Bishop

The leader of the PFP, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, said from Swaziland he was "deeply shocked" by the deaths.

He described Mrs Blackburn as a "courageous fighter for justice" who had "very high credibility and admiration from many black South Africans and colleagues."

Mr Keith Gottschalk, chairman of the Civil Rights League, said "Molly and Brian fought to the end for human rights in those parts of South Africa where the consequences of opposing apartheid include death."

"The numberless victims of State harassment, assault and shootings they aided remember their concern. Political workers of their calibre will be missed in a future South Africa."

A spokesman for the Western Cape region of the Black Sash said "The tragic death of Molly and Brian has robbed us of two of our most courageous civil rights campaigners."

"All those of us who are working for a just and peaceful South Africa will take strength from their example."

The national chairman of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said, "The death of Molly Blackburn

and Brian Bishop is a tragic loss for our country and our people. Molly Blackburn was a tireless and courageous fighter for justice and reconciliation."

"Brian Bishop was a vigorous campaigner for civil liberties. Progressives will join millions of South Africans in mourning their passing."

Chief Whip of the PFP in the Provincial Council, Mr Frank van der Velde, praised Mrs Blackburn for her courage and said South Africa had lost a patriot and a politician who cared not for her own position but for the people she served."

Mr Andrew Pelle, president of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, said Mr Bishop "played an important function by keeping the executive in touch with community views and realities."

"Brian Bishop was a Christian idealist with an enormous capacity to love people and enjoy life. His death is a great loss to the business community of Cape Town."

Father Basil van Rensburg of the Holy Cross Church in District Six said Mr Bishop's death was a "tragic loss" to the church and its parishioners. Mr Tom Walters, city councillor for Woodstock, Salt River and District Six, said "The friend of Mr Bishop, said: 'The cause of civil liberties has suffered a tremendous blow through Brian and Molly's deaths'."

## Mourn

"I deeply mourn this tragic loss as it is up to all of us to know them to carry on their fight."

The retiring Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier Gert Odendaal, today described the deaths as "terrible."

"Any such tragedy is a very sad thing. Our condolences to the families," he said.



# 'This session may be whites' last chance'

## Buthelezi calls for bold steps in 1986

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ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned whites that South Africa's desperate economic plight would become endemic and violence would increase unless they prevailed on the Government to take bold steps forward during the coming Parliamentary session.

The 1986 session of Parliament could be a make or break affair — possibly the last whites would have in which to do something meaningful, the kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President said in an end-of-year message.

He called on the State

President, the Government and white South Africans to recognise that only bold moves towards establishing a just society would salvage the country from the terrible effects which the "upward spiralling of violence for political purposes" was having.

Chief Buthelezi said violence was at its most hideous when used for party political purposes and this was the kind of violence used to enforce apartheid.

### SACRIFICED

Tragically, a great deal of violence by blacks was also used for party political

purposes. The good of the State and of the people had been sacrificed by those who used violence to maim, kill and destroy, he said.

Violence was wreaking havoc with all decency and was reducing the prospects of a just, democratic solution to the country's problems.

### REINFORCE STEPS

Talk of reform was no substitute for the real thing, and South Africans and the world were disillusioned. The great democratic nations were at one with black South Africa in demanding an end to political verbosity

and the beginning of real political action which would normalise the country as an industrialised, democratic state.

Chief Buthelezi said black South Africa must combine its vast reserves of decency with its enormous power in order to reinforce every step in the direction of creating a just, open and democratic society.

"I call on every black South African to deny apartheid its final victory of dehumanising blacks," he said. "If we dehumanise ourselves in the way in which we conduct our struggle for liberation, apartheid will have had its final victory."

He urged blacks to walk tall as people committed to tactics and strategies which preserved the very decency "on which the God-given right to demand justice and freedom" rested. Decent objectives could not be achieved through hideous behaviour.

### PREREQUISITE

Decency was as vital to whites (who needed it in order to survive) as to blacks, he said.

Chief Buthelezi urged black leaders and organisations to recognise that black unity in a multi-strategy approach was a prerequisite not only for defeating apartheid but for doing so in a way that would avoid the tragedy of exchanging a white oppressor for a black one.

He called on black South Africans to resist intimidators and to insist on the same democratic rights in black politics as those being demanded from the white political establishment.

"We now must put our house in order," Chief Buthelezi said. "It is ordinary people on whom the burden to do so rests so heavily."

"You, the ordinary people, are the people for whom we are struggling. It is your life and your future we seek to secure. It is your freedom and I call on your decency to uphold the things our heroes and martyrs suffered for." — Sapa



The politics of 1985 — Part Two. DAVID BRAUN, *The Star's* Political Correspondent, analyses the reform programme as spelt out by President Botha's Government during the year.

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# The year of reform

If 1985 is to be remembered in South Africa for its political crises, it will surely also be notable for the Government's dramatic change of direction.

President Botha takes the credit for this. He was prepared to allow the ruling National Party to split over the principle of sharing power with people who were not white a few years ago. And in 1985 he consistently ran the gauntlet of further diminishing his power base in order to give this principle effect.

Mr Botha started the year with a major speech at the opening of Parliament on January 25 when he signposted the way ahead on five paths:

- There would be extended co-operation with the independent homeland states within the multilateral dispensation so that the governments concerned are given a say regarding actions by South Africa and vice versa.
- Independence would remain the goal of all self-governing states, but since the Government did not intend forcing this upon anyone, there would be increasing co-operation with such states within collective structures. In the meantime further stages of autonomy between self-government and independence would be negotiated.

- The Government accepted the permanence in South Africa of large numbers of the black communities which found themselves outside the national states. The intensive promotion of the local-government system for them was vital, while structures had to be developed through which they could decide on their own affairs up to the highest level.

The same bodies could serve, at various levels, as links for co-operation on matters of common concern with government bodies of South Africa, the independent former national states and the self-governing national states.

- The various political entities in South Africa should co-operate on matters of common interest within the same overall framework.



Mr P W Botha

- Clarity had to be reached soon on the position of citizenship for black communities.

Also in the January speech, the President said that all government bodies were to ensure that black communities were involved in decision-making that affected them in the socio-economic sphere, through their participation in investigations affecting their position and through their appointment to statutory and advisory bodies.

## Eliminate

Other points from that speech were: the Government understood the importance of property rights; steps to promote orderly urbanisation and eliminate negative and discriminatory aspects of influx control were receiving attention; problems relating to the resettlement of communities should be resolved; the activities of the Special Cabinet Committee investigating the constitutional development of blacks would be supplemented by an informal, non-statutory forum in which leaders and interest groups from all sections could deliberate.

In his subsequent speeches in Parliament and at the various National Party congresses during the year, Mr Botha fulfilled many of these

promises.

Multilateral co-operation between South Africa and Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei was expanded and talk started on the question of formal involvement in one another's decision-making on matters of mutual concern.

Similar discussions with the leaders of the self-governing homeland in fact signalled the start of the wider constitutional negotiations with black leaders on a new system which would accommodate the country's various groups in a complex "confederal-federal" state.

Power-sharing among all the country's people was initiated by legislating for the new multiracial regional services councils, in which blacks and whites could jointly administer their local government affairs of mutual concern.

The general constitutional aim is to extend equal power-sharing in phases from bottom to top, eventually even to the Cabinet.

But simultaneously the concept of "own affairs" jurisdiction is to be devolved from the top down, with the maximum powers being given to each autonomous ethnic group at the lowest possible level.

The first working session of the new tricameral Parliament started to give effect to that second leg of

constitutional development, and Indians and coloureds took over the administration of much of their own affairs.

On the question of citizenship the Government has conceded that all black people permanently resident in South Africa are South African, and as such are entitled to full property and political rights.

Citizens of the independent homelands may also have South African citizenship returned in the form of dual nationality for specific purposes (still being negotiated).

Freehold property rights in urban areas for any blacks who can afford to buy land have since been announced. No Government decision on influx control has been announced, but the President's Council has recommended that it be scrapped, and President Botha has admitted that the system is costly and dated.

## Suspended

Forced removals have been suspended, that is if one discounts Moutse. Only recently senior Government officials conceded that people would not again be forced to uproot and move elsewhere against their will.

The Special Cabinet Committee, which was expanded to admit the leaders of all the parliamentary parties to become the informal forum, held many secret meetings with various people. According to Mr Botha the stage has been reached where there is accord on certain fundamental issues and basic elements.

Basic principles to start the next phase of constitutional negotiations could surely now be agreed upon, he said.

By the end of the year there were many questions still unanswered and much uncertainty. But few people could deny that much progress had been made and substantial groundwork prepared for what could be a new year of substantial breakthroughs and reform.